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VOL. XXV

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The Council wish to thank Major G. Kirkbride (Gilgit), Captain P. Domvile, Mrs. E. M. Drower (Baghdad), and Mr. R. C. Baldwin (Beyrouth) for undertaking the Local Honorary Secretaryships of their respective areas.

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EARL PEEL AT THE INDIA OFFICE

By THE MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

DURING the later years of his life Willie Peel, as he was familiarly known to a large circle of friends, found himself increasingly engaged with the problems of India. The first news of his assumption of the office of Secretary of State caused a flutter in India not so much on account of the appointment itself as on account of the circumstances in which it was made. In March, 1922, shortly before my departure from Bengal, I was awaiting a message of a secret and urgent nature in connection with the measures which the Government of India were being obliged to take to stem the tide of the non-co-operation movement which for some time past had been gathering momentum throughout the country. A message duly arrived, but as the task of deciphering it was proceeded with it became clear that its contents were of a startlingly unexpected nature. It made no mention of events in India but contained the bald announcement that Mr. E. S. Montagu, then Secretary of State for India, had resigned. Nothing was known at the time of the storm which had broken between Mr. Montagu and the late Lord Curzon and rumour was rife as to the cause of the unheralded resignation of the Secretary of State. Excitement inevitably ran high, and when a few days later it became known that Mr. Gandhi, the author of the non-co-operation movement, had been arrested it was inevitably assumed that the one event was directly connected with the other. I should add that the assumption was without foundation, for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi had been determined on while Mr. Montagu was still in office.

It was in these circumstances that Lord Peel took control at the India Office. His task was obviously no easy one, for while political opinion in India generally, galvanized into activity by the more extreme form of Nationalism represented by the non-co-operators, was pressing for an acceleration of the Reforms, feeling in Great Britain was that the passing of the Act of 1919 had for the time being at any rate disposed of the major Indian problem. Peel's main preoccupation on acceding to office was, therefore, to keep the political development of India on an even keel, and for this task he was particularly well fitted by a sturdy independence of mind and a markedly sound instinct.

During the year and ten months of his first tenure of the office of

Secretary of State he was faced with, and carried to a successful conclusion, more than one issue of peculiar delicacy in that in each case a clash of interests between India and the United Kingdom was involved. On no question did feeling in India run higher, perhaps, than on that of the control which His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom had been accustomed to exercise over the Indian tariff. This had been recognized by the Joint Select Committee which had dealt with the Government of India Bill of 1919. With a keen appreciation of the strength of Indian feeling on the matter they had urged that a satisfactory solution of the question could only be guaranteed by the grant of liberty to the Government of India to devise such tariff arrangements as seemed best suited to India's needs. This was in fact the origin of what came to be known as the Fiscal Autonomy Convention which embodied the principle that when the Government of India and the Indian Legislature were in agreement on a fiscal matter the Secretary of State should refrain from interfering; and it fell to Lord Peel to establish on a firm basis the practice which has ever since prevailed. Another issue of similar delicacy was raised by the Indian Racial Distinctions Act of 1922 which introduced considerable modifications in certain long-standing differentiations in criminal procedure as between Indians and Europeans. The measure was viewed with a good deal of concern by many in this country and not least by Peel's own political supporters, and it was due in the main to his broad outlook and skill in negotiation that it met with a degree of acceptance which happily avoided in both countries the ill effects which, as he was quick to realize, must necessarily have accompanied an aftermath of controversy on such an issue.

There were other difficulties involving grave questions of policy in the realm of defence with which he found himself called upon to grapple. There were demands for the Indianization of the army and for a reduction of expenditure upon defence. The first he met with what came to be known as the eight units scheme which has formed the basis on which all subsequent advance has been made; the second by the appointment of a retrenchment committee modelled on the Geddes Committee in this country and presided over by the late Lord Inchcape. On the North-West Frontier the Government of India were still wrestling with the unrest sown by the third Afghan War and it fell to Lord Peel to confirm the policy which was then being put into operation involving the occupation of parts of Waziristan, the construction of roads and the entrusting of the policing of these intractable

regions to the tribes themselves through the agency of the Khassadar—a tribesman undrilled, undisciplined and ununiformed, the bearer of his own and not of the Government's rifle, distinguishable from the freebooter by reason only of the fact that in return for Government pay he agreed to suppress instead of to foster raiding.

With the change of Government in 1924 Lord Peel left the India Office to return to it for a few months only in October, 1928, in succession to the late Lord Birkenhead. Nevertheless, he was destined, during his brief spell of office, to come into sharp contact with Frontier affairs once more, for the Amir Amanulla returned to Afghanistan after his visit to Europe in the summer of 1928 only to find that he had forfeited the confidence of his people. With a shrewd appreciation of what was in store he was quick to conclude that discretion was the better part of valour and fled from the country, leaving chaos in his wake. In the turmoil of the succeeding months the position of Sir Francis Humphrys, the British Minister in Kabul, became untenable, and in February, 1929, he and his staff were successfully removed to safety by aeroplane.

It was not only on the Frontier that unrest seethed and bubbled, and his second tenure of office saw the early days of the long period of investigation and discussion—in which, though no longer Secretary of State, he was later to play an outstanding part—which led eventually to the establishment of the Constitution embodied in the Act of 1935. The Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon were carrying out their enquiry in India, while the Committee of Enquiry into the position of the Indian Ruling Princes under the Chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler completed their task and issued their Report. And in other directions his influence was brought to bear decisively on problems of first-class importance before the advent to power of the Labour Party in June, 1929, brought his term of office to an end. In the discussions in the Cabinet on the recommendations of the East African Commission under Sir E. Hilton Young, he stoutly upheld the point of view of India where opinion was gravely exercised over the question of the franchise for the Indian population in Kenya; and he was personally responsible for the selection of Mr. Whitley, a former Speaker of the House of Commons, as Chairman of the Royal Commission appointed to investigate conditions of labour in India.

The first Round Table Conference summoned to consider the future Constitution for India after the issue of the Report of the Simon Commission assembled in November, 1930. Peel was no longer in

office, for the Labour Party were once more in power, and Mr. MacDonald had formed his second Ministry in June, 1929. It was, perhaps, fortunate that the Prime Minister was himself familiar with the Indian problem and that he was consequently aware that if success was to be achieved it must be sought not on a party but on a national basis. Hence the invitation which, after an exchange of views between the leaders, was extended to the Conservative and Liberal Parties to take part in the Conference. At Mr. Baldwin's request Lord Peel took charge of the Conservative delegation. Neither did his labours for India end here for though, when the National Government replaced the Labour Government in August, 1931, he did not return to the India Office, he accepted the Chairmanship of the Burma Round Table Conference which sat from November, 1931, until January, 1932. He did so with reluctance and in obedience only to his strong sense of duty for he lacked, as Chairman, the authority which tenure of a post in the Government of the day would have conferred—and did, in fact, confer upon the Chairman of the three Indian Conferences. Nevertheless, the persuasiveness which he knew so well how to blend with firmness, met with reward, for he succeeded in inducing the delegates from Burma to acquiesce in, even if they did not enthusiastically accept, the framework of a Constitution which formed the basis of the proposals put before the Joint Select Committee and eventually enacted. He took upon himself a full share of the labours of the Joint Select Committee and in due course in the discussions in the House of Lords which constituted the final stage in the long and exhaustive process of investigation which went to the framing of the Indian Constitution. And those who shared with him these prodigious and exacting toils always remember with gratitude and admiration the sagacity of mind, the breadth of vision, and the tolerance of the views of others, the invariable courtesy and not least, perhaps, the twinkle of amusement which flitted across his countenance as he extracted what merriment was to be found in material of so little promise, which were so characteristic of him. He had, I think, a full measure of the typically British capacity for compromise, for his influence was always exerted on the side of moderation. While often emphatic in the assertion of his views he was at the same time of a markedly unassuming disposition, and it may well be that only when the dust of controversy has been finally laid, will the full extent of his influence upon the relations between Great Britain and India during these turbulent but formative years be apparent to the historian.

THE NEW "NEW DOMINION"*

By MILDRED CABLE

SINCE last it was my pleasure to address this learned assembly, I have taken another long journey, in the course of which my friends and I have travelled once more through the Province of Chinese Turkestan and over the Desert of Gobi.

Having received permission from the Soviet Government to enter Turkestan from the North, we travelled via Siberia, and leaving the main line at Novo Sibirsk we joined the Turk-Sib line which took us to Ayagus. From there we went by motor-lorry for two days to the frontier town of Baxti, which is barely fifteen miles from the Chinese town of Chuguchak. Our experience on the train was doubtless similar to that of anyone who travels by the "hard" and "soft" express; this journey, however, was unique in our experience in that we were not allowed to exchange any of our English money for roubles and we had to go from one frontier to another penniless and trusting to the goodwill of the people who were our hosts. That goodwill never failed, and though it required faith to start out in this way, our faith proved to be fully justified.

We bought our tickets at the London office of that travel-agency known as Intourist, and finally secured through their Berlin office, for payment in English and German currency, all the needed tickets to convey us to our destination. We also provided ourselves with food coupons for use on the train, but when we arrived at Novo Sibirsk these were all finished and we wondered where the next meal would come from. We were standing on the platform looking round when a young man stepped forward, shook hands, and uttered the one word of introduction—Intourist. He helped us with our luggage, and we all boarded a tram which took us a very long way, and finally landed us in Red Square, which lies in the middle of the great city of Novo

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on October 6, 1937, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

The Chairman said it was not necessary to introduce the lecturer. She and her two companions, Eva and Francesca French, had gained their laurels as great Asiatic travellers; their work had led them again and again over the Gobi routes. They had made some remarkable discoveries; they had had remarkable adventures. The Society was delighted to welcome them home safely.

Sibirsk and which is a considerable distance from the railway station. This town has been one of those quick-growing centres of Siberia and is quite different to the place we formerly knew and now has factories, large shops, hotels, cinemas and concrete blocks of flats. From a small Siberian township it has been transformed into a great city.

Our guide took us to a hotel, the like of which one does not find outside the Soviet Union. There is something very fascinating about the great pots of palms, the extraordinary wall decorations, and the first impression is one of grandeur, but perhaps the next is of desolation. The third, however, is certainly one of vivid interest in all the people who make this place their habitation. It is really worth the journey to go and sit in the hotel and watch one's fellow-guests.

Young Intourist left us in the entrance hall for a very long time, but finally reappeared, indicating by the language which is common to all humanity that he had secured rooms for us. His signs were such that we had no difficulty whatever in knowing what he meant and he made it quite clear that we might not occupy those rooms until we had bathed. So to the bath-house we went, in willing obedience to an order which pleased us so well, but I must confess that we felt very much like casuals in a London workhouse.

After two nights spent in a hotel, for which we paid nothing at all because we had no money, we were taken to the railway station and put on a train for the Turkestan border and I think Intourist gave a sigh of relief as he saw his charges off and felt no further responsibility for them.

We then travelled on through beautiful forests until we came to Ayagus at about 3 a.m., feeling very tired, rather out of things, and very lonely, for we could not speak the language, and our friendly guide had vanished. We stood and gazed at the Morning Star, hoping for some portent of hope in its cheering sparkle.

However, nothing *happens* in the U.S.S.R. Everything is arranged, and no doubt our coming had been signalled. We went into the buffet and indicated that though we were very hungry, yet we had no money. The result was quick and satisfactory, and a good plate of meat, potatoes and eggs was set before us, for which again no payment was required.

When we had eaten, we were put into a scarlet "pick-up," one of the attractive little Ford cars so popular in that part of the world, and taken off a long way, first to a bureau and then on to the house of an official. We wondered where we were going, but with extreme

kindness this official and his wife took us in and entertained us in a most friendly and delightful way until the hour when the lorry started on the next two days' travel. Meanwhile we made friends with them and their children and parted on a warm invitation to come again. Nothing more could have been done in any country to make travellers feel at home and welcome.

At Baxti passports and luggage were examined with great care, but after the authorities were satisfied that we carried no political papers we were allowed to move on further and in a very short time we left Soviet Russia, passed under an archway and were back in Chinese Turkestan once more.

Here the Chinese sentry spied us. We felt at home when we saw the wizened little man whom we know very well come running towards us. "Why," he said, "here you are back again, all three of you. How did you find your home people? I see you have still got the little deaf-and-dumb child. Can she speak yet?" and so on until his superior officer called out for our passports. He then spoke of our luggage, but hearing it had been examined at Baxti, said not another word about customs. That was our first indication that things had changed, for China was formerly very jealous of her right to customs examination on that border. We were soon, however, to realize that the changes were of a far more radical and basic order than we had imagined. As soon as we reached Chuguchak, "the city of seagulls," a town so called because those birds fly there up the Irtish from the Arctic regions, we noticed that the official proclamations were everywhere headed "New New Dominion." At first we thought it was a slip of some scribe's pen, but every poster was the same, so we knew that it must be intentional. "Yes," we were told, "the new New Dominion is rising from the ashes of the past to hold its rightful place in the world." So to the new New Dominion we came.*

The motor-lorry deposited us at the door of the post office, where we expected to find letters from our old friend Mr. Hunter and money transferred by him, but there was neither of these, and the postmaster, who in times past had always received us with the utmost cordiality, made us feel that he neither desired to see us nor have anything to do with us. After some talk he did however promise to advance us some of the money which was lying to our credit in Urumchi, and as we still wondered why an old friend should give us

* The Chinese Province of Turkestan is named Sinkiang—*i.e.*, "New Dominion."

such a cold reception a messenger came, summoning us to the Foreign Office Department, where we were told that a room had been prepared for us and that we were to stop there and nowhere else. The room was comfortable enough, but someone sat with us all day long and doubtless reported everything that took place.

The next surprise was the currency of the new New Dominion. We had only left the province a comparatively short time before, but when we went out to buy bread we were asked exactly the same price for a small loaf as we paid for a horse when we last left the province. The exchange had risen from 3 paper *taels* for one dollar to 1,700 paper *taels* for a dollar. Thus we had very little money and could only buy what was absolutely necessary.

Formerly it would have been much easier to be stranded in Turkestan without a penny than in Russia. Now things were reversed, and while Intourist shepherded us right through Russia without any money, as soon as we got to Turkestan our difficulties began.

We travelled on to Urumchi by motor-lorry, taking only three days to do a three-week cart trek. As we left the town we passed numbers of Qazaq men and women on camels, because camels and motor-cars are now well mixed up. The motor-lorry takes the new motor road which runs side by side with the old rough cart road. Sometimes the motor road breaks away and you may tumble over into the other. Personally I much prefer the back of a camel to the lorry which now takes one across these parts of Asia. At the last moment a family arrived to share it with us, and filled it so that we could scarcely cling to our precarious seats on top of the luggage.

We next came to Duburgin which was formerly a small Mongol market, but is now rapidly becoming a town of such importance in Central Asia that you will surely hear of it in the near future. Here we were again welcomed by people who knew us, and then we went on towards Manas, the great granary of Turkestan.

The motor-lorry was in frequent difficulties, and we spent a good deal of time pulling and pushing, jumping out, towing her out of the water, getting our things wet and then getting them dry again. We found that the whole system of things which we had formerly known was changed, in that one could no longer have that free and easy intercourse which is one of the charms of the East. That delightful way in which, whether you are buying in a shop, transacting official business, or calling for mails at the post office, you do your business

over a cup of tea; the friendliness with which you sit and talk things out, always arriving at some pleasant understanding and invariably parting friends, has gone, and perhaps, alas, for ever.

We now found that whatever one wished to do became the immediate concern of numerous departments, which seemed to exist solely for the purpose of curtailing the liberty of the individual. Every telegram had to be taken first to the censor's office to be passed before it could be put into the post office, and one constantly met the postman taking one's letters off to the censor for inspection, and had to wait sometimes for weeks before they were delivered to the house.

No money could leave the province without permission, a restriction which places merchants in a most difficult position. We ourselves had to secure a permit from one department, via another department, and through yet another secretary, in order to take necessary money for immediate travelling expenses across the border of Kansu. No one can freely buy and sell, for everywhere the control of a mysterious hand is felt. The very walls of one's house seemed to have ears. Our first visit to an old friend who held an official appointment reduced him to a state of fear, and he begged us not to come near him again if we could help it, and not to misjudge his wife if she did not call on us. We were also cautioned not to talk about England. "A man had better not trust his own brother," our adviser said. On the other hand the streets of the town were wonderfully improved, and instead of the mud pits in which beasts could be drowned, we now found good, smooth roads suitable for motor traffic. The shops were full of Russian goods of every description, and we realized there was now no need to outfit for Turkestan as we could get all necessities there.

The education of the young people of the new New Dominion is of a "new new" order indeed. In place of the schools which formerly existed, there are now large numbers of educational centres in the hands of men and women who have been trained across the Russian border, and Russian, not English, is now the foreign language taught in the schools. A cursory study of the textbooks leaves one in no doubt of the kind of teaching which is thought desirable, and it is certain that no little Imperialist is likely to be produced by the educational system of the new New Dominion. During the time we spent there, five hundred girls left to receive education in Tashkent. In many cases they were the daughters of Moslems, and had it not been for the newness of the New Dominion they would have been

living a secluded and veiled life in the harem. One of the most effective methods of propaganda is by means of the public wireless, which is relayed from loudspeakers in the street, especially on holidays, when music of a popular type is interspersed with talks on political matters. It is most interesting to see a group of Mongol herdsmen, Chinese merchants, Qazaqs riding bullocks, and high-booted Moslems standing round the gateway where this free entertainment is provided. Abyssinia was a subject of very great interest, and we were repeatedly asked what was our personal attitude towards the Abyssinian question, quite apart from the action taken by our Government.

The ban on native newspapers from outside the province still continued and the population was dependent for information on the local daily news-sheet, which was carefully prepared for the benefit of the citizens. I was allowed to visit the office of this paper, and found the editor and his staff busy with the paragraphs which had just come down from the censor's office for insertion in next day's paper. True news, however, is still circulated through the Eastern underground service, which depends on verbal reports of merchants and camel-drivers, for the minute scrutiny to which all Asian travellers are subjected absolutely precludes the possibility of carrying written information.

It would take too long to tell you the amazing happenings in regard to our own matters of travel permits. Suffice it to say that when our carts were packed and ready and our food bought, we were asked to delay departure for six hours, on pretext of some technicality, and the delay extended to six months before we were allowed to get away. We learn to be patient in the East.

The New Year festivities at Urumchi were the opportunity for a tremendous anti-Imperialist demonstration. I listened spellbound to a little boy, who had to be helped on to the platform to speak, as he poured out the vials of his wrath on the Imperialist land-grabber and the cruelties perpetrated by him on innocent native populations.

What has brought about this amazing change in one of the most conservative places in the world, a part of the earth so isolated and so exclusive that the caravan stages were the same three years ago as in the days of Marco Polo and for centuries before him? The answer will always be associated with the name of Ma Chung-ying, a young warrior, who bids fair to become one of those Central Asian figures around whose person strange legends are woven. This youth left

his father's house when he was a mere boy, gathered an army around him and, marching at its head, swept victoriously over North-West Kansu. About five years ago he went to Kanchow, determined to take over that area. We were there at the time, and even then men trembled as they spoke his name, for he is supposed to be possessed at times by the spirit of an avenging soldier whom his father betrayed, and therefore is regarded by his men as a mascot. His cousin Ma Pu-fang joined him in Kanchow, but we were all startled one morning to hear that a violent quarrel had taken place between the cousins, and that Pu-fang had marched off, taking with him a large body of men which afterwards became his own army.

At this time Ma Chung-ying was joined by two men who have had more to do with the fate of Turkestan than is generally realized. They were two Turks from Stamboul who had been through the European war, and had placed all their knowledge and influence at the disposal of the young brigand general. One of them spoke fluent French and was a graduate of the Sorbonne. We had long talks with these men, and we learnt that the reason for their association with Ma Chung-ying was a personal desire for revenge on the former ruler of Sinkiang, Governor Chin, who had seized these men when they were in Turkestan on business and had put them in prison. Chin's perpetual condition of abject fear led him to such foolish and wild actions, and his unreasonable treatment of these Turks made them vow vengeance. Their opportunity came in the Tungan rebellion when Ma Chung-ying at their instigation marched twice on Turkestan and the second time reached the very gates of Urumchi. The distraught Chin turned to Russia for help, which he received. The rebels were defeated, but conditions were imposed from which Sinkiang cannot get free.

The whole story of that rebellion is now sufficiently a matter of history to be told. When I last had the honour of addressing you, I knew the facts but did not feel free to tell them. It cost them all dear. Governor Chin went to prison, one of the Turks was killed, the other was kept under control, and Ma Chung-ying himself is variously reported to be in Moscow, or in England, or to be holding a post of very great responsibility in Peiping. It will not surprise some of us to find him occupying an important position in the not too distant future. His soldiers fell back on Khotan and have never been driven out of that oasis. They speak with great hope of the glories and honour of the future.

It was good to be free of all political wrangles and on the open road once more. We determined to travel by cart, because while the motor-lorry is much quicker, it effectually prevents all intercourse with one's fellow men. Three miles an hour is the pace for contact-making in the desert, and we had as our escort an old servant who has done so well for us both as cook and in making travel easy that we have knighted him and he is known as "Sir Thomas Cook."

We came over the Pass of Tapan in bitter cold, snow and frost, then dropped on to the fertile plain of Turfan, where the grape vines were in leaf, the wheat was sprouting, and the temperature so warm that we were glad to throw off all our winter clothes.

The day after our arrival, the streets of Turfan were decorated for a celebration of the establishment of the "new New Dominion." We attended the sports and watched the processions as they marched through the gay, beflagged streets where microphones blared forth popular melodies.

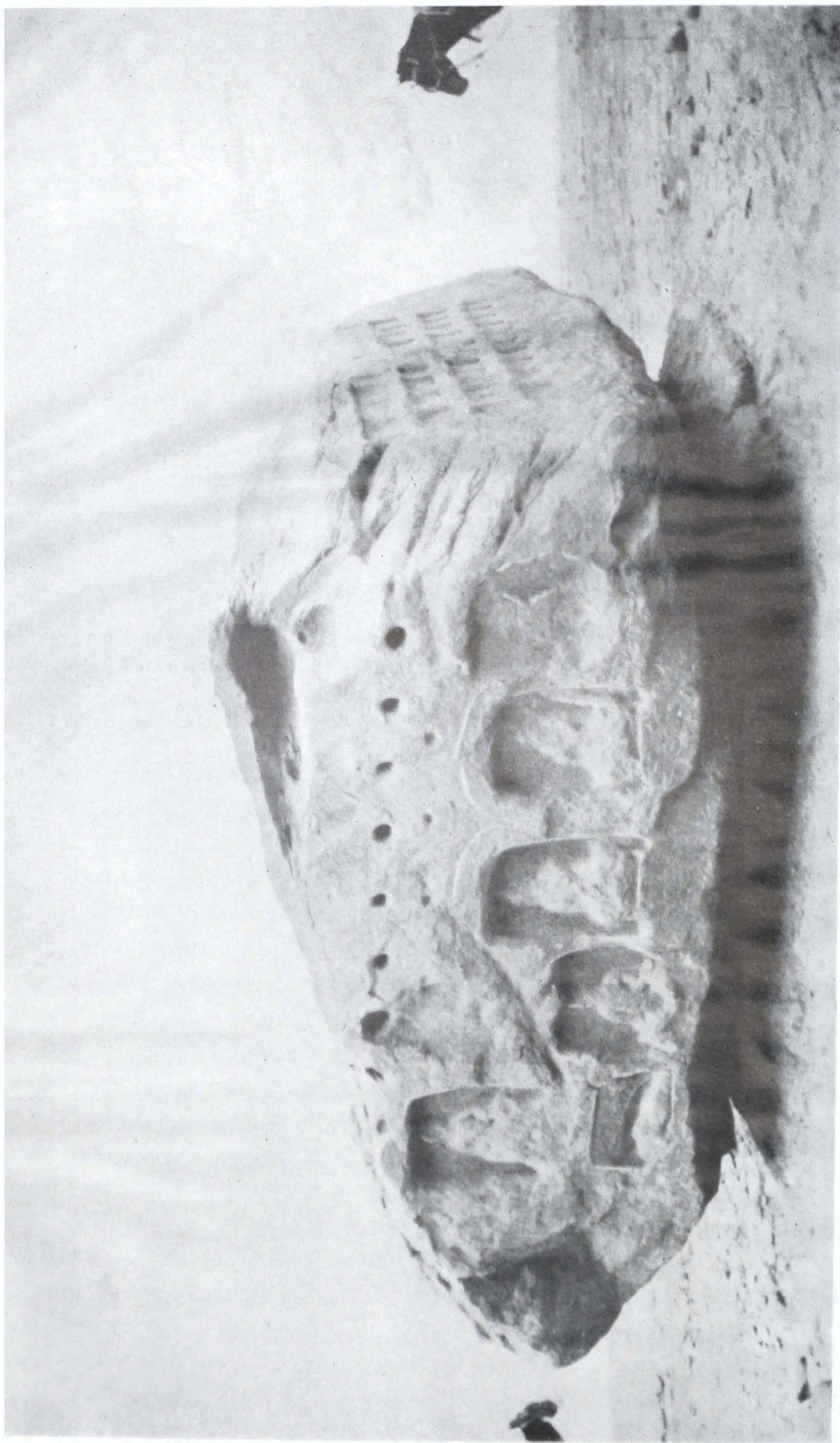
In past years we had often rubbed our eyes, to make sure that we were not dreaming an Arabian Night's dream, as we wandered about in the palaces of the Khans, sat with the princesses, and sauntered in the gardens. But now it was much more amazing to see such girls as we had met in those palaces walking through the streets not only veilles but marching like girl guides to take their part on the sports ground.

Things have moved so quickly that older men and women are stunned and startled, especially when faced with such incidents as that of one young child who, having been punished by his parents, gave them a lecture on the folly of the proceeding. "What have you gained," he said, "by inflicting pain on me? Why not learn to live in good comradeship with one another?"

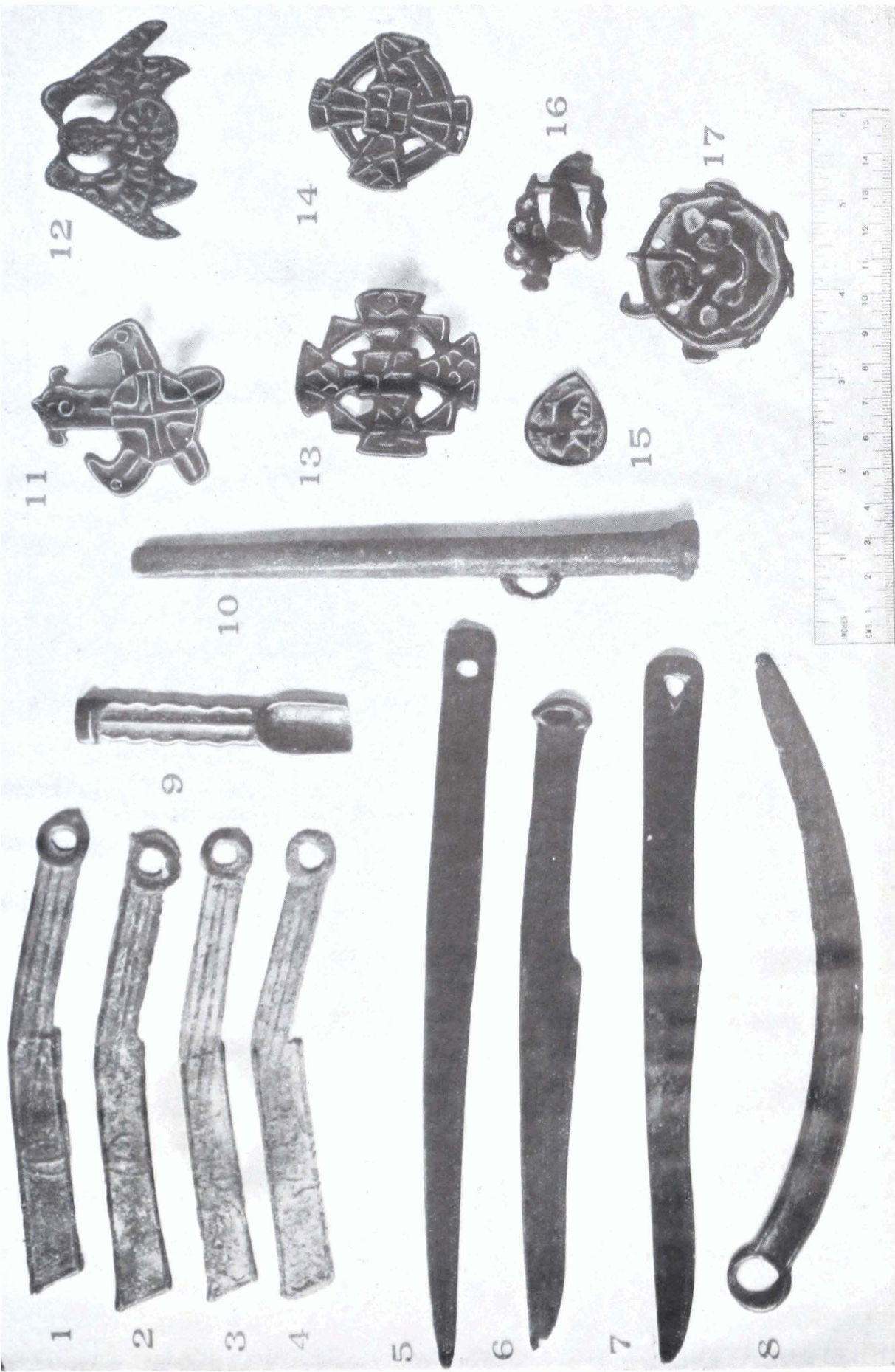
From Turfan we turned north and cut right through the Flame Mountains past Su-bash (Head of the Waters), where a number of springs bubble up and flow in various directions. The villagers were very friendly to us, and warned us where to stay and where not to stay, for the area was not without its more dangerous places.

On the road we saw a stone, a photograph of which I have, carved with the same kind of figure which is found at Sirq and on the Dakianus monuments. The figures were extremely well cut, and the stone is lying in the middle of a broad road between Lamaching and Sirq, but I failed to trace any record of it in any book I have seen on Central Asian travel.

Ten miles further on was the tower of Sirq, which is most



ON THE ROAD BETWEEN LAMACHING AND SIRQ.



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impressive and in splendid repair. Nothing has suffered so little from recent warfare as the old earthworks. They stand unbattered by the passage of arms or the march of time. Again we crossed the Turfan plain, where the traveller is encircled by so many historic monuments. In one direction the Fort of Yakub Beg, built at the time of his great rebellion, in another the Lukcheng Mosque, which is supposed to represent two great palm trees standing side by side. A little further off the Monastery and remains of the Manichæan Library of Tuyok, and the Tombs of the Seven Sleepers, where they still slumber until the world is good enough for them to rise and come out.

In the Gorge of the Salt Lakes we found a Russian chauffeur and a broken-down motor-lorry. He had been sitting there for days hoping that someone would come along with food, of which he had very little. We were able to share supplies and carry on a message to the nearest place from which help might come. As motors take a different route from caravans, if anything happens they are in great danger.

Entering Hami we passed the tomb of the Khans, very much defaced but still standing. Our old friend Yolbaz is now governor of Hami, and the women of his extensive household took us round the old palace and what used to be the beautiful grounds belonging to the Khan. The lotus pools are dry; the white peacocks are no more; the wonderful library is burnt; and most of those whom we knew and loved have left or been killed. It was a sad time.

Leaving Hami we passed very near to the beautiful summer palace where we had spent a hot season, thanks to the kindness shown us by the last of the Khans, who, when he saw we were tired, sent us there to spend the hot weather. We used to roam about his wonderful gardens; now they are all burnt up and the Khan dead.

Going across the desert the little oases were much the same as before, only in the old days there was always a shelter and kind people there, glad to see you and make you welcome, whereas now too often the inn is empty and everyone has fled.

On the desert track we met many Lamas of a new type, not the pilgrim who is out seeking for something, seeking to find release to his spirit, but Lamas who certainly do not impress one as having a great spiritual desire and who go up and down from place to place carrying a message which is not one of peace. We also saw that which makes one's heart stand still—scores of little girls who had been bought in Kansu for about a dollar apiece and carried off to Turkestan.

When we took a straight cut across the desert and left all the

soldiers' outposts behind, we were back in caravan life once more, when you walk down to the camping ground and go into the tent, where everything is just as it used to be and the same rigid etiquette holds. No stranger may stand in the doorway or go near the cooking pot. Directly you enter the tent you must be seated. It is easy to see the reason for these taboos as anyone standing in a tent could dominate the whole company. The caravan camels this time were carrying heavy goods packed in small boxes and travelling in various directions.

At the actual Kansu-Turkestan border we, as is our custom, gave thanks for a safe journey, and our carter, as was *his* custom, took some oil and poured it over the top of the stone pillar, as a thank-offering to his gods.

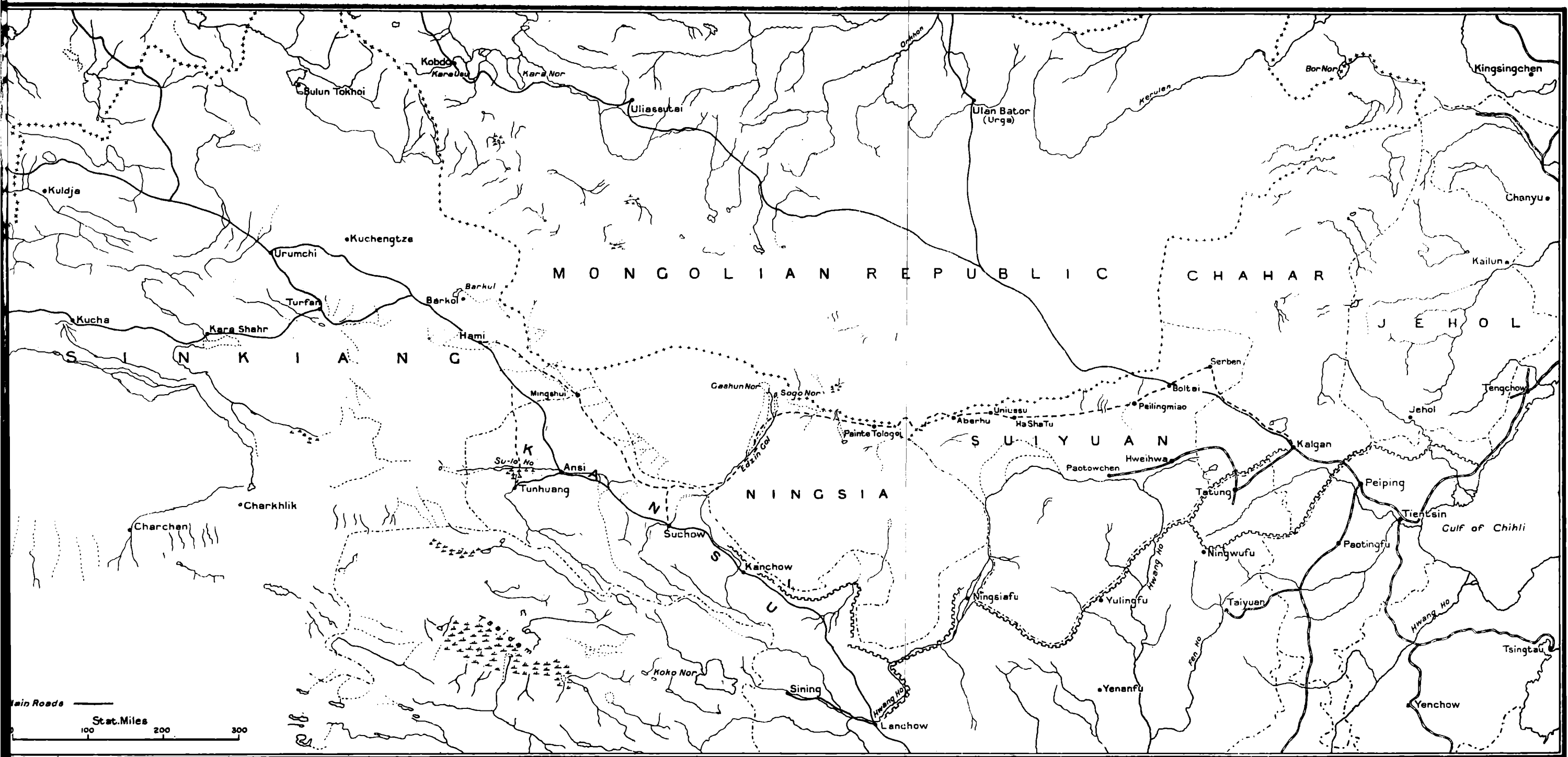
As we went further, we got lost in a jungle of tamarisk and it took us the best part of a day to get out of it. Then in the distance we saw the familiar sandhills and knew that we were coming near to the City of Sands. The farmsteads here were in much better condition than they were nearer Hami. We went in and saw our old friend the priest at the Lake of the Crescent Moon. He sat and shook his head, saying: "Do you remember when you were here about seven years ago how we noticed there were three bows over the sun. I told you then that those three bows indicated coming trouble. Well, you see, the trouble came," and he shook his head as he thought of times past and those into which we have entered.

We also revisited the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas.

Inside, the frescoes are much as they were, but a very significant thing was said to me by the priest of the Thousand Buddhas' Temple. They have put a large number of poplar trees in front of the caves, which completely hide the view. I remarked on it. "Yes," he said, "and a very good thing. Trees are living; idols are dead."

As we travelled on we repassed the stone which bears the inscription, "The road to the great North-West," and came once more to Kia-yü-kwan and the portal of the Great Wall. Below us lay the Suchow plain and to give the last touch of feeling absolutely at home our old mule cart sank into a mud pit, which is its proper and normal condition.

Thus we came back to Suchow, where changes again were many: some for the good and some for the bad. The streets were greatly improved and outside the town was an attempt at good roads suitable for motor traffic. We had not been there long when the Communist



Main Roads ———
Stat. Miles
0 100 200 300

menace flared up, the city gates were closed and no one might go out or come in. After we had been able to carry on our missionary work for a time, a telegram came ordering foreigners to leave the place immediately as Communists were marching on Suchow from the North. We were obliged to obey orders and came down to Lanchow, whence our only means of exit, owing to robber bands, was by air, so we entered a Eurasia aeroplane and did a twenty-three-day mule-cart journey in two hours and ten minutes. It was a glorious feeling to suddenly find that one had left the earth and was flying "all over God's heaven," but when I saw the old cart road lying below, I confess that I wished I could be down on it.

A few weeks later we were at the other end of the Great Wall near Kalgan. Here we were just in time to see the Russian Valley, which has now become a battlefield.

As we travelled from place to place, we were able to collect a few objects of interest, and these we have brought here with us to-night, that any present, to whom they might be of interest, may have the opportunity of examining them. (See illustrations.)

Truly we have visited a new New Dominion and old Turkestan has gone for ever. It may never again be possible to do the slow cart journeys, for if the water stages are closed by disuse there is no possibility of travel except by air, by motor, or by camel. However, there are but few who would choose the slow weary way that for some of us offers such compensations for the fatigue. No one travelling by motor can ever know all the intimate detail of desert life and be even aware that the little desert lizard is changing its coat with every variation of the Gobi sand, nor care to seek the sheltered hollows where the scarce and salty edible plants grow. I am glad I knew it thus and that rapid travel has not belonged to my time.

As the new New Dominion rises to take its place in the nations of the world there are a few of us who have great cause for rejoicing that at the time when we might, we went through that land, scattering the knowledge of God and giving the message which is the only thing that gives the wisdom which can exalt a nation. (Applause.)

MR. PETER FLEMING: I do not think a tourist should make any comments on the remarks of a traveller, but I would like to say that I think Miss Cable's address was quite the best and most brilliant I have ever heard on Central Asia. There are only one or two minor questions that suggest themselves.

She spoke of caravans coming from, I think, China to Turkestan, carrying some form of undesirable goods, and I wondered whether those were coming in large quantities.

I should also like to have known or had it indicated what the native population in, for instance, Urumchi thought of the Russian personnel who are, I believe, employed in certain minor capacities.

MISS CABLE: With regard to the first question I am afraid you received a wrong impression about the camel caravans. I said, "Coming in various directions."

Secondly, I think it would be difficult to give an impression of what is generally felt by the Chinese in a town like Urumchi in regard to those who control things there. They certainly must admire the ability of those who are able to train them in matters of flying and things of a similar nature. They could not fail to admire the capacity of those who were there as instructors. Perhaps it would interest Mr. Fleming to know that I crossed his path at one place. I was sitting in an inn one evening and a man came in and told me he had been travelling with some of my compatriots, concerning whom he told me long and interesting stories. Afterwards I asked who they were, and he produced a card which bore the name Peter Fleming.

A MEMBER: Could Miss Cable tell us the reason why in the last six years so many of the towns have been emptied? Is it because the people have become Communists or that they have killed each other?

MISS CABLE: First of all there was the attack of Moslem rebels upon the various oases. They slaughtered the people as they went. Then Government troops from Urumchi came back and there were reprisals. Then another attack, and more reprisals, and so it went on, perpetual fighting and then reprisals. Afterwards, of course, many of the people fled to the hills, then escaped into China proper; but no one felt safe living in isolated oases after such general massacre.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we are all deeply indebted to Miss Cable. It is sad to think of all these beautiful towns like Turfan, which have enjoyed so great a past, as a mass of ruins. Little was left of them for the great explorers like Von le Coq and Grünwedel to see, but now at the hand of soldiers they have been levelled with the ground.

In the seventh and eighth centuries Turfan was the centre of a high civilization, in which Manichæism, Zoroastrianism, and Christianity were practised. The state religion was Manichæism, which was a kind of blend of the other two religions; but absolute

toleration reigned, and temples and churches were to be found almost side by side.

Tun-huang, I gather, has not been molested as far as the frescoes are concerned. As you know, the caves of the Thousand Buddhas yielded up treasures of art and literature which have taught us more of Central Asia in the Middle Ages than any of the sites explored.

By these remarks I am not trying to divert your attention from what Miss Cable has told us but in order to emphasize the great interest that attaches to the places she has shown us on the screen in the course of her most delightful and brilliant lecture. I would now ask you to give her a very hearty vote of thanks.

(A note on the bronzes will be found on p. 22.)

A NOTE ON NORTH-EAST CENTRAL ASIAN BRONZES

in the possession of Miss French and Miss Cable (see p. 17).

Nos. 5, 6 and 7 were collected among the nomads by Mr. Larssen ("the Duke of Mongolia") and given to their present owners. Nos. 1-4 were purchased at a scrap metal stall on the borders of Mongolia, and the remainder were purchased from a scrap metal stall at Tatung.

Although neither the comparative nor metallurgical study of these objects is yet completed, analysis by Dr. Desch's Department at the National Physical Laboratory supports the view that Nos. 11-14 constitute a class apart. The high proportion of lead (24.5) and the lack of artistic skill suggest manufacture by Mongol tribesmen. There are insufficient data available at present to identify the source of the copper and tin. The remains of the red filling in No. 14 "proved to be mercury sulphide (native cinnabar), possibly used with wax or some other binding material to give an enamel-like effect." This may conceivably have served as a matrix for turquoises, much favoured by Mongols as well as Tibetans. The degenerate designs are old cult-symbols. The pair of confronted birds (the mystic male-female *Hang-sah*) has been variously rendered as crested pheasant-tailed geese pecking the fruit of the vine (stone capital, perhaps from a twelfth-century Siva temple, near Srinagar, Plate XLVII., Kak's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*); as parrot or hawk-like "supporters" of a central anthropoid figure suggestive of a Gnostic symbol (metal ornament, illustrated in ESA., X., p. 233, Fig. 25, after Appellgren, who calls it the Perm motive and appears to relate it to figurations of a seated Indian goddess flanked by confronted elephants, and which is presumably Iron Age, from the neighbourhood of Perm); as highly stylized parrots or hawks (Jutish gilt-bronze plaque from an Anglo-Saxon grave near Canterbury, about A.D. 600, in the Iron-age Gallery, British Museum, Case D 3); and even as geese, apparently inhaling the fragrance of a central stylized tree, on the model of a chair, from Ur (British Museum, Babylonian Room, Wall Case No. 24). Hawks, geese, doves, swans, cranes and ducks are all representative of the implementing, mandatory or missive aspect of the creating power, in virtue of the impressive quality of their flight, either in beauty or fleetness, or in its function as the harbinger of spring. In the course of ages the confronted pair became a conventional sign for the ever-renascent and evolving, dual-phased vital principle of the universe, just as the idea of the untiring motion of the unique chariot-wheel of the Sun, vitalizing principle of light and heat, was conveyed by the shorthand sign of the swastika (present on Nos. 11-14).

The interest of these ornaments lies in their witness to the persistence of these old cult-signs of an evolved civilization among the northern nomads, if only as talismans. They very likely testify to Gnostic influences.

Nos. 1-4 are flat, cast simulacra, evidently currency to be strung on a cord for carrying. They all weigh 1 ounce. They have not yet been

analysed, nor have I traced their original provenance. This is of importance, as it must bear witness to ancient commerce.

Nos. 15 and 16 (not yet analysed) are the work of skilled designers and metallurgists and can be classed as Late Minussinsk.

Nos. 5-7 are old Mongolian hunting and general purposes knives, of a familiar type, of which some ancient examples from the Minussinsk region, cast, with beautifully ornamented handles, were published (for the first time) in Plate XXXIX., Borovka's *Scythian Art*, from the Hermitage and Radloff collections. He attributes them to "the classical Bronze Age." The type of blade, with its heavy curved back, has a long history in Asia Minor, but always with a tang to insert in a handle, whereas the typical ring-hilted knife in which the blade is cast in one piece with the handle, which was bound with cord (with or without wooden slats) to furnish a hand-grip, is peculiar to North and Central Asia and the Far East, and is evidently designed for a rider and nomad, who must take precautions not to lose his implement. The same technique is characteristic of No. 8, in which the proportion of tin resembles that in No. 11, although the copper content is much higher and there is very little lead. Here the grooved handle and the sickle-like blade suggest the modern camel-driver's blood-letting knife (*i.e.*, a veterinary instrument).

No. 10 is a chisel, with only 0.6 of lead, but 2.5 of iron and a tin and copper proportion analogous to that in the knives, suggesting, perhaps, a contemporaneous technique but a different provenance for the metal. It has been cast in two halves and the attachment ring has worn through.

No. 9 (not yet analysed) has been worn away at the bowl end, evidently by stirring and grinding on the hard concave bottom of a bowl. It suggests a druggist's measuring and mixing spoon.

No. 17 (not yet analysed) has a greenish patina, and the flat back has been scratched as though by long chafing against a gritty surface (? harness leather and sand). The squatting demon, with the horns of his mask continued as part of the (broken) suspension loop, irresistibly suggests the Yin-Chou period and a Chinese artist. Is this Kali-like and Gorgonesque figure (reminder of the inevitableness of death and of the breaking down of matter and form into the common fund of the reservoir of re-creation, and hence the symbol of resurgent life), the true ancestor of the so-called *t'ao-t'ie* (which Karlgren suggests is perhaps the head of a dragon—"the symbol of fecundity")?

V. C. C. COLLUM.

THE CONFLICT IN CHINA*

By ROGER H. HOLLIS

The CHAIRMAN: It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Roger Hollis, who is going to talk to us about the present conflict in China. He is peculiarly well qualified to do so, as he returned from the Far East last year after spending a number of years travelling all over the interior of China and working in the big cities, including for some time Nanking, where he had opportunities of observing at close quarters the leading personalities and events during the period when, in my opinion, the immediate seeds of the present conflict were sown.

BEFORE taking my plunge into the situation in China, it may be as well to present my credentials—very slender ones, I am afraid, for addressing so distinguished a gathering. I have lived for nine years in China, first as a journalist in the south, and later I travelled fairly extensively through Central and North China on business, and have been resident at one time or another in most of the important cities of this part. I make no pretence to having the inner knowledge of a diplomat, or close personal acquaintance with Chinese leaders and officials. Consequently I shall not attempt to make any *ex cathedra* pronouncements upon the policy and secret aims of either side, though I shall in all humility advance my own suggestions of these aims, based on my reading of a situation which I have studied closely.

I do not propose to go back to the conquest of Manchuria, and the establishment of the East Hopei Autonomous Area and the Hopei-Chahar Political Council under General Sung Che Yuan. But it is necessary to look at some of the more immediate antecedents of the present outbreak.

During the last two years or so there has been an increased feeling of confidence among Chinese bankers and industrialists, due in part at least to greater stability as a result of the Government's monetary policy. During this same time the Government has increased its control over the provincial authorities, and has reached some sort of working agreement with the Red armies which have been such a thorn in its side.

The confidence engendered by this had inspired a firmer attitude towards Japan, with successful results. Manchurian troops, backed

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on October 20, 1937, Mr. J. S. Scott in the Chair.

and to some extent officered by Japanese, had invaded Suiyuan Province and had been defeated by the Chinese. The Nanking Government had got into closer touch with the Hopei-Chahar Political Council, and with General Sung Che Yuan playing the rôle of Cunctator with great skill, a number of Japanese demands had been shelved, and proposals for Sino-Japanese economic co-operation had been firmly set aside. Briefly, China believed that she had called Japan's bluff.

Internal dissension among the political and military leaders in Japan made it highly unlikely that she would wish to enter into further commitments on the mainland. The army's North China policy had been found expensive and lacking in practical results, and was discredited.

But while the responsible people both in Nanking and Tokyo were firmly of opinion that peace would best suit them, the men on the spot felt differently. The Chinese troops and junior officers, fired with a ready enthusiasm, believed that the time had come to drive the Japanese into the sea. The Japanese army, sullen with the ill-success of its North China plans, and impatient of the controlling hand of the diplomats at home, was prepared to take the bit between its teeth.

Such was the position when the Japanese manœuvres started near Liukouchiao at the beginning of July this year. I have seen Japanese manœuvres in North China, and I can easily believe that they were carried out with a degree of *ὕβρις* calculated to inflame the hatred of any Chinese sentry. Discipline is fairly lax in the Chinese army, and the sentry opened fire. There is no need to look for deep-laid schemes behind this. The incident—a very minor one—occurred quite spontaneously.

There was every indication that the settlement would be effected without friction. General Chiang Kai Shek stated on July 19 that his conditions were that there should be no infringement of China's territorial integrity or sovereign rights, nor the removal of officials through outside pressure. General Chiang felt himself strong enough not to be browbeaten, and the Tokyo authorities showed no desire to precipitate a crisis. On July 24 the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times* could report "The situation in North China is now entirely clear."

It is true that Chinese opinion was considerably inflamed, and that there was a popular demand for military action against the Japanese. The more optimistic believed that North China could be cleared of

them, while the less sanguine felt that the granting of Japanese demands would only encourage them to ask for more, and that this was the best time to put a stop to it, whatever the risk. Nevertheless, left to himself General Chiang could have controlled national opinion, and prevented any major display of anti-Japanese feeling.

I do not propose to go into details of the sporadic fighting of the next few days. From a national, as opposed to a local, point of view, the next important move occurred on July 29, when General Sung Che Yuan retired to Paotingfu, leaving General Chang Tzu Chung in charge of Peking. On the same day General Chiang Kai Shek issued another clear warning to the Japanese, saying that peace negotiations were impossible and the traditional Japanese tactics to confront Nanking with a *fait accompli* were useless unless the Japanese Government recognized his minimum conditions. From now on local settlements would not be considered, as relations with Japan had now become a national affair.

By August 2, however, a new Peking Government had been set up with Japanese advisers, and three days later the headquarters of the East Hopei Government had been moved from Tungchow to Peking.

The Japanese had thus deliberately ignored General Chiang's minimum conditions.

This is a very significant point in the history of the conflict, and it seems to me to prove that the Japanese had decided in favour of war. There can have been no essential reason for so immediate and provocative an act, which was tantamount to daring the Chinese Government to come on and fight.

Meanwhile there was also considerable tension further south. In Shanghai a Japanese bluejacket disappeared, and the Japanese alleged that he had been abducted by the Chinese. The inhabitants of Chapei, scenting trouble, began to trek into the International Settlement, as they did in 1932. The Shanghai Chinese is far more excitable than the phlegmatic northerner, but there were in fact very few provocative incidents, in spite of the fact that national feeling was running high.

Let me briefly outline what seem to me significant points in the next few days.

On July 30 it was reported that none of the crack Nanking divisions or air squadrons had moved northwards, and to the best of my knowledge there was no indication of an intention to send them to the northern front during the next few days. This is open to various interpretations, but it is fair to say that the Government forces, as

opposed to the 29th Army, avoided all provocative action in the north.

On August 3 a Japanese aircraft-carrier was reported off the estuary of the Yangtze River. If Nanking troops had been moving north, which they were not, it might have been argued that air attack on them at entraining points was defensive action. As things were, however, the aircraft-carrier was definitely an offensive weapon, as planes would have been of little use for the protection of Japanese communities up the river.

On the same day a schedule fixing dates for the evacuation of Japanese civilians from points on the Yangtze and elsewhere was published in the Japanese press.

On August 6 a Tokyo message stated that anti-Japanese activities along the Yangtze River had been intensified. "As a result," it continued, "Japanese residents at Hankow since August 3 have been refused food supplies by the Chinese. The Japanese Concession in that city has been surrounded by about a division and a half of Chinese troops, and the situation is extremely grave. One thousand Japanese civilians, including men, are being evacuated."

Two days later, on August 8, another Tokyo message stated that all Japanese residents had been evacuated from Hankow, and Japanese marines and gunboats had been withdrawn.

This total withdrawal of all armed forces from the Japanese Concession at Hankow seems to me another significant fact.

The evacuation in times of stress of Japanese trading communities from points up country is a precautionary measure which has been taken several times in the past. But the Hankow Concession is more than a trading post. The position as regards concessions is somewhat anomalous, but during the period of tenure they are to all intents colonial possessions, in which the occupying Power has full rights of administration, police and defence. Without striking a single blow for their property, the Japanese yielded up to the Chinese their Hankow Concession, with its administrative offices, police headquarters, and barracks. I am unable to trace any precedent for such an evacuation of a concession by the Japanese.

During the Shanghai fighting of 1932 and the Manchurian crisis it was not thought necessary to evacuate the concession. At the beginning of August the Yangtze is at its highest, and ocean-going cruisers of 10,000 tons can and do regularly visit Hankow. Japan therefore could have sent a force sufficient to ensure the safety of her property in any ordinary emergency. Under such circumstances the

withdrawal seems to prove that Japan was already determined on a major war in some part of China, and did not wish to face the embarrassment of having to maintain isolated posts of no military value miles behind the fighting lines.

On August 9 a report from Shanghai stated that "At about six o'clock this evening a party of Japanese in a motor-car tried to enter the Hungjao aerodrome on the outskirts of Shanghai. They were challenged by the Chinese but refused to halt, and it is alleged that a Japanese officer drew his pistol. A Chinese sentry fired, killing the Japanese officer and mortally wounding another Japanese. One Chinese was also killed in the scuffle."

There seems little reason to doubt the general truth of the report. The Japanese have maintained that the officer did not open fire, that the dead Chinese was killed by machine-gun bullets and planted there for effect. But these are small matters. Knowing the acute state of tension which existed, what man in his senses would visit an important aerodrome and flout an armed sentry? If the Japanese had official business there, surely the natural thing would have been to get an official pass, or take a Chinese officer to sponsor them. If they had no official business there—and the Hungjao aerodrome is miles from the Japanese area—they should have kept away under the circumstances. The Japanese neglected these elementary precautions, and were deliberately provocative. They were asking for trouble, and it seems to me that the Chinese sentries would have failed in their duty if they had not given it to them.

The incident was thus an even less important one in itself than that at Liukouchiao in the north. A settlement could undoubtedly have been arranged if the Japanese had adopted a reasonable attitude. Instead of that, and without even waiting for an enquiry, fifteen vessels of the Japanese Third Fleet appeared in the Whangpoo River with decks cleared for action, and landed a force of 4,000 marines in the International Settlement, bringing their land forces in Shanghai to about 9,000. The Japanese admiral, alleging a breach of the 1932 Agreement, demanded the withdrawal of the Peace Preservation Corps and all other military effectives to a distance of not less than thirty miles from Shanghai, and the dismantling of all defences. The Chinese reply was to move up the 88th Division and take up a defensive position.

There has been considerable discussion on the origins of the Shanghai conflict, owing to belated attempts by the Japanese to present

their side of the case. I think it is worth our while to make a further examination of this question.

Military arguments seem to me to prove that it was overwhelmingly to Japan's disadvantage to fight at Shanghai. Large scale operations here were bound to tie up numbers of troops which were urgently needed in the northern campaign. For the Chinese, on the other hand, major fighting in Shanghai was an advantage, once it was obvious that a major war in China was inevitable. Not only did it split the Japanese effort, but it allowed General Chiang Kai Shek to use his picked troops against a limited Japanese force near his own base, and in country so cut up by creeks and canals that the Japanese superiority in mechanized units was of little advantage. Added to this—and it is very important in the case of the Chinese—the 19th Army had put up a very gallant resistance on this ground in 1932. The memory of this would have an excellent effect on the morale of the troops.

Fighting in the Shanghai area was bound to bring the war before the eyes of the world in a way that no amount of battles in the north would do, and ensuing foreign complications were almost certain to embarrass Japan more than China. The presence of extensive foreign interests would either limit the wholesale nature of the Japanese attack or would involve her with other Powers. The presence of foreign observers would probably prevent the use of such refinements of warfare as gas. I mean this quite impartially: the Chinese have no more humanitarian instincts than the Japanese in warfare, but the Japanese have the equipment, and the Chinese have not. It would obviously be to the Chinese advantage to limit weapons to swords and spears if that were possible. It is important to realize that the Chinese leaders know that they cannot at present gain a final military victory over the Japanese. Their policy is to delay them until the Powers intervene, or until Japan finds the strain of the war so great that she becomes exhausted. Japan on the other hand can only gain anything from the Shanghai war if she is able to shatter the Chinese forces so comprehensively that they cease to exist. The Chinese forces facing her at Shanghai are the only ones which can compare with her own in training and equipment, and the annihilation of China's only modern army would remove the most serious potential threat to Japan's military security on the mainland. But the prospects of such a rapid and wholesale victory were remote at the outset, and I do not believe that Japan intended to make the attempt.

Let us assume, then, that China wanted to fight in Shanghai, and Japan did not. It was still necessary to find a *casus belli*. China is far too astute to alienate the world's goodwill by appearing as the aggressor. Japan with almost unbelievable obtuseness played into her hands. The situation at Shanghai on August 9 was not hopeless. The only Chinese troops in the Shanghai area were the Peace Preservation Corps, which is a comparatively ineffective body in a military sense. If the Japanese had appealed immediately to the international Joint Committee which supervised the working of the 1932 Agreement the whole situation would have been immobilized. Instead of this the Japanese admiral made a definitely hostile naval demonstration, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all military effectives from the Shanghai area. Could the Chinese reasonably be expected to acquiesce in face of this threat? They seized the opportunity to move up their regular troops, and when the Japanese did make a belated appeal to the Joint Committee, the Chinese were able to point out quite correctly that the Japanese had already violated the Agreement by stationing troops in the prohibited area and by their naval preparations.

Japan had forced a major war upon China, and I cannot see that China was in any way compelled to confine the fighting to ground of Japan's choosing. She was fully entitled to reap the advantage of her superior man-power by extending the war to as many fronts as she wished.

There is one other point. The Japanese Foreign Office spokesman has spoken of "a well-considered Chinese plan to attack and annihilate the Japanese in the Settlement, numbering 30,000. Their strategy," he continued, "was to overrun the Settlement before reinforcements arrived and force us, and, if possible, all other 'foreign devils,' out of Shanghai." The last part of this statement can be dismissed as a clumsy attempt to rank other nations with Japan as objects of China's anti-foreign feeling. For the rest, China would have gained nothing by the wholesale massacre of Japanese civilians, and would have set the world against her, as she would by an invasion of the International Settlement. Is it conceivable that she could have planned such an action at a time when she was so dependent upon the goodwill of the world?

The fighting in the north was caused by the Liukouchiao incident, and this was an accident. But though I do not believe that the Japanese had planned any aggressive action for that particular time, they were

certainly not caught unprepared. Eighteen months ago the Japanese scheme of an autonomy movement in the five northern provinces was the common talk of China. This was shelved at the time, but there is no question that it was fully worked out, and it seems likely that it is now being put into effect in some form.

But Japanese interests in North China are twofold—military and commercial—and it is necessary to examine them separately. We will take the military objectives first, as they are fairly simple and have already been largely attained.

One of the main guides to all Japanese military policy in the north is fear of Russia. It has been with her for over forty years, and is likely to remain unless it is settled by war. Ever since the seizure of Manchuria, Japan has been strengthening her defences along the Soviet border. From Korea round to Chahar these defences are highly organized and equipped with wireless stations, landing grounds and adequate garrisons. West of this they have established a series of military missions and depots running along the Russian border as far as Chinese Turkistan, but these are of course more listening posts than defensive establishments. Behind these posts, serving the passes which run up to the high Inner Mongolian plateau, is the Peking-Suiyuan Railway. From a military viewpoint the provinces of Chahar, Suiyuan, and Northern Shansi with the Peking-Suiyuan Railway and the remaining part of the Peking-Mukden line south of the Great Wall—all this is of vital importance to the Japanese scheme of defence. The Liukouchiao incident gave them the opportunity, and they have appropriated, or are about to appropriate, all this. Incidentally, they have also obtained valuable coal mines near Tatung and much of the best sheep-grazing in China, but important though these are I think they were incidental to the military need.

With the capture of Chahar and Suiyuan and the Peking railway junction at Fengtai the military have practically all they want for their northern defences. But in order to cash in on the adventure they must go considerably further south.

Early prophets of Japan's mainland policy always spoke of the Great Wall as Japan's first step—which was obvious—and the Yellow River as the second. I do not set myself up as a prophet, but I am convinced that if the Japanese stop at the Yellow River, the pause will be only a temporary one to consolidate their gains. The Shantung peninsula, where Japan has already considerable railway and mining interests, lies south of the Yellow River. The large cotton areas of

Honan—and all cotton-growing areas are of vital importance to Japan—lie south of the Yellow River. The Lunghai Railway, running from Haichow on the coast to Sianfu, is all south of the Yellow River, and from Kaifeng to Tungkuan runs close to its banks. It seems almost inevitable that the Japanese sphere of influence will ultimately extend to the hills which run along the Honan-Hupeh border and will stretch to the banks of the Huai River in Anhwei, finally running through Kiangsu to the coast somewhere south of Haichow.

This is a vast, but not an insuperably vast, undertaking from a military point of view. Once the Suiyuan troops have been defeated, the territory along the Ping-Sui line can be held by Manchukuo-Mongolian levies, releasing the Japanese troops for the other front. In the Hopei plain the Japanese at first made slow progress, but this was largely due to the nature of the country over which they were operating. South of Peking and Tientsin it is very much cut up by a network of rivers and canals, while heavy rains, making the dirt roads impassable to wheeled traffic, must have hindered them badly. Further south the country is more open, and the Japanese advance has been correspondingly more rapid. Communications in the central plain are by no means bad, especially in the late autumn when the dirt roads are hard and dry. Shantung is particularly well supplied with roads, as is North Kiangsu, while in South Hopei and Honan cross-country communication is not difficult. Both the Peking-Hankow and the Tientsin-Pukow railways serve the fighting line, and these railways, running across the plain with few large bridges, cannot be seriously disabled. Later the Chiao-Tsi Railway from Tsingtao to Tsinan and the Lunghai line from the port of Haichow will be invaluable further feeders.

The hills east of Taishan, the holy mountain in South Shantung, will be a stumbling block to the Japanese advance, but it should be possible to isolate them and carry out mopping-up operations later. They have always been a home of bandits, but are too barren to support an army capable of putting up a sustained resistance.

The one real thorn in the side of any Japanese advance is Shansi Province. This province is a lofty tableland, almost everywhere 3,000 feet high, and surrounded by mountains running up to 7,000 feet. On the northern side the only practicable pass is the Yenmenkuan, south of Tatung, through which runs a well-built motor-road. On the east also is only one accessible pass, the Niangtzekuan, through which the narrow gauge Chengtai Railway runs up to Taiyuanfu. Any entrance from the west necessitates the crossing of the turbulent Yellow

River by boat, which is only possible in one or two places. Entry from the south-west across the Yellow River is comparatively simple.

Not only is the province a natural stronghold, but it adjoins the western province of Shensi and the wild lands beyond, and would afford a covered approach to the Japanese flank. It is essential to Japanese security in South Hopei that they should have control of Shansi Province.

The Japanese have made more rapid progress than one might have expected in the conquest of this province. After brisk fighting they penetrated two of the lesser passes in the north and so took in the rear the Yenmenkuan, a pass which no invader has ever before crossed. The capture of the central tableland of Shansi is now a matter of no outstanding difficulty though they are meeting with determined opposition. But the mountains along the Hopei-Shansi border are lofty and wild. It will be quite impossible for the Japanese to police them thoroughly, and though they are too barren to support anything like an army, they are an admirable base for guerilla raids on the Peking-Hankow Railway which runs at their feet. Already the Japanese have had to double their railway guards as a result of such raids. When one thinks that vast sums are still being spent on bandit suppression in Manchukuo after six years of Japanese rule, one can begin to realize the problem that the Japanese have undertaken here, in the heart of a patriotic China.

Even that is not the end of their difficulties. At the time of their attack, the weather in the Shansi mountains was at its best. Soon the bitter winter winds will bring the temperature down far below zero, and the Yenmenkuan, which is over 6,000 feet high, becomes almost impassable. The Chengtai Railway on the east is a highly picturesque line, which skirts precipices and spans chasms in a way which must thrill even the most unromantic traveller. It is thus highly vulnerable to guerilla raids, even if the Chinese do not wreck it comprehensively before they are driven out of the pass. Under such circumstances the problem of maintaining a garrison in Shansi during the winter by way of these wild passes is going to be a ticklish one.

That states briefly the Japanese military aims and the difficulties they are likely to encounter, as I see them. Before turning to the commercial outlook, it is necessary to mention one or two points where Japanese military policy may come into direct conflict with foreign rights and interests. The paralyzation of legitimate foreign trade, the destruction of foreign property and the danger to foreign lives

as a result of Japanese military activity, is a subject too large to deal with here. Apparently this has now to be regarded as a necessary risk in trading with China. The blockade of Chinese ports, even though the blockade applies only to Chinese vessels, is a potential source of added difficulties and misunderstandings. Already a P. and O. liner of some 16,000 tons has been stopped by a Japanese patrol, though it is common knowledge to the Japanese and everyone else that the Chinese possess no vessel of anything approaching this size.

The Japanese navy has already seized the Pratas Shoals between Manila and Hongkong, and has established a seaplane base there. There have been reports that the Japanese are planning to take Hainan Island and turn it into a naval base. Such a base in the Western Pacific would be a direct threat to Hongkong and Singapore, the Philippines and French colonial interests, and it is to be hoped that Japan will not carry provocation so far as to attempt to put this plan into effect.

Let us now see what Japan hopes to gain on the commercial side as a result of this conflict.

She will get under her own control large cotton areas in Shantung, Hopei, Shansi, and Honan, and obtain a closer hold on the sheep producing lands of Inner Mongolia. These are important points, especially in Japanese eyes, for she is obsessed by the fear that supplies of essential raw materials may be cut off from her. Iron ore is another commodity of which she has insufficient supplies in Japan. With the capture of Manchuria she obtained 75 per cent. of the iron ore resources of China, which are situated in Liaoning Province. The seizure of Chahar has given her approximately another 10 per cent. Most of the remainder—and these are the richest deposits—are situated in the Yangtze Valley, and the Japanese hold large interests in these workings.

Another commodity of the greatest importance to Japan is coal, especially coking coal, of which her home supplies are very slender. China is fairly well off as regards coal, and Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, and Honan all yield coal of good quality, while half the reserves in China are situated in Shansi Province. This Shansi reserve, according to the figures of the Geological Survey of China in 1934, is about fifteen times as much as the total estimated reserves of Japan and Korea, and nearly thirty times greater than the reserves of Manchuria.

Other minerals of which Japan is short are either not found in China, or are mined in southern provinces outside the sphere of direct Japanese control.

The North China market is to a large extent undeveloped and unexploited, both as regards production and consumption. Under any normal circumstances it is obvious that Japan, being the greatest purchaser of China's raw materials and her closest neighbour, would also be the leading seller in this market. Everything was in her favour, for her prices were low, foreign trade—especially in consumption goods—was small, considering the size of the area, and Chinese industrial enterprises had hardly begun to develop. But Japan, by her policy towards China in the last six years, has built a barrier of ill-feeling that will limit her trade for years to come. She has complained of Kuomintang anti-Japanese propaganda, but the propaganda of her bombs, and even more the domineering attitude of her soldiers, has been far more effective in instilling a hatred of all things Japanese into all classes from the illiterate coolie upwards. Japan may beat China to her knees, but it will be a China united by hatred of Japan as nothing before has united her.

This dawning of a national consciousness is bound to create an added demand for national goods. When the time comes for Japan to administer her new territories, she will do well not to attempt to stifle this demand, nor to put obstacles in the way of growing Chinese industries. She will only aggravate a hatred which it is her first duty to appease. Economically this competition with Japanese goods may hit her merchants hard at first, but the added prosperity which it will bring to North China will soon be reflected in a growing demand for goods which Japan, in her special position, will have to supply. Japan's one duty in North China will be to ensure peace and maintain a stable government, while effacing herself as much as possible. It is not a rôle for which she has shown much aptitude.

The outlook for foreign business in North China is not necessarily bad in the long run, though for the immediate future it is gloomy. As in Manchuria, Japan will no doubt declare that she abides by the policy of the Open Door, but that will be little encouragement to those who know the fate of many of the foreign firms operating in Manchuria. Under any Japanese-controlled régime I do not think that we can expect to maintain a trade in cheap consumption goods. Japan, for all her unpopularity, is in too good a position, and even though she may not capture the market with her own products, she will organize Sino-Japanese concerns which can supply the demand at prices impossible to foreign imported goods. Even foreign industries in China will be at a disadvantage, as they frequently are to-day, owing to the fact that

Chinese goods are—at least in some cases—allowed reduced freight rates on the railways and in all probability other secret preferences. All this may be expected to continue and to increase under Japanese control.

A Japanese occupation of North China can be one of two things. Either it can be a ghastly fiasco, bringing in its train oppression and further bloodshed, or it can be the means of accelerating the development of North China. It depends upon the Japanese method of handling the situation. If the former case comes to pass, foreign trade will perish in the general chaos. But in the latter case, capital and capital goods will be needed in quantities far beyond the capacity of Japan alone, and increased purchasing power will create a demand for high-grade goods which only foreign manufacturers can supply. It may be a conclusion of little comfort to those who have seen their China trade dwindle to nothing, but it is in the broader sense an encouraging outlook. The industrialization of China was bound to come, and for years we have been fighting a losing battle in the market for cheap goods of general consumption.

The most ominous point in the whole situation is that Japan is living in an atmosphere of fear, and a frightened nation, like a frightened man, is apt to act rashly. On the sea she fears the naval power of the United States and ourselves. On land she fears Russia and the growing military efficiency of China, while she is haunted by the fear of being cut off from essential raw materials. She has tried to put herself in a position to defy the world, and as a result Japan has forced upon the United States her new naval programme. Japan has built up the powerful Soviet Far Eastern Army, and has driven China to modernize her military machine. She has compelled China to recognize present Japanese superiority, military and industrial.

But the Chinese are a proud race. They were prepared to admit the greater technical efficiency of the Western nations in some material things—it was a matter which did not affect them very closely. With Japan the case is different. Every Chinese not only believes, he knows, that China is the superior of Japan in culture, in size and in natural resources. Japan has taken pains to force upon China the realization of her present ineffectualness. A decadent nation might accept the proof, but China has taken up the challenge, and will never admit to permanent domination by her former pupil.

In my opinion the belligerent attitude of Japan since the capture of Manchuria has been a grave error in policy. The loss of Manchuria was a blow to China's *amour propre*, but it was a blow from which she

would have recovered. Manchuria had for years retained a measure of independence of the Chinese Government. Japan should have realized that her seizure of Manchuria was bound to stir up popular resentment in China, and should have followed a policy of conciliation until this resentment had died down. Instead of that she has persistently inflamed it by provocative action in North China. Chinese pride very properly demands that she should be treated as an equal, and that her territorial integrity should be respected. If Japan had handled the situation with tact, I believe that she could have built up a vastly increased trade with North China by this time, and have earned the friendship and goodwill of the Chinese Government. Instead of that her military-inspired policy has brought her to a point from which there is no withdrawing. Evacuation or defeat in North China would be a blow from which the prestige of the Japanese army in Japan would never recover. The only remaining hope is that she should settle the Shanghai affair and achieve her objectives in the north as quickly as possible, and then abandon this suicidal policy of provocation. China is more ready than most nations to accept a *fait accompli*, if she is allowed to do it without loss of dignity.

This time there must be no autonomy movement, no emperor, no clumsy farce of a new state. The Nanking Government must be allowed a nominal authority over the area, even though in practice it will be self-governing as regards internal affairs. Chinese officials must administer it, backed by Japanese advisers. This is essential, not only to propitiate the Chinese, but because the Japanese have no trained body of civil servants sufficient to take over such an area. Above all, the Japanese army must be confined as far as possible to garrison and police work, and must not be allowed to take an active hand in the administration of the territory. These seem to me the necessary antecedents of peace in North China, and I feel that the chances of achieving them are slender.

Such conditions may appear a poor return for a war of conquest, but Japan has undertaken more than she can handle, and will be lucky to get out of it without ruining herself. China will never agree to become a subject nation to Japan, and Japan's one aim must be to prevent her becoming an implacable enemy. Japan must give up all hope of immediate gain from this conquest, and in true sincerity help the Chinese to develop the north. It will be a hard task to win back China's confidence, but if she can do it her reward, both in increased trade and increased security, will be enormous.

The temptation to look into the future is one which few can resist, and I confess to a belief that Japan is digging her own grave in the present war. China, even in the humiliation of a defeat by the neighbour she despises, has learned that the Japanese are not invincible, and Japan's bombs have sowed the seed of a new patriotism. What Japan has done China can do, both in the military and industrial field, and Japan cannot suppress a nation-wide determination in so vast a country. China will bide her time, but when her time comes she will return to the leadership of Asia. The world will be the better for so mighty an ally in the cause of peace.

MR. C. MILNES-GASKELL: Is it likely that China will adopt a very strong anti-foreign and anti-European policy if she succeeds in throwing off the domination of Japan?

THE LECTURER: For some time past China has been bringing her internal administration into line with Western standards, and I think it only right that she should abolish extra-territoriality within her own borders in the not too distant future. I am positive that she has no thought of expansion into other lands. She would, of course, like to get back control of Manchuria, but her only real aim is to be allowed to exercise her sovereign rights within her own territories.

A MEMBER: How does the equipment of the Chinese army compare with that of the Japanese?

THE LECTURER: The Government troops on the Shanghai front are said to possess equipment which is up to modern standards. Some of the troops in the north are supplied with up-to-date rifles, machine-guns, trench-mortars, etc., but they have very little artillery. Others are very poorly turned out, and are armed with ancient rifles, or sometimes only with large executioner's swords.

A MEMBER: Is this Red Army the same as that of the Communists in Kiangsi who made that long march through Hunan and Szechuan up into Kansu?

THE LECTURER: It is the same Red Army, and they are now in the Government fold. It is difficult to find out exactly what promises General Chiang Kai Shek had to make to get their adherence, and also to get his own liberty after the Sianfu revolt.

A MEMBER: The Chinese have absorbed many invaders in the past, would you agree that they are prepared to look on the Japanese invasion with equanimity?

The LECTURER: The Chinese may be able to absorb invaders, but it is difficult to believe that they are prepared to accept the present invaders with equanimity. China is not prepared to face the indignity of serving her former pupil—a pupil whom she always despised, and who now has added the insult of discarding much of her teaching. This in particular rankles. Bad manners on the part of other foreigners the Chinese can forgive, they recognize that they cannot be expected to know how to behave; but they feel that the Japanese do know how they ought to behave, and therefore they cannot forgive them when they behave badly.

A MEMBER: Would the lecturer tell us exactly what he means by “China” and what by “Japan”?

The LECTURER: By “Japan” I mean generally those responsible for the present policy towards China, which I believe has been inspired by the military. At present all Japan supports this policy, but when the war fever has died down the critics of this military domination will appear again. I think it is clear from the context when I have used “Japan” to refer to Japan as a trading nation. By “China” I mean the Chinese speaking people, whose loyalty is not to an emperor or a government, but to a civilization and a scheme of life which they have served for centuries.

The CHAIRMAN: It now only remains for me to thank Mr. Hollis on your behalf for his most interesting talk. But before I do so, there are two points which struck me in what he said. He expressed the view, with which I agree, that the main theatre of operations is in the north and the Shanghai fighting is merely a side show, which serves to tie up large numbers of Japanese troops that are needed elsewhere, and enables the Chinese to use their best troops effectively in the public eye and on ground that is familiar to them. I am no strategist, and I know the Chinese are deliberately and probably rightly spreading out the contest and engaging the Japanese at as many points as they can. But it seems to me that the Japanese are probably deriving as much advantage, from tying up China's *only* well-armed and trained troops in a local Shanghai conflict, as the Chinese are by holding only a small part of the Japanese army there.

Secondly, Mr. Hollis remarked on the blockade of the China coast. Actually, the Japanese blockade is only very partially effective, as it does not apply to foreign shipping. But the Chinese played to form and decided to go one better by blockading their own coast for themselves. They therefore seized all the Japanese ships within reach, and

sank them to form barriers at the mouth of every river, which is making the transport of all kinds of goods into the interior of China a far more difficult matter than the Japanese blockade could ever do.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

THE PRESENT CONFLICT IN THE MIND OF JAPAN*

By MAJOR E. AINGER

The LECTURER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I start my lecture I want to make one point clear. I was asked to speak in order to stress the Japanese point of view. Some people think that that point of view has not been given sufficient prominence of late in this country. As a result some of my Chinese friends may accuse me of being biased in favour of Japan. What I am trying to do to-night is to analyze the causes which are making for conflict in the minds of the leaders of Japanese thought, and I hope that neither you nor my Chinese friends will take what I have to say as an expression of my own personal feelings.

THE Balance of Power in the Pacific is a question which from its very nature is bound to affect the policy both of this country and of the Dominions; it is one which may well affect, too, the standard of living of our people, apart from its repercussions on the question of Imperial security. It is for this reason that I want to stress to-night what seem to me to be the underlying facts which make for conflict in the minds of the leaders of Japanese thought; for these are conflicts which, unless they can be resolved, will make Japan's policy erratic in its actions, and will produce an atmosphere of distrust which will make all hope of a stable settlement futile. I propose, therefore, to give first a very brief outline of certain facts of both geography and history which are probably well known to you all, but which must be remembered if we are to grasp the underlying reasons for Japanese policy as we see it to-day.

First as to distances: it takes a letter thirty-five days to go from London to Shanghai via Suez, and it takes one seventeen days by sea from San Francisco to Yokohama. From this it is clear that in any armed conflict between Japan and either Britain or America, victory can only be achieved by economic pressure backed up by sea power; a military expedition is unthinkable unless the Japanese navy were wiped out of existence. As regards air power: of the first-class military powers, Russia is the only country which has a fully-protected air base within striking distance of Japan, and the distance from

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 3, 1937, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., in the Chair.

Vladivostok to Osaka is roughly equivalent to that between London and Leipzig. The danger of air attack from this point in the future is clear to every Japanese, and it is one which has a great effect on her policy. Air attack by any other Power except China is only possible if it is sea-borne, and is not therefore a great danger; in the case of China, aviation is insufficiently developed. The Japanese Islands themselves, therefore, are at present immune from attack by land, and can only be attacked by air from Siberia. Japanese possessions on the mainland offer a slightly different problem: they could be attacked by land either by Russia or by China, though the latter country's military power is too small to be effective except if she intervenes in the case of a Russo-Japanese conflict. The occupation of her continental territories by Russia would seriously affect the Japanese national economy, but the real danger is the establishment of military, naval, and air bases within effective striking distance of the Japanese mainland.

Further, Japan is self-supporting in foodstuffs—the Japanese diet consists mainly of fish and rice—the cutting off of all foreign imports would not necessarily, therefore, be decisive.

So much for geography: let us now turn to history. The last three hundred years have shown an enormous expansion of European power: both North and South America are inhabited by settlers of European race, Africa is politically impotent, and more than half Asia is under European rule. It has always been a matter of surprise to me that the old civilizations of Asia are not more anti-European in their outlook than they are in fact to-day, and it seems to me absolutely natural that the remaining independent Powers in Asia should desire to reverse the tendency of the last three hundred years and to achieve a real equality, both economic and political, with the European Powers. Moreover it is yet more natural that their leaders, who have studied history, should view with suspicion any forward move in Asia on the part of any European or American Power, not excluding the U.S.S.R., who by some is regarded as primarily an Asiatic Power.

In order to achieve real economic equality it is essential that the economic life of any area should be based on heavy industry, and that to-day means on coal and iron. Up to about the year 1920, there were only two heavy industrial bases in the world, in Europe and in North America, and all other national economies were dependent on those areas. This is a fact which I think was clearly grasped by the rulers of the U.S.S.R., whose historical research had been largely

influenced by Marx; as a result we had the first Five Year Plan, and the establishment of a new heavy-industrial base in the region of the Urals. I would like to leave my main theme for a moment to consider very briefly the implications of this fact. In view of the time at my disposal, I can only give my own views and lay myself open to an attack which can be summed up in the American phrase "Sez you!" I believe that the present rulers of Russia are still sincere adherents of the Communist school of economics, and that their plan of action aims at making the territory of the Soviet Republics an economically self-supporting unit for political reasons: that they do not aim at finding export markets for their surplus industrial products, except in so far as the existence of such markets, as in the case of Sinkiang, allows of the expansion of Soviet territory. In other words, in my opinion the area under control of the U.S.S.R. has been detached from dependence on the European and American heavy-industrial bases, but it is unlikely to form the base of a new and expanding industrial area. Such is my opinion, but for the historical reasons which I mentioned before, I think it can be clearly understood why the establishment of such a base should be viewed with suspicion by the political leaders of the independent Asiatic Powers.

What is the position in the Far East as regards the possibility of creating a fourth heavy-industrial base? It is an economic law that, owing to the cost of transport, iron moves to coal and not *vice versa*. Coking coal exists in Manchu-kuo, in Hopei, in Shansi and Shantung, and it is understood that deposits of coking coal are to be found in Shansi, though owing to the lack of communications they have never been worked to any large extent. Suitable iron deposits are to be found in the Yang-tse valley; though there are others in many parts of China and Manchu-kuo, they are not of the same high quality. Low-grade ores are also to be found in the Philippines, and high-grade ores in the Indian peninsula. Judging by the example of English industry, even these latter ores are not too far distant to be of economic value.

Taking these facts into consideration, I think we shall arrive at the same conclusion as does Bland in his *Ores and Industries in the Far East*, that, apart from political considerations, the ideal, and in fact the only, site for a Far Eastern heavy-industrial base is to be found on the Gulf of Pei-chi-li, which runs from Dairen to Tientsin.

The American heavy-industrial base, and that of the U.S.S.R., are both situated in areas that are as far as possible immune from foreign military interference; the peculiar situation of the European base is

accounted for by historical developments inside and outside Europe, but generally speaking the areas in which it functions are made as secure as possible by the national states protecting them. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suggest that any country planning a new heavy-industrial base is compelled first to select the most suitable economic area, and then to acquire such political control over that area as will render it secure against foreign military interference. This seems to be a most important point to consider with regard to the present problems.

The conclusion, therefore, is that the elimination of the Russian danger, the maintenance of naval security, and the co-operation of China are essential to this policy. The problem which is productive of conflict is the co-ordination of these essentials.

Let us now consider the problem of light industry, which is closely interconnected with problems of security, of markets and of population. In the early years of the twentieth century, the whole of the Far East, and to a great extent Russia also, were dependent on the two great heavy-industrial bases for the products of the light industries also. This was the period when the piece-goods merchants were supreme among the foreign traders in the Far East, and the other articles in which some merchants dealt were contemptuously referred to as "muck and cruck." At the time Russia and the Far East were primarily agricultural countries.

To-day the position is completely altered; this has been largely due to the foresight of Japanese statesmen. Her geographical position gave Japan certain advantages in the way of security, and these she proceeded to reinforce by learning Western technique, and establishing a modern army and navy, which by 1904 were sufficiently powerful to defeat the Russian Empire in Manchuria, and to make it a doubtful policy on the part of other European Powers to interfere.

Having attained comparative security, Japan took advantage of circumstances to establish a light-industrial economy, and efficient shipping and banking services, though she is still without any strong heavy-industrial base. Her example has been followed by China, who with European help was also beginning to establish a light industry, but owing to difficulties inherent in the Chinese social structure, accentuated by further difficulties, largely psychological, in working out schemes of Sino-European management in joint-stock companies, Chinese light industry was much less efficient. The establishment of light industry in Japan and China has been of great advantage to the

heavy-industrialists of Europe and America, and to many of the areas which produce raw materials, such as Australia, but has been to the detriment of the light-industrial interests in such areas as Manchester.

One of the underlying causes which compelled Japan to industrialize was the question of population pressure: between 1930 and 1950, to quote Ueda's figure, 250,000 new hands have to be absorbed into gainful employment every year, apart from the normal intake. There is no room for much greater agricultural extension, and the Japanese, contrary to popular opinion, do not take readily to emigration.

It is, I think, generally recognized that the establishment of any industry entails the finding of export markets, except in such cases as that of the U.S.S.R., which is both a raw-material-producing and an industrial country. Japan's fight for light-industrial export markets began in the late 1920's; and was, unfortunately for all parties concerned, only too successful. At a time of slump in Europe and America the light-industrial interests of those areas saw their markets taken from them on a question of price, and tariff action was taken against Japanese export industries in almost every area except China.

I would like to consider for a moment why such action was possible; and I think the answer can be found in terms of military and economic strength. Europe and America are able to take tariff action, or to persuade other countries to take it in areas which are under their political control, or which depend for their security on European or American armaments. The only areas suitable to Japanese light-industrial exports to which these arguments do not apply are Soviet Russia and China. Russia is militarily strong and has a self-sufficient economy. China alone is internally weak, and is more dependent for her real security on Japanese military power than on that of Europe or America; she lies naturally, in fact, within the present-day Japan's military and economic orbit.

To increase the consumption capacity of her light-industrial markets, it is essential for Japan again to achieve co-operation with China, and to make some arrangements with the naval powers.

From an economic view-point this result can best be achieved by an exchange of raw materials for light-industrial goods, and this has in fact been the basis of trade agreements with India and with Australia. China does produce cotton, tobacco, coarse wool and salt in quantities sufficient for export, and, with technical assistance, both the amount and quality of these exports could be increased.

The basis for economic co-operation therefore exists, but the

problem of achieving co-operation within the political field is complicated by three further difficulties: the strategic position *vis-à-vis* Russia, the psychological position *vis-à-vis* China, and Japanese internal politics.

As regards Russia, I have already mentioned the suspicion of all European expansion and the air danger. If you look at the map you will see that the old Trans-Siberian line ran from Baikal more or less direct to Vladivostok, under the name of the C.E.R. The occupation of Manchuria, as it then was, placed that line in Japanese control, and to some extent isolated Vladivostok and nullified the air danger. That, I think, was one of Japan's objects in the action which she took in 1932. But the U.S.S.R. was not content to accept the position. She double-tracked the new Trans-Siberian and established the self-supporting Far-Eastern Army group. Thereby she made the Japanese strategic position even more difficult than it had been previously. To exorcise the air danger Japan must now threaten or turn by Baikal, and this means an extension of influence further to the west, and the expenditure of vast sums of money. From Japan's point of view, if influence has to be extended westward it may as well be extended to Kansu in order to block Russian influence penetrating into China through Sinkiang. This policy does not antagonize China any more than her extension of influence into Inner Mongolia, and has the advantage of giving a practical basis for the conclusion of anti-communist pacts with such European Powers as Germany and Italy, a policy which has the general advantage of keeping Europe divided into two hostile camps. From Russia's point of view, western extension yet further embitters Japan's relations with China, and the need for money means *ipso facto* the necessity for more export markets, which will tend to embitter her relations with European and American interests. Incidentally it is curious that Russia has been enabled to attain control of some thousands of square miles of nominally Chinese territory in Mongolia and Sinkiang without the fact having called forth any protest from Europe.

Japan's psychological relations with China are a problem of absorbing interest and really require much greater study than has ever been given them in Europe. Up to about the tenth century, Japan was a barbarous and illiterate country of fine fighting-men, with the habits of Scandinavian vikings. In that century, the Tang dynasty were in power in China, and Japan modelled her own civilization on that of the Tang: owing to this fact she has a deep

and very real respect for China and her civilization. Her acceptance of this civilization was very much more real and complete in the psychological sphere than her acceptance of Western material civilization in the twentieth century, for she distrusts the philosophical bases of the one, while she does not that of the other.

China's policy of political expansion has a longer continuous history behind it than that of any other country in the world. Her policy has been to increase the area under her cultural control, mainly by emigration and intermarriage; though at times by war. In certain cases, such as Japan and Korea, neighbouring states have adopted her culture purely because they recognized it was higher than their own. In the case of Mongolia, China has pursued a very wise and a very successful policy. When the Manchus first conquered China they depended largely for their political support on the Manchu and Mongol population living north of the Great Wall. For the first two centuries after the Conquest these races allowed the immigration of Chinese who could minister to their material comforts; but later on, as the Manchu dynasty became more Chinese in complexion, Chinese immigration took the form of emigration by agriculturists with the support of the Peking Government; the result, as almost always occurs in history, has been that a pastoral civilisation has been destroyed, or almost destroyed, by an agricultural one. This is a phenomenon which always seems to meet with approval even among liberal thinkers in the West, because it is realized to be unavoidable; but if only those thinkers would be logical I feel that they must come to the conclusion that if it is a natural law for agriculture to destroy a pastoral civilization, so it is equally an economic law that an industrial civilization must in time dominate an agricultural one.

With such a background, it is only natural that China should be a proud nation, but her pride has been increased by the methods she has adopted for reinforcing her cultural control. If force has compelled her to pay "Danegeld" to the barbarian, that payment has been described as the gift of the Imperial bounty; and what little has been given, as "Tribute." She has, in fact, never in her long history acknowledged the possibility of any nation being her equal, least of all one who has been under her cultural control. Added to this, she is an adept at playing off one barbarian nation against another; it has been her foreign policy for innumerable centuries. The present diplomatic situation in the Far East, which can scarcely be said to be to Japan's advantage, is largely due to her skilled diplomatic efforts. She has

successfully alienated British and American public opinion from Japan by her propaganda about the drug traffic and smuggling and has successfully forced on Japan the rôle of an aggressor nation; though it must be admitted that Japan's actions and her failure to appreciate the Anglo-Saxon mentality have given China the greatest help in her diplomacy. Is it possible to conceive, therefore, of a country such as China acquiescing in Japan's moral leadership, even if the price of such acquiescence were to be the establishment of a heavy-industrial base and the acquisition of a real equality in America and Europe?

It seems, therefore, that though Sino-Japanese economic co-operation is theoretically a possibility, yet Japanese action ever since the date of the Twenty-one Demands (the first time that Japan showed her real intention of not treating China as an "elder brother") has been such as to make real co-operation more and more impossible. There has been no stable pursuit of any single line of policy; but the conflict within the mind of Japan has shown itself in her actions and has bred distrust not only in China but in Europe and America also.

Another cause of conflict is to be found in the internal political situation in Japan. This is a long and complicated story and is one which to explain fully would take more time than I have at my disposal to-night, for its roots go far back into Japanese history.

From 1600 up to the time of the Meiji Restoration the effective power of Japan lay in the hands of the Tokugawa Shogunate; from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards the powers of the feudal chiefs, particularly of the western clans, had been increasing at the expense of the central government.

After the Restoration all power was again placed in theory in Imperial hands, but by the Japanese constitution which was granted by the Emperor to his people in the 1850's, the Cabinet was made responsible to the Emperor and not to the majority in the Diet, while the ministers of war and marine had to be serving officers on the active list of the army and navy, and these ministers had the right of direct access to the Throne. As the officers of both services were drawn almost exclusively from western clans this placed effective political power in the hands of their leaders, who had in fact, if not in theory, the right of veto on the choice of any prime minister, a right which those services claim to-day, although the composition of the corps of officers has altered.

Since the early years of the twentieth century many changes have taken place in the social life of Japan, and with these changes have

come shifts in the position of real political power. This phenomenon is one which is common in many countries in the world, but the changes of Japan, though they have been less rapid and less spectacular than those in France and Germany, have at least gravely altered the position of real power.

Up to the end of the period of the Russo-Japanese War the western clans still exercised real power, but after that date we see the rise of a new generation who have no knowledge of the old social conditions except by hearsay, and who have been educated under the modern system which has laid stress not only on technical and material achievement but also on the overriding virtue of patriotism. In fact the view has been enforced that the family and the individual must be prepared for any sacrifice in the interests of the Emperor and the State. The same period has seen the rise to power and the ennoblement of the great capitalist houses and the attainment of real political power by them through their control of capital and through their control of the political parties.

During the same period the composition of the corps of officers has altered, though to a greater extent in the army than in the navy. With the advent of compulsory education and open competition the corps has become more mixed in its social origin and as a result there is a very real division of interest between the Generals and the "young officer" groups. The attitude of the officers' corps towards the rising power of capital and towards economic problems in general is one which deserves serious study. The opinion of the corps has been profoundly influenced by the "patriotic" societies. Many of these societies are based on serious philosophic thought derived in the main from the Zen school of Buddhism, a school which is both mystic and one might almost say Calvinistic in its teaching. This school of thought stresses the old virtues of frugality and sacrifice and exalts the fighting man and the peasant as the representatives of these qualities, while it looks down on the money power and on Western philosophy in general, for it regards Western individualism as synonymous with selfishness and soft living. When this philosophical thought has been translated into action it has taken the form of the elimination of "bad advisers" to the Throne by political assassination.

This clash between the military and financial interests in Japan, though its manifestations are political and social, is in fact a clash between discordant philosophies of life which can be resolved to some

extent, and to some extent only, by the sentiment of patriotism and loyalty to the Emperor which are held by both groups in common.

The February incident of 1936 will perhaps explain my point most clearly. That movement, though it was directed against the Emperor's advisers, was thought of by some sections of Japanese opinion as being directed against the Throne itself. As a result in 1937 the capitalist groups thought the army was without political support and was to some extent in disgrace in the eyes of the nation, while the army groups took the view that their action had "cleaned up" the politics and had in no way been directed against the Throne. The reactions of the public and politicians came as a great surprise to the army, for they realized that they had in fact lost influence not only in the Diet but in the country at large. From the point of view of internal politics, therefore, the incident in North China in July came as a heaven-sent opportunity to the army. War in China would unite the whole nation behind them and there was a chance that by this means the nation could be brought to forget the army's miscalculations in February. The attempts of the Foreign Office to obtain the co-operation both of China and of the other Powers were jettisoned. The opportunity for a "forward policy" was taken and Japanese opinion is to-day temporarily united.

These seem to me to be some of the major causes making for conflict and uncertainty in the minds of the leaders of Japanese thought. However much we may disapprove of her policy, verbal protests alone will at the present time only unite Japanese public opinion in opposition to foreign interference.

If real co-operation could be achieved between China and Japan, with the concurrence of the naval Powers and possibly of Russia also, the advantages to the world, both in raising the standard of living and of obtaining a basis for lasting peace in the Pacific area, would in my view be incalculable.

It fills me with sorrow to see what could be achieved, and yet to see with equal clarity the reasons which make such a result almost impossible of attainment, unless statesmen of vision and of goodwill should come to hold power so effectively that suspicion can be eliminated and confidence take its place. And I would appeal to you for a real understanding of the problem, and would ask your help to work for this end.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN : Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I ask members of the audience to make any remarks they wish to make about this very interesting lecture we have just had from Major Ainger, may I start the discussion myself by asking him a question? He has given us a very clear account of all the various political, strategic, economical and historical factors which have in fact led up to the present situation, in which Japan is doing things in China which a great many people think she ought not to be doing.

May I ask him if he thinks that, first of all, for the strategic reason to keep herself safe from Russia, and, secondly, because she has got to live and expand somehow, that action of hers is practically inevitable? Do you mean that?

Major AINGER : Yes, I consider it to be inevitable from her point of view; not from anybody else's.

Miss UTLEY : I want to say a word first on the last point Major Ainger has made. He thinks that co-operation between Japan and China is possible, and the main reasons for that co-operation not taking place are psychological. Yet at the same time he has informed us that Japan has no substantial heavy industry, and that the only place where a heavy industry can be created is in China. I do not understand whether he means that he thinks the Japanese could give any benefit to China by taking the north and establishing their own heavy industry. Japan cannot supply China with the capital goods the latter requires for her reconstruction and development. Moreover, Japan is extremely anxious to prevent China's industrial development and wants her only as a supplier of raw materials.

I do feel quite definitely that nothing in the past history of Japan gives any warrant for the supposition that there is any question of co-operation at all, and that Japan aims at nothing else but domination. Actually the country which has the heavy industry established would be the one to dominate. Therefore Japan's aim is to prevent China from developing as her rival.

One cannot go into the reasons why Japan is so aggressive, but those reasons lie, I think, in the internal structure of Japan; not over-population, but the social maladjustments which make it impossible for Japanese people ever to earn a decent living, however many Chinese provinces they conquer.

One other important point. At the beginning Major Ainger spoke

about Japan being self-sufficient in food supplies, and implied that economic pressure on Japan for that reason might not be successful. That is as I understood the implication. But Japan is self-sufficient only at the very low standard of its existence in peace time: Japan produces nearly enough food to feed herself. In a long war the armies on campaign must have a better standard of living and the mobilization of large numbers of men must cause production to decline. Technique in Japanese agriculture is so primitive that one peasant family only produces enough rice to feed itself and two other families.

To imagine that if we let Japan take China she will have enough and will not cast her eyes on British possessions further afield is a delusion. Even if she gets the whole of North China she will, as her spokesmen have frequently proclaimed, still want Malaya, Australia, the Dutch East Indies and even India.

Major Ainger implies that when Japan went into Manchuria there was already an army and air force menacing her in Russia; whereas we know that that army and air force were created subsequent to her seizure of Manchuria.

Her present action in China is caused by her fear of Chinese unity and her determination to plunge China back into anarchy if she can.

Major AINGER: May I first congratulate Miss Utley on being one of the many Socialists who are rapidly being converted to the most selfish form of Imperialism. Because I do feel that in the purely selfish interests of the British Empire nothing would be better than to keep Japan and China apart and to weaken both parties in our interests.

But apart from that general question, I said that originally I was giving the Japanese case. I was not putting the case for Great Britain, which Miss Utley has put admirably.

One of her points was that I said the Japanese were self-supporting, though actually the peasant was in a miserable state because he was being exploited by the capitalist.

I tried to make it clear that the best Japanese philosophical thought stressed the virtues of frugality and hard living, and they regarded as their ideal types the hard-living peasant and the hard-fighting soldier.

I had considerable experience with lumbermen, with fishermen, and with farmers, and had personal friends amongst all those classes. I must say I found those people extraordinarily contented with their lot, and I found they despised European standards of living.

I am also attacked on my misreading of Bland's *Ores and Industries*. I think I must blame that on my voice, for I think I did say that I

thought the best ores were to be found in India, and I entirely agree with Miss Utley that there is a danger, if heavy industry is established in China.

But I want to stress the fact that, in the interests of peace and of the Chinese and Japanese people, the establishment of a heavy industry would give China and Japan a real equality with the West. It might not be good for the West, but it would give them that equality, and in the economic field there is every reason for them to co-operate. It would allow the Chinese people to buy goods from Japan, and would raise their standard of living. The trouble is that Japan will not treat China as an elder brother, and I do not see how it is to be got over.

A MEMBER: Have you any explanation how it is that the Japanese, who are an intelligent people, should start their campaign of co-operation in the way they have done? I have lived in China a great many years, from the time of the Twenty-one Demands and before. They were most arrogant. That is quite beyond discussion.

Why does a sensible people think that the way to make another nation co-operate with it is to knock it down?

Major AINGER: The only reason I can give is that the Japanese soldier is short-sighted. I do not think the Japanese General Staff are as short-sighted as the peasantry, who form the bulk of the Japanese army. I think she can get co-operation with the Chinese, if the right people get control in both countries.

Commander R. T. H. FLETCHER: I should be very grateful indeed to the lecturer if he would answer a question. In the course of his remarks he referred to Chinese propaganda in regard to the opium traffic in China and in regard to the encouragement of smuggling in China.

Those happen to be two matters which I try to follow up to the best of my ability. My information in regard to the drug traffic is mainly derived from the reports of the head of the Narcotics Bureau, Colonel Russell, and in regard to smuggling from reports of our own consular officers in China.

The evidence of the head of the Narcotics Bureau is to the effect, bluntly and directly, that the Japanese encourage the drug traffic in China with the deliberate intention of undermining the morale of the Chinese in the Provinces which they have occupied; the evidence of the reports of our own consular officers is to the effect that the Japanese deliberately encourage smuggling in order to strike at the roots of the one stable source of revenue in China—namely, the Customs.

If the evidence of Colonel Russell and of our own consular officers is correct, then I can imagine nothing more wicked than these methods on the part of Japan. With a view to clearing my own mind, I should be very grateful indeed to the lecturer if he could give us some further information upon those two points.

Major AINGER: I am very sorry. I think I covered myself by saying I was not prepared to give my evidence. I would be very happy to tell you privately why I think what I do.

I would like to call your attention to an article by Mr. Bland which I happened to see in the *National Review* about seven months ago, which gives a very different viewpoint on the opium question.

Lady HOSIE: I should like to ask the lecturer if it is quite fair to China to quote the so-called Opium War of very nearly a century ago.

Mr. Bland is somebody whom I respect very greatly, but he left China, I think, before the Great War, and China has moved considerably forward in the matter of stopping opium. I know very well that a few years ago there was considerable drug selling, but certainly in the last few years the Chinese Nationalist Government has made realistic efforts to stop poppy growing.

Early this year I was in Shansi Province interviewing Governor Yen Hsi-Shan, and I congratulated him with all my heart on the progress his province has continued to make.

My husband was Opium Commissioner when we undertook to stop sending opium from India to China *pari passu* as she stopped growing it. The last Indian opium was sent in 1913, and I think if the lecturer could look back to about 1911 instead of 1858 he would find that, despite the setbacks due to long political disturbance, there has been genuine improvement in the matter, and specially during the last five years.

Major AINGER: I would only reply, it is no use preaching to the converted.

The CHAIRMAN: That concludes the meeting. I do not think for a moment I need to give a long summing up.

I would like to emphasize one remark the lecturer made, and it is a very serious remark. I do not believe we can do any good by having windy meetings at the Albert Hall and passing windy resolutions, unless we can really do something. And what can we do?

I think it is a pity if we talk too much and only aggravate people who are doing things they think are right. We are not doing any good by it. What action can we take? Suppose we try imposing

sanctions? That would fail for the same reason as it failed before, because we were not wholehearted and the whole world was not wholehearted. America and Italy and Germany would simply step in and get all the trade we lost.

I will put one more point. Is there one father or mother in this room who would allow his son to lose his life for that cause if he could prevent it? I do not believe there is.

A NOTE ON THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE ARAB STATES

BY THE EMIR ADIL ARSLAN

It is difficult to foretell just what direction Arab politics in general will take. A nation which is faced with a renaissance after several centuries of slumber has every reason to hesitate before choosing the new road, but the Arab nation will certainly select the way that points most surely to a new life worthy of her great past.

It would take too long for me to give even the briefest résumé of Arab history, but I wish to point out why the present Arab renaissance will bear but little resemblance to the former amazing development which is usually known as the post-Islamic Arab civilization. I am confident that the present awakening will not develop into any kind of offensive movement against other countries. It is indeed important that the historic mistakes that were made by the Arabs long centuries ago should not be repeated, for it was the policy of conquest carried far beyond our natural frontiers which so weakened us that we have been suffering from it ever since. The too-rapid formation of the Arab Empire caused the Arab peoples to be scattered all over the world. We would have been greater in strength and in numbers to-day had our ancestors not besieged Constantinople no less than thirteen times, if they had not invaded the Caucasus, if they had not reached the banks of the Volga, if they had not swept far beyond the Atlas Mountains, the Pyrenees, and the Alps. While we remain proud of their military victories, we would, for the future, prefer to follow the path of their conquests in the fields of science. At Geneva, for example, I was less interested by the signs of Arab conquest, such as the "Murs des Sarracins" and "Les Portes Sarracines," than I was by the Rue Bouzed, which perpetuates the name of a learned Arab, the friend and teacher of Jean J. Rousseau, and whom Rousseau used to mention in his letters to Newton. But this does not mean that the Arab national movement will not take on a very strongly defensive character.

The Arab youth are discussing the future of their race and they envisage a confederation of the neighbouring Arab States of Asia. This idea is based on various common needs—economic, racial, political, and cultural. From now on, right up to the end of this

present twentieth century, far-reaching political and social developments are going to take place in the Arab countries. I am one of those who are hoping that the coming Arab generation will manage to keep a reasonable balance between the various special characteristics of the Arab race and Western civilization, in regard to which Disraeli remarked "the European comfort which they call civilization."

There are many reasons why Arab unity is necessary, but on account of various difficulties which will only disappear after a considerable lapse of time, federation or confederation is less difficult to achieve than a united Arabia. The economic side of the Arab problem is of great importance. Between Aleppo at one point and Riyad and Sarra at other points, about half the currencies in existence are in circulation. The Syrian pound, the Palestinian pound, the Turkish pound, the Egyptian pound, the French franc, the dinar of Iraq, the Mejjidi thaler, the Maria Teresa thaler, the rupee—I could go on indefinitely—and between the north and the south of our countries some 300 different kinds of weights and measures are in use. The difficulties in the way of increasing business, both as regards home trade and exports, are unbelievable, and at present any kind of economic collaboration between the Arab States is almost impossible. Syria, for example, which always used to be the most prosperous province of the whole Ottoman Empire, is to-day suffering an appalling financial crisis.

The racial ties between the Arab countries are much stronger than is realized in Europe. Almost every Arab clan or tribe is represented by sections in each one of our countries. You may be surprised to hear that whole villages in the Lebanon are inhabited by Arabs whose tribes are still living near Basra or Baghdad. This is only one example out of hundreds.

To resume—I must point out that the Arab nation in Asia is to-day the only nation on earth that is divided up under fourteen different Governments. Three of the most important of our countries must remain bound for some considerable period by treaties of alliance with Great Britain and France, but there is no reason why the existence of these treaties should prevent a close collaboration between the different Arab States. Whether or not these treaties will be renewed will depend on the political attitude that these two great powers will have taken towards the Arabs in the meantime. Past experience has always shown that imposed treaties are useless. Only treaties of real friendship are valuable.

Saoudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, and Palestine will decide the general

political policy of the whole Arab nation. Egypt will continue to play a leading part in Arab national movement. Many Europeans do not admit that Egypt is an Arab State, but a country where half the population is of Arab origin, and which has spoken, used, and helped to preserve our language for more than 1,000 years is, in our view, no less Arab than the Hedjaz. Many Europeans even refuse to admit that Syria is an Arab country. They forget that Syria was mainly Arab before and during the time of the Romans. They forget that most of its Christians were Arab before the Arab conquest. Although these same critics admit that a German or a Scandinavian or a Latin has the right to become pure British after merely two generations, yet they seem to insist that a Phœnician or a Greek living in Syria must remain a Phœnician or a Greek even though his family has had fourteen hundred years of complete Arab assimilation.

As to differences of religion, these have never in the past prevented good collaboration or understanding as long as foreign propaganda was not at work. It was not Europe that protected the Christians of Syria, including Palestine, after the Crusaders left our country, and it was not Europe that protected the Armenians during the Great War. In spite of, and against the orders of, the Young Turks, the Syrians protected the Armenian refugees. I must stress this point because certain circles are anxious to forget this.

I do not believe that the importance of Palestine to the Arabs is at all generally understood in Great Britain, and we (Arabs) deeply regret that this should be so. It was in Palestine that the Arabs won their greatest victories over the Romans, and the tomb of Abou Obeida, who delivered Syria from the Romans, is to be found on the banks of the Jordan. Almost countless is the number of Arab families having historic connections with Palestine. My own first ancestor in Syria died fighting against the Romans at the battle of Ijnadain between Jaffa and Tulkarm. Ramleh used to be the capital of Syria prior to Damascus. I recognize the importance given to the League Covenant in Britain. The Arabs of Palestine have studied it carefully, because paragraph 4 of Article 22 is clearly favourable to them, saying as it does :

“ Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Man-

datory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.”

Now that the British Government in agreement with the Royal Commission recognize that the Arabs of Palestine “are able to stand alone” the Arabs are justified in claiming the fulfilment of the above clause. The Covenant, which is permanent, is of far greater importance than the Mandate, which is temporary.

The Balfour Declaration is contrary to the spirit and to the letter of the Covenant, and it clearly comes under Article 20 of the Covenant, which stipulates as follows :

“The members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

“In case any member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such members to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.”

The Balfour Declaration can no longer be invoked now that the Mandate has been declared to be “unworkable” because it is included in the text of the Mandate, and because it is the principal reason why the Mandate is unworkable.

Even stronger than all the above arguments is the hope and belief held by the Arabs that the British Government will reconsider their policy in Palestine so as to do justice to the Arabs and so as to put an end to the present deplorable situation.

A NOTE ON THE "HUDUD AL-'ALAM"

BY LAURENCE LOCKHART

It not infrequently happens that when one is looking for a thing one stumbles unexpectedly upon something totally different; at times, moreover, the thing thus found is of far greater value and interest than that for which one was searching. A case in point was the discovery of the anonymous Persian geographical work entitled the *Hudud al-'Alam* (*The Religions of the World*).

The late Captain (afterwards Major-General) Toumansky, a well-known Russian Orientalist, being most anxious to rediscover the *Ulus-i-arba'a*, a long-lost work by Ulugh Beg, requested an Iranian friend of his named Mirza Abu'l-Fazl Gulpayagani to make a search for it in Bukhara, a place which was then (in 1892) a most fruitful source of rare MSS. Abu'l-Fazl failed to find the *Ulus-i-arba'a*, but he discovered instead a volume containing four old manuscripts, one of which was the *Hudud al-'Alam*, a work of which all knowledge or trace had been lost for many centuries.

Toumansky intended to publish the text of the *Hudud*, but he was unable, for various reasons, to do so. However, he translated and published a portion of the work, and he generously allowed other scholars, such as Zhukovsky and Professor Barthold to refer to, and quote from, any passages that were of particular interest to them. Some years after Toumansky's death, the manuscript came into Barthold's hands. He intended not only to publish the text, but also to translate the whole work. He accomplished the first part of his task, and the book was about to appear when he died (in August, 1931). He had had, however, to abandon his design of translating the book, because of the large number of geographical names in it of which the reading remained unknown.

Undeterred by the fact that so great a scholar as Barthold had flinched at the task of translation, Professor Minorsky undertook it and, after labours extending over several years, has most successfully carried out what he set out to do; in addition, he has written a most exhaustive and learned commentary and has translated Barthold's Russian Preface to his edition of the text.

Nothing whatever is known of the author of the *Hudud*, beyond the few meagre details that can be gleaned from a perusal of the work itself. He began the composition of his book in 372 A.H. (A.D. 982-3) for Abu'l-Harith Muhammad ibn Ahmad, the Farighunid prince of the province of Guzgan, which was situated in what is now North-Western Afghanistan. Unlike his earlier Arab contemporary, the author of the *Hudud* was no traveller, and, except for his account of Guzgan and possibly of Gilan, he relied entirely upon the works of previous geographers for his information. This statement must not be taken as meaning that the work is valueless; the reverse is, in fact, the case, because the author utilized a number of sources which are no longer extant, and certain of the particulars he gives of China, Tibet, and Central Asia are not to be found elsewhere. In quite a different respect the work is also of importance, because it is one of the very earliest that have come down to us in the modern Persian language. It ante-dates Firdausi's *Shah-Nama* by several years, and there can be no doubt that from the linguistic point of view alone its interest is considerable.

Professor Minorsky has been at great pains to ascertain which were the sources utilized by our author, and has come to the conclusion that Istakhri was the principal authority, possibly in a Persian translation. Amongst other sources are ibn Khurdadbih's *Kitabu'l-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik* and the lost *Kitabu'l-Mamalik wa'l-Masalik* by Jaihani. The only authorities whom our author mentions by name are Aristotle and Ptolemy.

The text contains several references to a map, but of this there is, unfortunately, no trace. Professor Minorsky is of opinion that the author prepared this map before he compiled his book; the Professor states in his Preface: "A close scrutiny of the text has convinced me that in numerous places the peculiar order of enumeration is a result of 'reading off the map,' often without any regard for the natural divisions of territories, ranges of mountains, watersheds, and roads."

As regards Central Asia, the book is of decided value, especially the author's remarks on the orography of that region (in this connection, see Professor Minorsky's article in the *Geographical Journal* for September, 1937, entitled, "A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia"). The passages on Guzgan and its limits are also of interest, as the information they contain is obviously first-hand. As to the country that is now Eastern Afghanistan, a point of some importance is that the relevant passages in the *Hudud* contain

the earliest recorded mention of the Afghans by that name. In his description of Saul, a village near Gardiz, our author states that Afghans live in it; on the same page (91), he says that the king of Ninhar "makes show of Islam and has many wives (namely), over thirty Muslim, Afghan, and Hindu (wives)."

The references to Tibet are curious. It is described as a country of few amenities, yet "whoever visits it, without any reason, becomes (of) smiling (countenance) and merry heart" (this passage, as Barthold has pointed out in his Preface, is borrowed from ibn Khurdadbih). The statement that there was a mosque in Lhasa is hard to credit.

There is an amusing passage regarding the kingdom of Bolor (a country situated to the north of Kashmir and south-west of the great Qaraqorumn range): "Bolor is a vast country with a king who declares that he is the Son of the Sun. And he does not rise from his sleep until the Sun has risen, saying that a son must not rise before his father."

When we come to Iran, Rayy is described as a great and prosperous town and the seat of the king of Jibal; there is no mention of Tehran, but that is not surprising, as it must at that time have been a very small place, completely overshadowed by its large neighbour, Rayy. Isfahan (Sipahan) was a great and flourishing town, much favoured by nature; Tabriz, on the other hand, was merely a small borough.

Baghdad, the capital of Iraq, was a great town and the seat of the Caliphs. It is significant of the decline of the Caliphate at that epoch that this is the only occasion on which the Caliphs are mentioned in the *Hudud*.

Our author regarded Egypt as "the wealthiest country of Islam and in it lie numerous towns, all prosperous, flourishing, wealthy, and extremely favoured by nature." Fustat, the capital, "is the wealthiest city in the world, extremely prosperous and very pleasant."

Later in the book come brief accounts of Morocco and Spain; the inhabitants of the latter country are said to be white-skinned and blue-eyed, a description that seems to fit either the Visigoths or the Basques.

Britain (Baritiniya) is "the last land of Rum on the coast of the Ocean. It is an emporium of Rum and Spain."

After some sections devoted to the Russians, Slavs, and Turkish peoples, the author concludes his work with an account of the southern countries and their black inhabitants.

To sum up, one can, by reading the *Hudud*, obtain a clear idea of how the world appeared to the Moslem geographers of the fourth

century A.H (tenth century A.D.), and Professor Minorsky has rendered a notable service to Western readers by making this book accessible to them. In his excellent commentary, he has thrown a great deal of light on a subject that has, up to the present, been strangely neglected in Western Europe.

FILM AND LANTERN LECTURES

THERE have been three lectures and one or two smaller meetings which it is not possible to report at length in the *Journal* as they depended largely on the films or slides which illustrated them. The first of these was given on September 27, with Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode in the Chair, when Mr. B. J. Gould showed part of what is perhaps the most lovely coloured film ever taken by an amateur. Mr. Spencer Chapman, who took the film, was a member of the Mission to Lhasa in 1936, of which Mr. Gould was the head. Tibet was facing a difficult period in its history, and in this time of international unrest and dis-ease the Government of India had decided to ask Tibet to allow a survey to be taken of the life of the people. The resultant film showed a folk artistic in their medieval pageantry, in their ceremonies and their habits, giving at all points evidence of the Chinese culture which they had absorbed into their Tibetan life. The clear atmosphere of the country, the wonderful colouring of the rich silks of the robes and ceremonial costumes, the natural good manners of the people, who were evidently delighted to see themselves on these films when they were shown at the parties and functions to which they were invited by members of the Mission, allowed the audience to get into touch with Tibetans and Tibetan life in a very human way. The first pictures were taken in the Resident's garden in Sikkim, lazy floating lilies, clumps of iris and waving reeds and foliage, big begonias and other flowers which gave place to the laden caravan, and yaks, ponies and men began their long marches over the barren mountain paths leading up to Phari, the great wool market on the frontier. From the frontier the caravan went slowly down to the Brahmaputra valley and the river was crossed in coracles, the animals swimming across, but on the lesser rivers and in dry weather flat-bottomed barges were used, decorated in some cases with horses' heads, perhaps for directional purposes, or possibly as the remnants of an older superstition.

Troops were turned out at the guard stations, roads were festooned in honour of the occasion; then came, with startling suddenness, the great cliff, with its monasteries, eyries in the cliffside which had been dwelling places of monks for generations past. As they approached Lhasa the country grew more fertile. Animals and birds were very tame and unafraid where they had never known a gun or trap and

were curious to see what was on foot. But it was the first sight of Lhasa, the first great view of the Potala, of the great stairway and white walls, of golden roofs rising tier on tier, which was the culmination of the picture in this part of the film and which perhaps conveyed something of the meaning of the place to countless numbers of pilgrims arriving after weary months on the road. There is said to be nearly a million pounds' worth of gold on the roof of the new shrine in memory of the late Dalai Lama, which, as the lecturer explained later in answer to a question, had been brought from China.

The film showed the Jewel Garden of the Dalai Lama, a sanctuary where Brahmini duck and bar-headed geese rested on their migratory flights, and, among other animals, the Regent's pet *sharu*, a rather rare kind of deer.

"We duly made screen acquaintance with the Regent, an ascetic and gracious personage who looked remarkably young in his solemn robes and tokens of office. One gained the impression that even the bodyguard of warriors and monks and counsellors surrounding him are far removed in rank from his towering eminence; and when he condescended to be filmed, it was rather like a kind of sun showering his cheerful beams into a Western puddle. Presently we saw him and his extensive suite prepare for a visit of State which was to occupy many months and cover hundreds of miles. There were innumerable troops and servants, bearers and trains of burdened animals, trudging along under huge cases packed with ceremonial costumes and tributary presents. The cortège made a terrific dust at times along those mountain or desert roads (if roads they could be called where roads are none), but it was when it reached a river that the fun began.

"The Regent had to be helped out of his picturesque crimson palanquin, and escorted with considerable deference to the type of rickety boat already described, where he sat down with what philosophy he could command, and all his subordinates dutifully insisted on remaining standing, scarcely adding to the equilibrium of the boat. Fortunately, there was never width enough of river or tempest enough on the lakes to occasion a threat of *mal de mer*; and once ashore again, the journey was resumed at a business-like speed. The chief impression—except when the lengthy caravan was silhouetted against the sky while crossing a bridge in single file—was one of dignified processional movement that had an element of cheerfulness which overcame the discomforts of wind and weather.

"Indeed, the serving-men and retainers all bore marks of an open-air life, for they were sun-tanned to various degrees of bronze or ruddy chestnut. Even the innumerable monks scattered among the many monasteries were weather-beaten for the most part; and their healthy complexions stood comparison with the crimson robes which distinguish them from the laity. Only the abbots—feeble and venerable in the main—showed the marks of an indoor life; consequently they seemed shy and awkward or else philo-

sophically tolerant of the photographic process going on. As for Cabinet Ministers, clad in the gorgeous yellow robes of their rank, they appeared to be men of wisdom and experience, fully equal to holding their own with the envoys of other lands.

“The semi-barbaric beauty of the rites and ceremonies and symbolic plays and dances of the New Year festival, for which the mission stayed, have already been described by various observers. They lasted from an early hour till sunset, and it was impressed on the stranger that every detail had its special meaning. Many of the wonderful costumes resembled the representations we get on ancient silken Chinese paintings; and the further back Tibetan tradition goes, the more evident it is that the country draws its inspiration from the Flowery Land. Yet it was notable that in spite of the “devil” figures, bearing masks in imitation of ferocious beasts with mane and tusk, the show had a happy ending. The final group consisted of the God of Happiness and Good Luck surrounded by his family and servitors, and his mask looked like the embodiment of one enormous smile of manifest good nature.

“No account of any race with a history and culture of its own can ever be complete without a picture of its womanhood and family life. Mr. Gould explained that a few years ago he had escorted one of the sons of a great dignitary of Lhasa home after his school-years at Rugby. Presently we saw this Tibetan worthy, not only with his wife and child, but also with the two elder brothers who had preceded him at the same great school. It was more interesting still to see the brothers—even the one who is a monk and a celibate—with their parents and kinsfolk, playing their part in the life of what Tennyson called a ‘numerous house’ in all its aspects and amenities.

“Architecturally, of course, Lhasa is an interesting jumble of many styles, and we were given interesting glimpses of portions of the Potala and its ancillary monasteries, with all their courtyards, verandahs, stately entrances, and shaded windows. There was a decidedly Italian or Renaissance influence prevailing, and it looked as if the countrymen of Marco Polo had overrun Asia with good commissions and results in the way of designs and building construction. But nowhere did this come out with such clear results as in the homes and gardens of the higher classes.

“We saw groups of nomadic mummers and dancers performing by the wayside in the dust, to the measure of a girl beating a pan-shaped drum. Indeed, there was no end to the range of racial types, from a smiling devotee whisking his prayer-wheel, to the ex-bandit who had forfeited an arm to the severity of the law and since turned public entertainer. But it was the children and the womenfolk who charmed us all, from the suck-thumb complacency of an infant to the daredevil stare of the casual urchin, and the wistful, bewitching, coy behaviour of marriageable maidens under the fire of the camera. Some of the younger girls played marvellous games of shuttlecock with their feet. Matrons and dowagers were there as well, and all showed elemental Chinese traces in their featurings; but everywhere there reigned an innate and ingenuous kindness to the stranger. The soul of the spectator revolted at the very notion that so pure and picturesque a

race of artists and pietists should ever have to fear invasion from a hostile race. As Sir Philip Chetwode said to a questioner afterwards, England, before that happens, will have something serious to say, you may depend."*

The Chairman, when he introduced Mr. Gould, said that there was no one whose service had better fitted him to speak on the Frontiers or to lecture on Tibet, for Mr. Gould had held important posts from east to west, Sikkim, Waziristan, the Khyber, Baluchistan, and was now back on the Eastern Frontier as Political Officer in Sikkim.

On December 13 Mr. and Mrs. Suydam Cutting showed a small film which Mrs. Cutting had taken while she and her husband were in Lhasa during the summer of 1937; she showed some unusual pictures of the Potala, taken from the top of the Cathedral, and, among other aspects of Tibetan life, her cheery children's party, the children wild with delight at the mechanical toys which had been brought from Europe. Mr. Cutting said it was not easy to get permission to visit Lhasa, but once allowed in, you were treated with the greatest courtesy and you became the honoured guests of the Government and people.

On November 11 Sir Aurel Stein gave a lantern lecture on his recent journey to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic and the Royal Central Asian Societies; the full details of the journey and Sir Aurel Stein's findings are to be published in full later.

On November 22 Mlle. Ella Maillart spoke to a crowded audience on her journey from Kabul to Istanbul, a lecture which was given in her inimitable manner, and which was illustrated with very good coloured slides.

* From the description of the lecture in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, October 14.

THE MANDÆANS IN THE LIGHT OF THE LATEST RESEARCH*

By DR. M. GASTER

A LONG the borders of flowing rivers in Iraq and Iran—the Euphrates, the Tigris, and others—there lives a remnant of those innumerable sects which arose and flourished in the centuries immediately before and after the advent of Christianity. From a very large number the Mandæans have dwindled in time to a handful of people, altogether perhaps no more than 5,000 souls, scattered over those two countries, living a life of their own, differing in every way from the rest of the inhabitants in whose midst they are. Though small as their number is, none the less they are of special interest to the student of the great spiritual movements which have spread among the nations of the Near East during those periods when the great political, social, and religious transformation had taken place. Ever since the time of Alexander, who broke up the Persian kingdom, came an inrush of Greek ideas, of Greek scepticism, and also a large number of Greek myths, tales, and beliefs. The new element, by its claim of superiority, by its indifference to and contempt of the local gods and the local faith, undermined the belief of the people, who thought their gods mocked at, their beliefs ridiculed. The acid of Greek criticism and cynicism had entered deeply into the iron fabric of the East and had thrown the statues of the gods from their sockets. The result has been an extraordinary deterioration not only of the religious life, but, in consequence, also of the social life of these nations. The people saw their cities burnt, their temples destroyed, and they were deeply shaken. A great fear fell upon the nations, which explains many of the changes which then took place and many of the new movements which arose. It was the fear of death; they clung to life and were frightened of the idea of complete annihilation. Incapable of lifting the veil which covers the future, they were anxious to penetrate behind it and to secure means by which they were sure to obtain a continuation of life beyond, not merely a simple life, but if possible a life of bliss and a life of happiness. For the poor and the downtrodden it was the only hope in life; it was to be

* E. S. Drower, *The Mandæans of Iraq and Iran*, XXV., 436 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1937.

the reward for all the suffering which they had endured and a kind of redressing of the balance between wrong and right. To the rich no doubt the idea of losing all that they possessed in this world was a terrible thought. And so various systems and theories were slowly evolved by which the one or the other leader endeavoured to satisfy his followers that he had found the key by which he was able to unlock the world to come and to assure them of that life hereafter to which they were looking forward.

It is sufficient to mention here Gnosticism, the mystery cults, whilst the old religions had not lost entirely their hold upon the people's imagination and faith, Babylonian astrology and some of its mythology, later on Zoroastrianism only in the form in which it was revived in the Sassanian Empire under the influence of the priesthood with its pronounced dualism, not to forget the Egyptian cult of the dead, if I may call it so, with its magical charms and conjurations, and to a large extent Judaism in its fuller development in post-biblical times with its ancient traditions, apocalyptic visions, and cabbalistic speculations, and above all the new Christianity with its promise of salvation. One may mention here also the attempt of Mani, the founder of Manichæism, to weld the three religions that were most prominent at his time, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity, into one whole. All these attempts were merely the outcome of the desire of finding a way of salvation and an answer to the many riddles of the world, especially security for life after death.

But these various faiths and practices and beliefs were not standing alone, as it were, in airtight compartments. They mixed and mingled, and we have the spectacle of an extraordinary mixture called syncretism. When people begin to doubt the power of their own gods and see other kinds of gods being worshipped, then there arises the desire of appealing to those gods also. The result is a curious mixture of gods and beliefs which are jumbled together. The best example can be seen in the magical papyri, in those conjurations in which row after row of gods are appealed to, taken from every possible cult. We find there not only Egyptian, but also Babylonian and Jewish and other gods together, in the hope that with their united power something good will come out. A special feature of all the sectarian movements is that each sect believes itself to be in the possession of the absolute truth. He who proclaims a new way of salvation does not intend to be a reformer. He, on the contrary, thinks that he represents the old truth which has been forgotten or changed and manipulated by the followers of the other sect.

The result is that whatever is proclaimed by the one as being sacred is now declared by the differing sect as being profane; they are even going farther: the gods of the one become the devils of the other. This process has continued also in the great fight between Christianity and Mythraism and other pagan cults.

One sect which has exercised the deepest influence in this connection upon the history of the human spirit was the Manichæan sect. Mani in the third century endeavoured to create out of these various forms of religion, the various teachings, one connected new system. He gathered together elements from Zoroastrian, Babylonian, Jewish, and Christian thought and ideas and tried to weld them together into one homogeneous whole. In spite of persecution during centuries, it continued to flourish, especially in Europe, under various names and forms such as the Bogomils, Cathars, until it reached the westernmost shores of Europe, where it formed part of the faith of the Albigenses in Provence.

It was necessary to give this brief sketch before touching upon the sect of the Mandæans, for here we find the most complete form of syncretism which has survived to our very days—and herein lies its interest. All the old mythological and mystical elements are so much mixed up with one another that they form a bewildering maze without the thread of Ariadne. People who have been persecuted for centuries as heretics by one dominating church or another, whether Christian or Mohammedan, have learned to be shy, to keep their tenets secret for fear of exposing themselves either to great danger or to ridicule. Their fate must have been a very tragic one, since from the few lines found in their writings it appears that they must have suffered terrible persecutions and also must have lost a large number of their adherents, who were forced to embrace Islam or some other faith in order to save their lives.

They were first discovered, if I may say so, by some Jesuit priest, Ignatius a Jesu, who came to Goa by the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese had obtained strong footing there and in Muskat. Seeing some of their observances, especially the keeping of the Sunday, not in the real Christian way, but still apparently so, and mentioning Yuhana—*i.e.*, John the Baptist—he called them “Christians of St. John.” It was not a correct title, but it clung to them, and occasionally in order to save themselves they would call themselves Christians. There is scarcely a trace of Christianity among them, as will be seen presently. They go by the name of *Subbi*, or call them-

selves so, or *Nasurai*, which has given rise to many a wrong interpretation. An endeavour will be made later on to explain these names. The chief characteristic is—and that is whence they got the name *Subbi*—constant immersion in flowing water. It is wrongly translated “baptism,” since it has not the same meaning as given to it by the Christian Church—*i.e.*, an act performed once when a child or a man is admitted into the Christian faith—but the Mandæans are constantly bathing, washing on every occasion—morning, midday, evening.

The information which Ignatius gave was therefore superficial and erroneous. Not better was that given by Thévenot. More satisfactory information was given by Petermann, and even this is very insufficient, and so also that by Siouffi. The only reliable and complete study is now that by Mrs. E. S. Drower. This great book has just appeared and will be discussed at the end of this brief sketch.

Those who have written and studied the Mandæans have drawn their information from the few books which from the end of the eighteenth century have reached Europe. They were principally three books and a few scrolls. That was all that was known until quite recently. Books, however important they may be, are to a large extent merely the skeletons which are to be covered with flesh and skin, and even then they cannot stand up unless a spirit is breathed into them. And therefore the interpretation of these books was not an easy matter and led to contradictory conclusions. These books, in fact, are not homogeneous writings. They consist of fragments which have been pieced together by people who found that unless they saved that which was still in their hands the rest would perish. It is as a rule at such times of danger that those who are responsible for the spiritual life or for the literary treasures of their people become conscious of the danger of losing them and try to save as much as they can.

The first and most important book is the *Ginza*. It is a curious book also as far as the form is concerned in which it is written. It consists of two parts. One is called the right, the other is called the left. The right is said to be the good, the left the bad side, although there is no great difference in the contents. In order to read the left when finishing the right side, one has to turn the book upside down; the pages do not follow consecutively one upon the other through the whole book. In the middle there is a break, and a new beginning is made from the other side. The book is also called *Sidra Rba*. The name of *Ginza* has been translated by everyone “treasure.” I venture to think the translation wrong. I would suggest to translate it “secret”—*i.e.*, the book

of secret teaching—for it contains practically all the “secret” teaching of the Mandæans, their mythology, their cosmogony, their hymns and prayers, a few historical lines, references to the conquest of the country by the Arabs, whose rule they predict to come to an end after 150 years, an indication of the probable latest date of its compilation, or due to the date of the oldest copy from which the others have been made. No people, no nation, has ever called any of its books “the treasure,” and much of it has still remained secret even to the followers. *Sidra Rba*, the other name for *Ginza*, I would translate “the great Lectionary,” the Great Order of Lessons, since most of the prayers are read from it and a number of hymns chanted from it. The explanation for the curious way in which the book is written seems to me to lie in the fact that most of their writings were on long, narrow scrolls. But the scroll is not written so that when the one side is finished one turns it and starts again on the top of the reverse. The Mandæans, when they come to the end of the scroll, it is turned upside down and the writing is continued, so that beginning and end come together on the top, and in order to read it one has to turn the scroll upside down. Now, when copying them out, very likely the first copyist copied the obverse on one side, and the reverse he started on the other side, turning it over in the same way as the scroll is turned over. The *Ginza* consists of about eighty small portions.

The next book to be mentioned would be the *Drasha d Yahya*, which I translate the “homily of St. John,” taking here the word “homily” in its widest sense, as in the Homilies of the Church Fathers, which contain also often the life of the saint and other heterogeneous matter.

The third book would be the *Sidra d Nishmatha*, or *Kolasta*, which I would translate “the hymnbook.” It contains a number of liturgical poems used either on the occasion of death or at marriages or on other occasions. All these books have been translated into German by Lidzbarski. Opinion differs as to the date of these compilations. They are written in a peculiar alphabet. It is akin to the Syriac, but is more archaic and resembles writings of the first and second century A.D. The language is Aramaic; they have no vowel-points, but instead of the vowels they use the letters *aleph* for *a* and *yod* for *i*. The language is not, as has hitherto been maintained, akin to that found in the Babylonian Talmud—and I lay much stress on this point—it is much more akin to that found in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Palestinian Targum. The Palestinian Talmud is very little known, and therefore

scholars have overlooked that fact, which, however, I think is of some importance when endeavouring to trace the origin of this peculiar sect. In their pronunciation all the gutturals are mixed up, and that promiscuous use creates some difficulty in the interpretation of the texts. Altogether that interpretation is not an easy matter, since it requires entering deeply into the spirit of the language. One cannot read Oriental notions into Western compositions. The composite and fragmentary character, notably of the *Ginza*, makes it very difficult to disentangle the skein of their theology and to present a clear idea of their cosmogony, for everything turns round the creation of the world and the forces that govern it. An outstanding feature which differentiates the Mandæans from the rest of the old gnostic sects with which they have been brought into too close connection is the absence of a *soter*—*i.e.*, saviour. This at once shows their independence of Gnosticism, although the contrary has been suggested by many a scholar. It points to a much higher antiquity. In this mixture of heterodox systems which have been taken over and assimilated no one could definitely say where and when each of them originated and how much one system is indebted to the other. It is almost a hopeless medley of all the leading beliefs and practices of Parsism and Judaism, primitive Christianity, Gnosticism, mysteries, etc. Thus in this cosmogony there are two contradictory systems, owing their origin to two different traditions. One is more polytheistic, and in the other polytheism has been already reduced to an apparently monotheistic form.

To the Mandæans the King of Light is a supreme being. Life and light are with them almost identical terms. He reigns supreme and he is surrounded by a large number of spiritual beings. They are very difficult to define; they resemble to a certain extent the Babylonian ethereal creatures, which appear also in the *Avesta*, and they are all living in the *Ayar*. This is not merely the heaven, but a heaven of bliss, a heaven of light, and an abode of the righteous.

Leaving other beings aside like the “maleks”—“malek” being a fusion of two words meaning “king” and “angel,” often indistinct—there are the *Uthras*. They are practically the angels. Of course, the word is not to be taken literally. The real meaning of *Uthra* is “Treasure,” and I see in them the personification of the “treasures” that are stored up in heaven for the righteous, just as we find them in the New Testament and also in the Jewish tradition. But the gate of the heaven is guarded by *Abathur*, a name which has not yet been properly explained. He is the one who opens the gates. *Abathur* was

sitting there at the gate of heaven looking down upon the dark waters below. His shadow fell upon the waters. Slowly, slowly it assumed material shape and it became the spirit of evil, the Ruha—originally “spirit.” This Ruha had a son, who was also her husband, Ur—“light”—and she bore a large number of children, who were all the evil spirits, and these are the spirits that tempt man and destroy him and are the cause of all evil. One of them is that great devil who is described as one of the most powerful and terrible giants, who breathes fire, who shakes the earth and causes all the great commotions. He will also cause the conflagration at the end of days. But Hibil Ziwa—*i.e.*, “the glorious” or “shining” Hibil—came down from heaven and started the fight, and after a long while he was able to conquer him and to chain him and put him in the lowest depths of the earth, and there he lies, still causing all kinds of shaking and tremblings.

Next to Hibil Ziwa, whose relation to the Mana Rba, or “the King of Light,” is rather vague and contradictory, there is also Sital, who plays a similar rôle; and a third one is Anush. I must still mention Pthahil, who is the one who receives the soul of the dying and conducts it up to the gate of heaven where Abathur is waiting. But this journey is impeded by a number of evil spirits. Here the astrological element creeps in. According to the Mandæans, the signs of the Zodiac are inhabited and perhaps governed by evil spirits who try to influence also man in his life upon earth, and who are waiting there on the road in the maṭaratha—*i.e.*, watch-houses—to get hold of the soul and to prevent it from rising further. But if the Mandæan soul knows the sign and has lived a pure life, then Pthahil is believed to conduct it through all the maṭaratha, the number of which is not given, but probably twelve, since they are identified with the signs of the Zodiac; Abathur then receives the soul and opens the gate, and the Uthras receive it and bring it near to the place of bliss. The sign which this soul gives is, in all probability, the secret name. Every Mandæan has two names, one which is generally known and one which is connected with the planets or the Zodiac. It is in a very weakened form that we have here the old *sigla*, or the old sacred names which the initiated received in the mystery cults for the safe procession of the soul through the various stages watched by evil spirits. This belief is also found among the Egyptians, but also in the apocryphal literature as a protection against the evil spirits lying in wait to catch the soul ascending towards the heavenly paradise. Such double names are in use also by the Samaritans and even by the Jews.

The chief form of the service consists, as mentioned before, in ablution. The Mandæan must not defile himself by touching a dead body or anything that is able to defile his purity. Therefore they live close to the flowing water, which, according to their belief, is part of the divine flowing river, the *yardna*—*i.e.*, Jordan. This river flows from the heavens and comes down from earth and brings with it life-giving power. It divides itself into many rivers, which flow through the world, each of them carrying some of the divine life and divine light which purifies. They must not eat anything that has been prepared by non-Mandæans, and on every occasion they must perform ablution. On special days and festivals when they are all assembled they perform this ablution in common, and afterwards they take some of the water and sprinkle it over their foreheads.

Their calendar consists of twelve months, each one of thirty days, with five intercalary days at the end of the year. This calendar is prepared by the head priest or ganzibra.

There are two great festivals. First, the New Year. This is kept by living indoors for thirty-six hours, not allowing anybody to enter the house nor to go out. On the day after follows the great festivity. The reason for this seclusion is that all the divine beings go up to heaven to pay homage to the King of Light. Thus the world becomes devoid of all the protecting powers and free room is left for the evil spirits to have their full play, therefore every precaution must be taken to protect oneself against their attacks. The priests also prepare the horoscope. They are working it out by the calculation of the conjunction between the planets, the signs of the Zodiac, and in each month there are certain days which are considered dangerous for movement, for beginning work, etc. They call these days *mbattal*—*i.e.*, annulled, empty.

In their prayers they turn towards the Polar Star, saying that the seat of the gods in Paradise is there. The King of Light is identical with the sun. He travels in the boat over the heavens accompanied by ten *uthris* and with a flag hoisted on it. The other planets travel also in similar, but much smaller, boats.

In order to protect oneself, however, prayer is not sufficient. They have *qmahia*—*i.e.*, amulets, charms, or conjurations—a practice common to all the nations East and West, and on them we find the largest number of ancient names of gods and divinities, of evil spirits and their companions, culled from the mythology of all the ancient nations. One god is not sufficient to protect the wearer of it; he must appeal perforce to all the gods available, just as did the magician in the ancient con-

jurations. These *qmahia* are written on long strips, enclosed in small capsules of metal, and worn on the arm, on the head, or on the chest.

Sunday is kept, but not as the Christian Sunday—only as a simple day of rest. They believe in immortality, and mourning for the dead is not allowed.

Of the other festivals, there is one called Panja, when they eat unleavened bread, upon which they put some honey and some drops of blood from a dove that has been sacrificed, resembling therein some practices of the Parsees. The priests are always dressed in white robes, and the Mandæan youth, after having reached a certain age, is purified and receives the girdle as a sign of manhood.

Now as to the date and origin of the sect. Much has been written and many conjectures have been made, one connecting them with the Gnostics, others with the Manichæans; others have found close resemblance to Parseism, and so forth. No doubt there is resemblance with each of them; that is the character of the syncretistic religion. Bits are torn from here and bits are torn from there and joined together, yet the biblical substratum has not been sufficiently understood. The ablution which is so characteristic a feature is one of the principle injunctions of the Bible. Constant ablution is insisted upon in every case of defilement—touching a corpse, etc.—exactly as is the case with the Mandæans. It is not a single performance, but can be repeated almost every day whenever there is any reason for it. In fact, it reminds one strongly of the Essenes and more especially of the Hæmerobaptists with their constant ablutions. The tendency mentioned before of turning the spirit of good into spirits of evil is seen here in the way in which the cosmogony of the Bible has been turned into its reverse. The *Ruha* is none else than the Divine Spirit, the “Holy Ghost” in Genesis i., verse 2. *Ur* is the light which God creates on the first day, and is turned here into the reverse—*i.e.*, the evil spirit as the son and husband of *Ruha*; the *Elohim* is *Adonai*, and *Adonai* becomes an evil spirit. *Hibil Ziwa* is none else than *Hebel* of the Bible, the brother of *Kain*, son of *Adam*; *Shitil* is *Shet*, the third son of *Adam*, and *'Anush* is *Enosh*, not *Enoch*, as others have submitted. In their attitude towards the Jews the Mandæans make the Egyptians to be their ancestors. Far worse, however, is their attitude towards Christianity and Jesus. They describe Jesus as being a false prophet who had come to lead the people astray, who has been influenced by *Ruha* and *Ur*, and *Anush* is sent from the King of Light to go down and to kill him and to destroy Jerusalem because of the wicked deeds. And they are also unsparing in

the Ginza in their criticism of Christians and of the Christian priests. As for the Jordan, many have tried to deny the connection with the Palestine Jordan, but this is on a par with other similar allusions and technical expressions and words taken from the old tradition, which in time is detached from its geographical notation and becomes part of the cosmogony. It is the natural way of evolution of names which we find, not only among the Mandæans, but among many other so-called heretical sects, which, however, can only be explained when traced back to their primitive form.

There are also similarities with the Samaritans in the pronunciation, and later Jewish traditions and Jewish ceremonies show more clearly still that we must seek the origin of the Mandæans in Palestine, the very hotbed of such movements. One has only to read Epiphanius' list of sects to see how great the number of sects was at the time when he lived and wrote in Palestine.

From every point of view a better knowledge of the Mandæan literature, of the language, the ceremonies, cult, was therefore one of the most desirable subjects for any student of this last remnant of ancient syncretism. This great want has now been more than amply satisfied by the admirable publication of Mrs. Drower. She has not only supplied sinus and skin to the bones but has breathed into them that life which made it stand up and now made it a living being. We can see what the Mandæans are in life, their practices, their ceremonies, and for the first time a number of legends collected with much care and insight throw also light upon their imagination and give us a legendary background to their mythology. First and foremost Mrs. Drower has been successful in enriching to an unexpected extent our knowledge of the Mandæan literature. She has practically doubled it. For more than fourteen years she has been living among the Mandæans near Baghdad and she has also gone to other places in Iraq and Iran. She has lived with them. She has brought to her task that sympathy which wins the confidence of the people, and with great tact and full understanding she has made the Mandæans look upon her as a friend whom they could trust. She has learned not only to read but to interpret their scriptures. She has been like one of them for a long time, and the result has been this excellent book, which will now become the foundation-stone for any further research. She has not only collected all the material first-hand but she has also made herself at home in the whole literature, not only of the Mandæans, she has gone among the Parsees, she has studied the ancient traditions of Babylon

and she has therefore brought to bear on her task most valuable material for the elucidation of all the aspects of the life of the Mandæans.

Mrs. Drower has amassed the literature by buying originals or by having copies made of them, and, in order to assure their accuracy, more than one copy was made, for the Mandæans were not too scrupulous in the copying of their ancient texts. They omit or add portions and take great liberty with their texts. It is impossible to give here even a brief sketch of the material thus accumulated. In chapter two Mrs. Drower has given a brief description of it. Some manuscripts are of outstanding importance, especially the one called *Haran Gawaita*, consisting only of detached fragments. And yet Mrs. Drower has been able to draw from it very important information. She is not satisfied merely with giving us the facts, but with great ingenuity tries to explain many of them and to trace them to their possible origin. Very ingenious, *e.g.*, is her attempt to explain the name of Manda d Hiia, which has remained a puzzle, and in the end she herself has given up the task, saying she must leave it to others to disentangle the net.

As I am one of "the others" I may perhaps try to give an additional explanation of this name, since the name of the Mandæans is traced from it. As everything in Mandæan cosmogony, the tradition and information about the gods and about the powers above and below, is so contradictory that unless one assumes that they belong to different periods or to different sources it is impossible to attempt any explanation. The general acceptance of the word Manda d Hiia is that Manda means "knowledge" and therefore is identical with Gnosis, thus showing Gnostic influence or origin, Manda d Hiia meaning therefore the knowledge of life. But as shown above there is no definite trace of Gnostic influence in the Mandæan cosmogony, and it is not likely that they would have taken their name from the Gnostics, with whom they have very little in common. The Aramaic words *Mindah* and *Manda* occur in *Ezra* and *Daniel*. The former means "tribute" or "gift" and the latter "knowledge." These two words have evidently been confused with one another as so many other words in the Mandæan language, just as we have it in the other name given to the Mandæans: *Ṣubbi*. Two different roots have been confused to give the same word a double meaning—*i.e.*, the Sabæans, and the other meaning "those who are bathing." In time the first meaning has been forgotten and the second meaning has been retained. The same is the case with the other name, *Naṣurai*, in which I believe to

recognize the fusion of two words, one connected with the Nazir, and the other with the Noşer—one meaning “the Nazirite,” and the other meaning the “one who is keeping the faith rightfully” (the orthodox). So the Samaritans call themselves also. Other examples can easily be culled from the vocabulary of the Mandæans. I would translate *Manda d Hiia* “the gift (or, rather, the giver) of life,” and in fact we find that Mana, the God of Life, created *Manda d Hiia* that he should bring life to the earth—nay more, that he is the one who had been sent down to breathe life into Adam. He has also been sent down to save the three hundred believers from the destruction of Jerusalem. One can therefore easily understand why the Mandæans should have taken the name as the followers of this Manda, to whom they owe their safety and who is also at the same time a Source of Life from the God of Light.

The book is replete with information of the highest interest. It is divided into two parts, the one dealing with the literature, cult, and ceremonies, and the other is given to folklore and legends. The first part consists of fourteen chapters, in which we find a complete survey of the religious life of the Mandæans. It is first-hand information, culled on the spot, observed personally and also interpreted with the assistance of their priests. Much that had been obscure before is now made perfectly clear in the light of these personal investigations. It is all very carefully and clearly described. Mrs. Drower leaves not a single detail out; nothing is too small, nothing is too unimportant not to be noticed and recorded. As it is here not the place to enter into philological disquisitions I must leave certain points for another occasion and another place when such investigations appeal more strongly to the reader. I must limit myself to referring to the descriptions of marriage customs, death, and burial, with that remarkable ceremony of eating for the benefit of the dead after burial; a special chapter is given to the lustrations or immersions, to which, as I mentioned before, the word baptism does not really apply. It is intended as a purification, not only of the body, but also of the soul, and thus it acquires a new symbolical meaning.

The education and appointment of priests, called Tarmide—a word which formerly meant “pupil” and now means “learned”—is then described. In the Rabbinical literature the term *Talmide Hakhamim* is used for “scholars.” Very elaborate, and though very complicated, yet lucidly presented, is the chapter on astrology, on the calendar, on the influence of the planets and signs of the Zodiac, the lucky and unlucky days, and many other details, such as the worship of the Polar

Star, or rather let me put it, the Qiblah, the direction towards which the Mandæans turn in their prayers. They believe that the gate to the heavenly paradise is in the north. The ascent of the soul with the assistance of *Pthahil*, whom I would translate the "opener of the way," and the protection which he grants to the soul against the attacks of the *Maṭarta* in the chambers of darkness is described in the next chapter. The simplified form of the cosmogony is here given to us and so we are led on from chapter to chapter to the end of the first part, which finishes with a description of the Mandæan alphabet and the mystical interpretation of its origin and application. The letters are of divine origin. There exists a vast Jewish literature of a similar content concerning the Hebrew alphabet.

But Mrs. Drower is not satisfied merely with giving us the facts gathered by her. To each chapter explanatory notes are added, and here we find Mrs. Drower having made herself fully acquainted with the whole literature concerning the Mandæans, and she even goes further in endeavouring to establish a comparison between Mandæan cult and ceremonies and those found among the other nations, notably among the Parsees. Occasionally, also, she goes on to Babylon. It is a mine of learning and fully illuminating, and the author deserves greatest praise for this scholarly commentary. I should like to add only that the more one studies the facts accumulated in this book the more one realizes a closer connection with post-Biblical Jewish practices and ceremonies. This fact corroborates the view expressed before that the origin of the Mandæan religion must be sought somewhere in northern Palestine and along the banks of the Jordan, some time after the second century.

At the end of the first part we have the prayer 'Asuth Malka, repeated by the Mandæans on every occasion ever so many times during the day, which is given in transcript and in translation. This alone suffices to give us an idea of the Pantheon of the Mandæans. An immense number of divine names occurs here. The word *zakutha*, which is here translated "victory," ought to be translated "merit," merit in the spiritual sense—*i.e.*, merit which one derives from the good deeds of the past or beset upon the man by the grace of God. It is the technical expression used throughout the Jewish theology, where it occurs also as *zkuth aboth*—"merit of the fathers"—for the benefit of the children; it is through their merit that we try to obtain favour from God.

The second part of the book is one which is quite new. Here we have for the first time a large number of interesting legends. Some of

them are of purely Biblical origin, such as the stories of creation, and especially the various versions of the flood, and others connected with the cosmogony, like, *e.g.*, the story of Hibil and his fight with Ruha. We are here in the fantastic world of poetic imagery. These legends contribute also to a better understanding of the figures that appear in the cosmogony and in many of the ceremonies and rites. They are, as it were, a kind of poetic background. Mrs. Drower has rendered them here with all the vivacity of style and temperament. They read indeed like tales. Some of them belong to a later period and they show Parsee influence, but they are a most valuable and most delightful addition to a book which not only claims the attention of all the students of the Mandæans but also of those of ancient heretical sects, the modern survivals of syncretism, and of comparative religion. All these and many more will join in the expression of deep gratitude for this admirable and reliable information so richly afforded by one who has done the work as a labour of love.

The book is also enriched by a number of plates introducing the reader to the persons and the objects described in the volume. An excellent index and a brief glossary contribute to enhance the great value of the publication.

A word of appreciation must also be added of the beautiful way in which the Clarendon Press, true to its own great tradition, has published this work.

CONFUCIUS: MAN OR MONSTER?*

BY SIR REGINALD JOHNSTON, K.C.M.G.

THE distinction drawn by the author of this book between "Master Kung" and "Confucius" is a little puzzling, seeing that "Kung" (which, as the word is aspirated, should be written K'ung) is simply the Chinese original of the first three letters of the word "Confucius," and "Master" is merely the English for *Tzŭ* or *Fu-Tzŭ*, which is the Chinese original of the remainder of the same latinized word. Thus there is no difference between the designations "Master K'ung" and "Confucius," although our author apparently wishes to persuade us that the former is applicable to the "sincere, lovable, entirely human scholar and gentleman who was born in the sixth century before Christ," while "Confucius" stands for "the creation of generations of later scholars who deified the man . . . and so created an intellectual Frankenstein monster, a fleshless creature conceived and born between the covers of a textbook." It will not be necessary to remind readers of this Journal that the word "Confucius" is merely a convenient latinization, adopted by the early Catholic missionaries in China who first translated the Confucian classics into Latin, of the Chinese phrase K'ung Fu-Tzŭ, which means K'ung the Master or the Philosopher. In fulfilment of his desire to draw a distinction between K'ung the Sage (or, as he will have it, the deified man or monster) and K'ung the Man, Mr. Crow might have done better to make use of Confucius's personal name and call him K'ung Ch'iu.

It is surprising to be told by our author that his main sources of information for the life of "Master Kung" consist of the well-known biography of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (whom he calls Sze Ma Chien, evidently overlooking the fact that Ssŭ-ma is a double surname), and the "Chinese Classics" as translated by Dr. Legge—to whom, by the way, he pays the undeserved compliment of being the scholar who gave Christian countries "their first authentic information regarding Chinese literature and culture." The curious point about this statement is that the two "main sources" of Mr. Crow's account of "Master Kung" are precisely the sources from which all biographers of the Confucius whom Mr. Crow describes as "an intellectual Frankenstein monster," and all those traditionalists of the Confucian School who according to

* *Master Kung: The Story of Confucius*. By Carl Crow. London: Hamish Hamilton. 1937.

Mr. Crow "deified the man," invariably draw and must draw practically the whole of their authoritative material.

But Mr. Crow draws from other sources as well, and unfortunately he is not always careful to tell us which of the episodes and stories narrated by him in support of his thesis are canonical and which are apocryphal or spurious. Had he cited his authorities in each case, his Western readers ignorant of Chinese literature would have been surprised to learn that many of the stories which he gives to illustrate the lovable and "human" side of the great sage are actually drawn from the very books which he holds responsible for the alleged "Frankenstein monster." A single example taken from the *Lun Yü*, the most authoritative of all the classical accounts of Confucius, will perhaps help his readers to decide for themselves whether the classical tradition has indeed given us a monster, as Mr. Crow says it has, rather than a man. I prefer, however, to tell the story in already-published words of my own rather than in his, and to offer my own translation of the concluding portion as I think it adheres more closely than his to the original.

Confucius, we are told, was sitting one day with four of his disciples and asked each of them what he would do if he were in a position of authority or free to do what he liked. The first, a self-confident and ambitious young man, said he would like to be the minister of a weak state which was threatened by many internal and external dangers. Within three years, he said, he would make it a strong state inhabited by a wise and intrepid people. The second disciple said, more modestly, that if he were a minister he might perhaps succeed, in three years' time, in providing the people with enough to live on, but that as for teaching them the essentials of a true civilization he would have to leave that to a greater man than himself. The third disciple, still more diffident about his own capacities, said he would be content if he might serve as acolyte in the state temples and learn from observation how the rites ought to be conducted. Finally, the Master turned to the fourth disciple, whose name was Tien, and put the same question to him.

"Tien up to that moment had been thrumming his lute. He laid it aside, with the strings still vibrating, and said as he rose to his feet, 'My ambitions are altogether different from theirs.' 'Never mind,' said the Master, 'tell me what they are.'

"'It is near the end of spring,' said Tien. 'What I should like

to do would be to change into light raiment, join a little company of youths and boys, go with them to bathe in the Yi river, enjoy the breezes and dance among the sylvan shrines, and come home singing.'

"The Master sighed, and said, 'Tien, I feel just like you.'"

"If this little tale," as I wrote three years ago, "proves nothing else, it seems to show that Confucius was very far from being the austere pedant that he is sometimes supposed to have been. But how precious to us would have been a record of the tune that Tien, unchidden by the Master, had been thrumming on his lute, and of the songs that he and his companions would have sung on the way home from their picnic on the banks of the Yi!"

There are many statements made by Mr. Crow in the course of his twenty-one chapters which are open to question, but limitations of space make it impossible to deal with more than a few of them. He informs us that Confucius's (or rather Master Kung's) literary style was a "marvel of clarity and conciseness." It should be unnecessary to say that we know nothing of the sage's "literary style," unless we are to assume (very rashly) that the *Ch'un Ch'iu* is an example of it. There is certainly conciseness there! Those sayings of his which appear in the *Lun Yü*, in *Mencius* and in less authentic works were recorded by his disciples and their successors, and it is highly improbable that they were written down precisely in the language that came from his lips. Like some other great founders of religions or cults, Confucius wrote no books, or if he did they have not come down to us.

Mr. Crow also tells us that the ancient Chinese wore brimless hats which gave their eyes no protection from the sun and made them squint, "and that possibly is the origin of the permanent squint which is a Chinese facial characteristic." That the Chinese are a squinting race is news to at least one European who has spent thirty-two years in China. Does Mr. Crow's theory help to solve the question as to whether acquired characteristics are inherited?

He appears to hold the opinion that the name *li min* (usually translated "black-haired people," though there is reason to suspect that the original meaning of *li* was not "black-haired") was "proudly" adopted by the people after they had come in contact with Europeans, such as Englishmen and Dutchmen. Needless to say, the term was used by the Chinese long before they had seen or heard of Englishmen and Dutchmen, and before the English or Dutch nations existed.

In giving us some of the innumerable traditional stories about Confucius and his time, Mr. Crow does not always clearly differentiate between mere legends (often of comparatively late date) and stories which may reasonably be accepted as authentic. Thus in giving his account of the legendary meeting between Confucius and Lao Tzū, he fails to warn us that there is nothing that can be called real evidence for the historicity of the incident. He even goes so far as to tell us that "although there is no record of the fact, there can be no doubt but that Master Kung tried to convert Lao Tzū to his ideas of reform." There are very good reasons to doubt it! During Confucius's stay in the capital, we are told, "they had frequent meetings and it is a matter of regret that there is no record of the conversations of these two men whose teachings were to have such a profound influence on the lives and thoughts of their countrymen." Naturally there are no records of conversations which in all probability never took place.

In Chapter XV. Mr. Crow tells the story of how Confucius is said to have broken his oath not to go to a certain place and to have justified his conduct by the declaration that it was "a forced oath, which the spirits would ignore." He does not explain, however, that the story—which if true would not reflect honour on Confucius—comes from one of the books which Chinese scholars regard as apocryphal. The probability is that the moral problem of whether an honourable man must keep a promise that has been extorted from him by force was one which was often discussed by ancient Chinese moralists just as it has been discussed by our own philosophers in Europe, especially in connection with the ethical problems arising out of treaty-breaking; and that the school which held that such a promise need not be kept sought to give the highest authority to their opinion by associating it with the revered name of Confucius. Such controversial devices are not peculiar to China.

The illustrations, reproduced from well-known Chinese woodcuts, will be of considerable interest to many of the Western readers for whom Mr. Crow's book is intended, and certainly they compare most favourably with the very distressing portrait, presumably supposed to represent Confucius, which appears on the dust-cover and for which Mr. Crow, perhaps, is not responsible. But in referring to the stone tablets in the great Confucian temple at Ch'ü-fou (which he calls Chufu), from which the woodcuts were made, he says, rather surprisingly, that "in their original form the reproductions in this book probably constitute the first attempts to illustrate historical events by

means of pictures." This is an error; and another misstatement is made by the author when he goes on to say that "while these pictures of the life of the great sage are found everywhere, there are no images of him." There are many images of him in China, the most famous being in the Ch'ü-fou temple itself! (A photograph of this image was taken by myself during a visit to Confucius's ducal descendant at Ch'ü-fou many years ago, and is reproduced in my *Confucianism and Modern China*.)

It does not appear, from internal evidence, that Mr. Crow is himself a Chinese scholar or is familiar with the original sources of our knowledge of the sage's career: indeed there are many indications to the contrary. Certainly his qualifications can hardly be judged by the fact that in the *China Who's Who* he is described merely as an "advertising agent" who arrived in China in 1911. If we surmise that his knowledge of his sources is derived from English and other European translations, we may perhaps hazard a guess as to the origin of his belief that the portrait of the Confucius which has been handed down to us by the orthodox Confucian school is that of a monster rather than a man. It is unfortunately true that both the man and his teachings have been sadly distorted by the majority of European translators and interpreters. It was not merely the difficulty and strangeness of the Chinese language that till recently overtaxed the abilities of Western students: religious prejudice and bigotry had a good deal to do with the matter. This is too delicate a subject to be dealt with in this article; let it suffice to say that even Dr. Legge, conscientious and laborious scholar though he was, never forgot that he was primarily a Christian missionary, and that Confucius stood for a system which, if Christianity was to prevail in China, must be overthrown. His strong missionary bias manifested itself both in his translations and in his notes and prolegomena. Apart from this bias, even so small a matter as his choice of the term "the Superior Man" as a rendering of the Chinese *chün-tzū* is responsible to no small degree for the rather unpleasing impression of Confucius's personality and character that has become current in the West. It would be grossly unfair to Dr. Legge to suggest that he gave us nothing better than a Frankenstein monster, but it is true that no one who wishes to know the real Confucius (man or sage) is likely to find his wish fulfilled in the pages of Dr. Legge, in spite of the fact that his translation of the Chinese classics is an enduring monument to his industry and scholarship.

Mr. Crow is not alone among Europeans and Americans in his

notion that Confucius has been "deified" by his followers. It is a very common belief in the West, but it is, of course, erroneous. No Confucian scholar has ever taught, or has tried to persuade others to believe, that Confucius was a "god" either during his lifetime or after his death. The misconceptions that exist in the West on this point are doubtless due to the unintentional misrepresentations of ill-informed Western writers, who could not understand how a personage who has been made the centre of a state-cult of a religious or quasi-religious character, and whose "spirit-tablet" is enshrined in buildings which are the nearest Chinese equivalent of our churches, could be regarded as other than a pagan "god." Yet the Confucian school has never held that their *shêng-jên*—the sage whom they looked up to as the founder of Chinese civilisation, as the "uncrowned king," as their guide and teacher in all that relates to mundane if not to celestial activities—was other than a man.

On the gateway of a Buddhist temple in the former British territory of Weihaiwei, there is—or was—a pair of scrolls of which the following is a transliteration in the sounds of northern Chinese :

*Chih shih an min ch'üan p'ing tung Lu chih wên-chang;
Ch'ao fan ju shêng hsü shih hsi chu chih chiao tien.*

This is a good example of the antithetical sayings that are dear to the Chinese heart, but it is difficult to give the full force of the antitheses in an English version necessarily lacking the terseness of the original. The general meaning is that for the proper regulation of our worldly affairs we should look to the East for guidance, that is, to the Confucian system that arose in the ancient state of Lu (part of the modern Shantung) which was the region in which the Sage lived and taught; whereas if we wish to transcend what is merely phenomenal and mundane, our guiding lights must be the teachings and the scriptures that came to us from the West—namely, from Chu, a Buddhistic name for India. The East (Confucianism) will give us all the guidance we need for the proper fulfilment of our duties as men living in civilized communities; the West (Buddhism) will give us all that is necessary for our spiritual enlightenment. Each system is incomplete without the other. To use a well-known Chinese simile, they are like the wings of a bird.

That such recognition should be given to Confucianism in a temple which is exclusively Buddhist causes no surprise in any Chinese mind and should cause none in ours. Nevertheless, Europeans in China are

often puzzled when they are told that a Chinese can be an adherent of two different doctrinal systems at the same time, and may even, without inconsistency, be a Taoist as well. There are, indeed, multitudes of Confucians who are not Buddhists, simply because they are satisfied with a this-worldly outlook, which is afforded them by the ethical and social teachings of Confucianism; but there are very few Chinese Buddhists, if any, who do not willingly avow their acceptance of Confucius as their guide in everything that affects their relations with their fellow-men and with society as a whole.

To have deified Confucius would have turned Confucianism into a "religion" in the usually accepted sense of the word, which it is not and never was, in spite of the fact that a few twentieth-century Confucian scholars (such as the late Ch'ên Huanchang) tried, without success, to turn it into a "religion" in order that as such it might (as they mistakenly thought) be better equipped to contend with such alien cults as Christianity. The fact that the image or the "spirit-tablet" of Confucius is enshrined in a "temple," and that the "spirit-tablets" of his principal disciples and of prominent Confucian scholars of later times are associated with his in certain ceremonial observances conducted under official auspices, does not imply either his or their deification. Western missionaries and others have made the same blunder in connection with the cult of ancestors, when they declare that the Chinese turn their fathers into "gods." They might say, with equal lack of understanding or justification, that all the Chinese poets, philosophers, statesmen and scholars, besides Confucius and his disciples, who have been honoured after their deaths by the enshrinement of their spirit-tablets (rectangular pieces of wood bearing their names) in imperially authorized memorial halls or chapels, are worshipped as "gods." No Chinese, even if he is himself a participant in the brief and simple memorial ceremonies periodically conducted in some of these memorial halls (as for example in that dedicated to the T'ang dynasty poet, Li T'ai-po), seriously regards the names so honoured as those of divinities. He may believe that Confucius and all the hundreds of other illustrious members of the Chinese race in whose honour the Government has ordained the erection of memorial halls or temples still carry on a personal existence along with the spirits of his own ancestors in another sphere; or he may, and often does, disbelieve in any life beyond the grave either for the great ones whose tablets have been enshrined or for ordinary people like himself; or his attitude to the question of survival (like that of hosts of educated Chinese who nevertheless

participate in the rites of so-called "ancestor-worship") may be one of indifference or agnosticism.

That the intellectual and moral stature of Confucius has been exaggerated by his followers is of course true, but this in no way implies his deification. Doubtless he was not so great, not so good, and not so impeccable as loyal Confucians like to believe. That they should have such beliefs about the founder of the system which they accept as their guide of life is not only excusable but inevitable. Most founders of cults and religions have been credited by their followers (especially when a considerable interval has elapsed since their death) with all kinds of superlative virtues, and sometimes with complete impeccability; and they take pains to put a benign interpretation on every speech or action which to the outsider seems open to criticism. To admit the possibility of a single fault or error in the founder or in his teachings is highly dangerous from the point of view of the adherents of a cult, as such acknowledged fault or error is quickly seized upon by the adherents of rival cults as a controversial weapon. He need not be a god, but his character and his teachings must be without flaw, otherwise his defenders are at a serious disadvantage in controversy with the adherents of those cults which make a dogma of their own founder's moral and intellectual pre-eminence or perfection. We are witnessing an excellent example of this state of things in contemporary Germany. Hitler is not merely the inspired leader but a faultless one. All that he says is true, all that he does is good. To question this is heresy, and heretics must be "liquidated" or sent to a concentration camp. The kind of blind faith and passionate devotion which for many centuries in Europe was directed towards great religious founders and leaders are now (in these days of religious decay and doubt) poured into political or nationalistic channels and directed towards our Hitlers, our Mussolinis, our Stalins. Some day new "doubts" will arise among the less fervent and less fanatical "believers" in these cults, and when their doubts have gradually spread to all classes the idol's clay feet will be exposed to the disillusioned gaze of all. So outworn faiths and loyalties decay; but faith and loyalty, being inextinguishable parts of the human make-up, neither decay nor die. They merely seek new outlets and new objects, and if no new objects that seem worthy of devotion can be found, they will return to an old one, perhaps after it has been dressed up in a new disguise.

We have been witnessing something like a decay and a revival in

the China of our own time. Western and other influences during the past century have weakened the hold of Confucius and his system on the Chinese mind and character, but in recent years, as many observers have noticed, there have been signs of something like a revival of the old loyalty to Confucius. To a considerable extent this is due to the rapid growth of a new spirit of nationalism in China and the desire to associate that spirit with the most venerable traditions and the most illustrious name to be found in Chinese records. Sun Yat-sen, the idol of a day, was too modern, too small in moral and intellectual stature, and had been too deeply immersed in the tempestuous politics of an era of revolution and transition, to be a fitting candidate for the permanent rôle of spiritual representative of the race and nation. Confucius, on the other hand, stands immovable and serene like a mountain peak overtopping the clouds. To him is ascribed the first enunciation of the noble principle that "within the four boundaries of the world all are brethren"—an utterance which would hardly seem to make him the ideal choice for the rôle of an apostle of nationalism. But it is perhaps the spirit of Confucius which will, after all, guide the future development of the new nationalism that we see in China to-day and make it something broader, nobler and less exclusive than the crude forms of nationalism that now threaten the civilization of Europe with hideous disaster. Thus it is at least conceivable that Confucius, or the ideals and teachings associated with his name, will not only have a considerable part to play in the rebuilding of China, when she has emerged from the shadows of the valley of death through which she is moving to-day, but will also have something of value to contribute to the reconstruction of a shattered world.

However this may be, there is no doubt that the great Chinese Sage and his teachings will continue, for a long time to come, to occupy an exalted and honoured place in the hearts of his countrymen, and that Confucius and his Way of Life cannot be neglected by those Western students who seek to understand the Soul of China. Mr. Carl Crow's book, if it can hardly be recommended to such students as containing a satisfactory and trustworthy account either of K'ung Fu-tzū the Sage or of K'ung Ch'iu the Man, may at least be of service in arousing their interest in a mighty figure who has dominated Chinese life and thought for over a score of centuries and whose influence will not die to-day or to-morrow.

REVIEWS

Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent. A Study in the History of Japan, with Special Reference to her International Relations with China, Korea and Russia. By Yoshi S. Kuno. In three volumes. Vol. I. University of California Press.

This book, which is the first instalment of a three-volume work now being written by Professor Kuno, belongs to a series planned by the North-eastern Asia Seminar of the University of California under the leadership of Professor Robert J. Kerner, the well-known writer on European diplomatic history. The idea of the series, in Kerner's own words, is "to subject the imperial triangle of North-eastern Asia—the meeting of the three empires of Russia, China and Japan—to a series of thorough and unbiased investigations with a view to exposing the manner of expansion, the policies and the interests of these Powers in this region as objectively as possible." Kerner is himself writing the Russian part of the history; the Chinese part has been entrusted to Dr. T. C. Lin of Nankai University, and Japanese expansion has been allotted to Professor Yoshi S. Kuno of the California University Department of Oriental Languages.

A serious defect in Professor Kuno's treatment of his subject lies in his failure to confine himself to matter which is strictly relevant to Japan's expansion on the Asiatic continent. It is true that in his sub-title he enlarges his field to a "Study in the History of Japan, with Special Reference to her International Relations with China, Korea and Russia," and it is true also that any valuable study of a country's foreign policy must be grounded on an adequate consideration of domestic factors. But there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for the allocation of so much space to domestic history as Professor Kuno has actually taken. The book comes very near to being a general political history of Japan rather than a monograph on the special subject of continental expansion. It may perhaps be objected that Japanese history is too little known to English or American readers for any historical background to be taken for granted, yet even so, the detail of the background as here painted appears to be excessive, and it is hard to see why the first two volumes should not have been telescoped, so as to give us a total of two volumes instead of three. Vol. II. is to deal with the period from 1600 to 1868, when there was not any continental expansion at all; indeed, for much the greater part of Japanese history before the Meiji era continental expansion is conspicuous by its absence, and this lack of subject-matter appears to be Professor Kuno's main theme. Of the actual periods of expansion, however, he has given a well-documented and well-ordered account, and on the whole course of Japanese history he makes interesting and suggestive comment, though his analysis of historical development nowhere goes very deep.

There are two periods of expansion on the mainland in Japanese history

prior to 1868. The first begins at an uncertain date (sometime before A.D. 400) in the epoch before exact chronology and ends in 663; during this early time the Japanese gained a foothold in the south of Korea and held suzerainty over one or more of the several kingdoms into which the country was then divided. They were finally expelled from the peninsula by an alliance between the China of the T'ang dynasty and the Korean kingdom of Shinra; as a result of the elimination of the Japanese power the whole of Korea was swallowed up by Shinra under Chinese suzerainty. After this defeat (663) Japan did not again attempt to make a regular conquest on the mainland or seriously to intervene in continental affairs until 1592, when Hideyoshi, having finally reunited Japan after an age of civil wars, sent an army across the Tsushima Straits with the aim of subduing, not only Korea, but also China, to his rule. This second period of expansion involved a bitter war and a frightful devastation of Korea, but it lasted only seven years; after the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 the army was withdrawn from Korea, and Japan again confined herself to her own islands for more than two and a half centuries.

The author devotes much attention to Kublai Khan's unsuccessful attempts to invade Japan in the thirteenth century, and declares that "ever since the destruction of Kublai Khan's armada by the divine wind [the typhoon which was supposed to have come in response to prayer at the national shrine of Ise], it has been the national belief that Japan is a divinely protected nation and that she can never be conquered by a foreign power." This experience undoubtedly sharpened the consciousness of nationality in relation to the outer world, but it did not have any immediate effect in stimulating expansionist tendencies. There was, indeed, during the Sengoku period of feudal anarchy in Japan a great development of Japanese piracy, which was a scourge to the coasts and shipping of Korea and China in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and this may be regarded as an expression of national vigour; but the pirate raids were not enterprises of the Japanese state, nor did they aim at permanent occupation or ascendancy. It remains broadly true that there was no Japanese expansion on the mainland between 663 and 1592.

Hideyoshi's continental venture was, on the other hand, a real prototype of the projects of modern Japanese chauvinism in their most extreme form. Professor Kuno gives in full in an appendix translations of the so-called Mayeda and Kumiya documents in which Hideyoshi's plans of continental conquest are set forth. It was arranged that the army should march to Peking via Korea and southern Manchuria, and on the success of the expedition the Japanese Emperor was to move his residence to Peking, thus absorbing the Chinese monarchy with its pre-eminent prestige. Hideyoshi also announced in a letter to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, dated July 25, 1591, that "after completing our heavenly mission of conquering China we shall readily find a road by which to reach your country [India]."

However, the campaign in Korea did not go so well as was anticipated, and the capture of Peking had to be postponed until the twentieth century. The cause of the setback was Hideyoshi's neglect of sea-power, of which

full advantage was taken by the able Korean admiral Yi Shun-chen. In the present age Japan has developed her power on the basis of a regional naval supremacy which enables her armies to operate from the Amur to Hangchow Bay without fear of threat to their maritime communications.

G. F. HUDSON.

Exploration in North China, Mongolia and Manchuria. Comptes-Rendus de Onze Années (1923-1933) de Séjour et d'Exploration dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des Autres Tributaires du Golfe du Pei Tcheuly. Par Emile Licent, S.J. Three vols. One Index volume and one volume of seventy-seven itineraries, maps and photographs. Tientsin, China: Mission de Sienhsien. Agent de Vente: Henri Vetch, French Bookstore, Peking. 1935-6. £10 10s.

This vast and imposing work has been printed and published in China, and from the point of view of typography it reflects great credit on the Mission de Sienhsien (Tientsin), by which it has been produced, and on its staff of Chinese compositors. The very numerous illustrations are less satisfactory, owing no doubt to the lack of a modern equipment for reproduction, and a large number of them might have been omitted without materially affecting the value of the work. The journeys described in the third volume included a visit to Japan, and as superb photographs of that country are readily obtainable, it seems to have been unnecessary to include in this work two large plates of inferior reproductions.

The inferiority of the photographs is atoned for by the admirably drawn itineraries and route surveys, and in all other important respects the work deserves the highest praise. The three volumes of French text comprise over 1,000 pages and 36 plates. A volume of tables and index brings the total number of pages up to 1,131, and a ponderous portfolio contains 77 double pages of charts, surveys, maps and illustrations. The work, though complete in itself, is a continuation of *Dix Années d'Exploration*, published in 1924. Here we have the results of the devoted labours of eleven more years of similar exploration and research carried out from 1923 to 1933.

The title given to this monumental work is cumbrous and does not give a clear idea of the nature and extent of Father Licent's travels and explorations. What he has given us is a detailed and extremely interesting account of journeys laboriously undertaken in the interests of science in various parts of Northern China, Mongolia and Manchuria. These journeys were undertaken at a time when political conditions in North China (and, after 1928, in Manchuria) were exceedingly unfavourable and uncomfortable for Western travellers, especially for those engaged in scientific research of any kind. It was the period of Red-Russian ascendancy in China, and included those years—approximately from 1928 to 1931—during which the Kuomintang, after extending its influence from South to North China, showed itself strongly anti-foreign (or anti-"imperialistic"), and particularly suspicious of those Western travellers who were scratching the earth for fossils and

archæological remains. It says a great deal for Father Licent's tact, patience and good humour that he was able to triumph over difficulties and hardships and even dangers that might have daunted many experienced travellers. He is to be congratulated both on having carried out his programme with conspicuous success and on having produced an absorbingly interesting record of his journeys and discoveries.

Father Licent, Directeur du Musée Hoangho Peiho de Tientsin, was accompanied by Father Teilhard de Chardin, a distinguished palæontologist and professor at the Institut Catholique de Paris. Their expedition was organized by the Institut, with the financial aid of the Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, the Académie des Sciences and the Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. The objects of the Mission, of which Father Licent was in charge, were scientific, and lay mainly in the sphere of palæontology. The two learned fathers did not, however, confine their investigations to that subject. They are both men of wide scientific interests, which included geology, meteorology, botany, ornithology, entomology, zoology, and archæology, and on all these subjects Father Licent writes with expert knowledge. But his book would be well worth reading even if it contained nothing more than the plain narrative of his travels, his shrewd comments on persons and things, and his detailed account of the Manchurian provinces during one of the most critical periods of their history—the year that saw the tragic death of that remarkable figure Chang Tso-lin (1928) and the events that led to the "Mukden Incident" of 1931 and culminated in the establishment of *Manchou-Ti-Kuo*—the Empire of Manchuria.

In view of the unwelcome attentions which the Mission received from the local agencies (the notorious *Tang Pu*) of the Kuomintang, and from students and schoolboys who regarded it as their patriotic duty to put him to as much inconvenience as possible, it is not surprising that Father Licent has some hard words to say of the new Bible of Chinese Nationalism, Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Triple Demism" (as it has been clumsily rendered), or *San Min Chu-I*. It is an accumulation "sans beaucoup d'ordre, ni de logique, en un farrago indescriptible, une grande quantité de sophismes, de résultats pseudo-scientifiques mal compris et de doctrines philosophiques et sociales mal digérées" (vol. ii., p. 516). Elsewhere he refers to the book to which lip-service is still paid by Nationalist China as "ce farrago hétéroclite de notions économiques, ethnologiques, politiques, civiques, morales, etc. . . . empruntées à droite et à gauche, mal comprises et encore plus mal exposées, qui constituera, pour quelques années, le code universel, non pas du peuple chinois, mais d'un parti qui prétendra l'éduquer et le conduire vers un renouveau sans-pareil. On apprendra les résultats avant peu d'années" (ii., p. 559. The italics are not in the original). Some of the results foreseen by Father Licent are already painfully apparent, nine years after he wrote these words in 1928.

Of the local *Tang Pu* in North China—whose theoretical duty it was to teach the Chinese people how to learn the art of self-government—he speaks in scathing terms. Of the members of one *Tang Pu* he says: "Ils ont pillé le peu d'objets d'art qu'ils ont trouvés, entre autres ceux de la tour

[a beautiful Buddhist pagoda], pour détruire la superstition et gagner quelque argent" (ii., p. 563).

Father Licent makes several comments on Fêng Yü-hsiang, the former "Christian General," none of them complimentary. On hearing that General Fêng after being driven away from the Peking district had retreated to Shensi, he says: "Cet homme néfaste mettra le désordre là comme il a déjà fait ailleurs" (ii. p. 670).

An astonishing account is given of a burial place "très spécial" in a wild district in Shansi, not far from the sacred mountain of Wu-t'ai. It is known as a *huo fên*—"tomb of the living." The account of it given by Father Licent is so remarkable that it must be given in the original. "Des vieillards y ont été enterrés vivants, pour leur épargner les épreuves du grand âge! On aperçoit les ossements par le trou d'une voûte. On introduisait le condamné à mort dans la tombe par une porte en ogive que l'on murait immédiatement, et que l'on voit encore. La voûte n'était pas complète par le haut. On descendait par l'ouverture des bols remplis de bouillie de millet. Chaque jour on ajoutait des briques à la voûte, une par bol de millet. Les bols se raréfiaient et leur contenu diminuait. C'était l'agonie lente et la mort par la faim. Sinistre pratique de la piété filiale" (ii., pp. 567-8). Very sinister indeed, if true. The present reviewer, who has travelled in the same region, has never come across, or heard of, any such "cimetière très spécial," though it is true that in many parts of China (including Eastern Shantung) it is not unknown for villagers to take the law into their own hands and dispose of pirates, bandits and other notorious evil-doers by the barbarous process of *huo mai*—burial alive. It is the Chinese equivalent of lynching. But the existence of special cemeteries for the reception of the living bodies of old men is a very different matter and seems incredible, though it is, of course, well known that the custom of slaying old people (and even monarchs when on the verge of old age) has existed in various parts of the world. It is not clear from Father Licent's description whether the cemetery he speaks of, and other similar ones in the Ordos country referred to by him elsewhere (vol. i., p. 60), are of modern or of ancient date. If they are prehistoric, it is at least possible that the ancestors of the present Chinese had nothing to do with them. More information on this gruesome subject is desirable, and the evidence for the statement concerning the infliction of slow death by starvation should be given in full.

At Tientsin Father Licent met a Hungarian named Farkas, a trader in Kalgan, who professed to know the exact site of the tomb of Genghis Khan. The place indicated was in Western Kansu. Father Licent is rightly dubious of the accuracy of this information and asks why the great conqueror should have been buried in foreign soil and not in his native Mongolia (vol. ii., p. 558).

An interesting reference is made (ii., p. 497) to a certain Catholic Father named Roubin, who had bought a tract of land about 200 miles to the north of Harbin, about 10 miles long and 5 or 6 miles broad. The land had been parcelled out among Chinese cultivators, 6,000 in number, who

included "pagans and Christians." This little colony was administered by the Father himself "au point de vue spirituel, matériel, civil." It had been prosperous, and no difficulties had arisen with the local Chinese authorities, who had accepted payment of all dues and taxes through Father Roubin. "C'est un travail considérable de charité, de colonisation et d'évangélisation." Unfortunately, when Father Licent met him in Harbin, he was in failing health. Moreover, the reward given him by the Chinese authorities for the good work he had done was characteristic of the worst type of Chinese officialdom. They called upon him to pay over again ("sous prétexte de révision des contrats") the full price he had originally paid for the land. "Cela," as Father Licent justly observes, "s'appelle brigandage officiel." This was in 1928, several years before the establishment, with Japanese help, of the new State of Manchuria. It would be interesting to know how the worthy Father and his little colony has fared since that event took place.

Reference is made (ii., pp. 495-6) to the recent discovery, at or near the very modern city of Harbin, of a score of pieces of silver money belonging to the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian in the second century A.D. From a local archæologist he learned that such finds were not rare. "On les trouve en creusant les fondations." It is added that many ancient coins had doubtless been appropriated by the workmen. Father Licent's note on this subject is of interest: "Sans doute, il est difficile d'affirmer que ces monnaies sont venues à Harbin sous le règne même de l'empereur qui les fit frapper. Mais il n'est pas probable qu'elles aient mis un siècle à y venir. Il y avait donc des relations médiates ou immédiates, entre l'Empire Romain et le nord de l'Extrême-Orient; ces relations se faisaient sans doute par la route des steppes (Sud ou Nord du Gobi) et non par la 'route de la soie' (Turkestan Chinois)."

There is an excellent account of the famous Fu-shun coal-mines, east of Mukden, which should be of interest to geologists, palæobotanists and others. He says: "Le gisement de charbon de Fouchoun est non pas le plus grand mais le plus massif du monde" (ii., p. 535). It is indeed a wonderful spectacle (well known to the writer of this review) and justifies Father Licent's remark that "l'aspect de cette carrière énorme vue à l'enfilade est fantastique" (ii., p. 537). When Father Licent visited the mines they were producing 10,000 tons of bituminous coal daily in summer, 15,000 tons in winter. Anthracite had been discovered at a distance of about ten miles to the south-west.

A curious story is told concerning Lakiévitch, a "Red" Russian who acquired great merit in the eyes of the Bolshevik revolutionaries for his exploits in Siberia, where he specially distinguished himself during the persecution of the Russian Church. He caused numbers of priests to be put to death, one of them being Bishop Andronic, "who was martyred in a particularly barbarous manner." Later on, Lakiévitch was appointed to the important post of co-director of the Chinese Eastern Railway—that is, the Russian section of the Manchurian Railway. While he still held this position, he was accused of having promoted a Mongol revolt against the

Chinese authorities of Manchuria and was put under arrest. He was never brought to trial, but died in prison—some saying that he was shot by the Chinese guard while “attempting to escape.” The story that was current in Harbin when Father Licent was there was that after Lakiévitch had received the wound that caused his death he called upon the name of his long-dead victim, Bishop Andronic, saying, “St. Andronic, help me!” Father Licent’s comment on this story is, “Les martyrs savent pardonner. C’est leur victoire et leur ravanche.”

On the summit of Ch’ang Pai Shan—the “Ever-White Mountain” in Manchuria which the Manchu imperial family regard as their place of origin and as the sacred mountain of their House—there is a lake. According to Father Licent (ii., p. 523) it was a foreign geologist, M. Ahnert, who first ascertained that the basin of this lake had been the crater of a volcano. “C’est un cratère d’explosion dont les lèvres et les pentes sont occupées par les ponces blanches dont la Soungari flotte des échantillons jusqu’à Kirin et plus loin.” It is probably not generally known that during the Manchu dynasty’s occupation of the imperial throne this mountain was regularly “worshipped,” just as the *Wu Yüeh* or Five Sacred Hills of China were “worshipped” by the sovereigns of that country from time immemorial. (“Worship” is hardly a suitable word, but it is difficult to choose a better.) After the Revolution of 1911 and the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty the ceremonies associated with the “Ever-White Mountain” were discontinued, but they were revived soon after the ex-Emperor of China returned to the home of his ancestors and became Emperor of Manchuria. The rites are conducted, not at the mountain itself, but at a temple on the slopes of the Hsiao Pai Shan—the “Little White Mountain”—which is near the city of Kirin. They take place in the spring and autumn of each year and are carried out on behalf of the Emperor by the Governor of Kirin. In commemoration of the revival of the ancient rites the Emperor caused a small number of iron models of the “Ever-White Mountain,” with the lake on the summit inlaid in silver, to be made for presentation to high officials and members of the Court and a few other privileged persons of whom the writer of this review was one. An inscription records the date—the first day of the third moon of the Chia Hsü year, which corresponds to April 14, 1934. This was the date on which the revived ceremony took place for the first time, forty-five days after the ex-Emperor of China was enthroned at Ch’ang Ch’un (then renamed Hsin-king “the New Capital”) as Emperor of Manchuria.

Father Licent does not refer to the special sanctity which the Ever-White Mountain possesses in the eyes of the Manchus, but he mentions (ii., p. 523) certain volcanic mountains to the north-west of Harbin and north-east of Tsitsihar, some of which were still active during the reign of K’ang-hsi (1662-1722), and he records the fact that K’ang-hsi sent a delegation to offer homage to the spirit of one of these volcanoes. Doubtless it was unknown to the imperial family that its own sacred Ever-White Mountain had once been a similar “mountain of fire.”

REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.

Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813. By C. N. Parkinson. 9" x 6". Pp. xiv + 436. Plates and two maps. Cambridge University Press. 16s. Dr. Parkinson has performed an unusual feat in the production of this outstanding work.

He has written on a subject which may be said to be a new one, and the result is a book which will be read by nearly all with the keenest interest.

As he points out in his preface, there is much in English history which cannot be understood without its maritime context, while naval history, as usually presented, is too apt to lack its economic background. In the combination of these two factors lies the true history of the sea.

Maritime history, Dr. Parkinson calls it, and the period covered by his book is one of the most important and interesting of all the story of the building of England, 1793 to 1813, the twenty years beginning with the French wars and ending with the abolition of the Honourable East India Company's monopoly.

The first three chapters describe the operations of the Company in London and in India, and the trade to the East. The author compares the Company to "an enormous and highly intricate machine, pounding and roaring in the most impressive manner, and yet somehow requiring almost the whole of its energy to overcome the friction of its own mechanism."

For the concern of John Company was firstly to govern and collect tribute, secondly to enrich the individuals who served it, and only thirdly to trade. And if commercial enterprise was a very bad third, the enrichment of those interested was a very good second.

The amount of trade with India was, in fact, almost negligible. The native wanted practically nothing that Europe could give him, and ships rounded the Cape laden principally with articles destined for the use of the white settlers. It was the China trade that concerned the Company and their Indiamen more nearly, the chief staple of export being, of course, tea.

Between 1774 and 1778 tea became the ordinary breakfast drink of England, and the amount then sold each year was already about a quarter of the consumption per head of the present day. The wholesale price then varied between 2s. 10d. and 6s. 10d.—expensive brands being retailed for 16s. or 18s.—per lb. But the teas of a century and a half ago would probably find but little favour in these days. Apart from the fact that the cheap qualities were freely adulterated with leaves of the sloe and other trees, tea of any quality was not marketed until nearly two years after it had been picked; firstly because the voyage from China took so long, and secondly because the Company only released their cargoes of tea in such quantity that the price could be maintained at a level satisfactory to themselves.

Dr. Parkinson is clearly most interested with the Indiamen, the ships themselves; and his record of them occupies the bulk of the book. His account of the curious way in which these great vessels—used for no other trade—came to be built and chartered, their freighting and victualling, their manning and armament, and the actual voyage, is absorbing. A chapter devoted to the passenger's point of view will be enjoyed by those readers whose work has taken them east of Suez. In those days the transit to India

took some four months, and the passage cost some £300. For that sum all that one hired was so many square feet of deck space and a place at the captain's table. One's "cabin," in peace-time a flimsy enough structure, was bounded in war-time by walls of canvas, and no fixture was supplied except possibly an 18-pounder over six feet in length. Should a brush with the enemy appear likely, the canvas walls were rolled up and made fast to the deck above; and one's furniture, all of one's own providing, the furniture that one had spent so much time and labour in making fast to the deck by means of cleats and staples, was toppled ignominiously into the hold.

The food, so lavishly provided at first, naturally dwindled very quickly in quality and quantity as the voyage progressed. Not to speak of the luxuries that were produced at first, "the many joints of mutton and pork variously dressed, curries and pillaus, chickens and ducks, and (on Sundays) turkeys and hams," the daily allowance of water, for all purposes, was six pints per head. But this was probably more than enough, judging from a description on page 247 :

"... it was so strong, and stank so much, that when the steward broached a cask and applied a lighted candle to the bung-hole, it burnt blue, like spirits. This was the Thames water. . . ."

Tea made from such a fluid was not unnaturally "nothing better than thin mud, bearing an odour very different from that of hyson or pekoe."

Immediately above the heads of many of the passengers was the farm-yard. A cow, a flock of fifty sheep, seventy-one pigs, and over six hundred poultry were carried on *H.C.S. Hope* in 1811. Such neighbours as these, the movement of the ship when under sail, the noise of the sailing gear, and the trampling of the seamen, must have combined to make the three or four months' passage anything but a happy experience.

But if the quality of the water was questionable, there was at least plenty of strong drink both ashore and afloat, and one reads that the annual importation into India of Madeira alone for the comparatively few who drank it was the equivalent of three million bottles! No wonder the mortality was high, both in the East and on the way thither. In India the deaths among the European population, many of them little more than boys, was almost high enough to balance the annual influx; and one of the Company's servants, retiring in 1784 at the age of thirty-five, found that for the previous ten years he was the only survivor of the nineteen youths that had gone out with him.

Though the Company was attacked, very properly, from the outside, it was owing to action from within, from the handful of merchants living in India under the Company's own protection, that it lost its monopoly. The amassing of private fortunes by private traders was easy enough. The problem lay in how to transmit that fortune to England when the time for retirement came. Those concerned were not anxious for the Company to know how much they sent home, and they were therefore averse from drawing bills in the usual way. To send home bullion was not feasible, and the shipment of goods was the Company's monopoly. It became therefore

the custom to send to Europe vast quantities of cargo—spices, coffee, silk, indigo, and sugar—in foreign, and particularly in American, vessels. And this "clandestine trade" grew to such proportions that it became apparent that the carrying trade between India and Europe was passing out of English hands, that the port of London was losing its position as the sole market for Indian goods, and that the revenue was being deprived of the sums which might have been levied on goods re-exported to the Continent.

On renewal of the Company's charter, therefore, in 1813, the two-hundred-year-old monopoly was cancelled.

Excellent notes, a full bibliography, and a good index complete a very noteworthy book.

E. BUTTS HOWELL.

India and the Pacific. By C. F. Andrews. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. 224. Allen and Unwin. 3s. 6d.

No one is better qualified to speak of the problems connected with the settlement of Indians in the islands of the Pacific than Mr. C. F. Andrews. In a sense the title he has given to his book is a misnomer, for the 85,000 Indians living in Fiji and elsewhere in the Pacific are only a small fraction of the number to be found in Natal and such colonies as Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica, while much the same social, political and economic problems arise in these and other lands to which Indians migrate for trade or for labour. In themselves they may be of little importance other than local. None the less their solution calls for high qualities of sympathetic statesmanship, since few things stir Young India—sensitive and politically minded as it is—more deeply than the treatment accorded to Indians who have left their country to make their homes under the British flag overseas. Their disabilities and grievances have repercussions from Shillong to Karachi, from Rawalpindi to Tinneveli, and, rightly or wrongly, are made the touchstone of the sincerity of England's avowed policy to admit India to full partnership in the Empire.

Most abuses die hard, and it is therefore no matter for surprise that the indenture system should have survived as long as it did in those colonies where it had been introduced over one hundred years ago. Unlike slavery, the evil does not seem, in Fiji at least, to have brought its own revenge. For side by side with the rapid moral and material advance made by the Indian community since the abolition of indentured labour in 1920 have economic conditions in the islands improved. In so far as the present prosperity of the sugar industry, on which the whole population of Fiji depends, cannot be ascribed to the imperial preferences given to sugar by Canada and Great Britain, credit for this advance and improvement is mainly due to the agricultural skill of the Indian cultivator and the enterprise of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. But the future gives cause for anxiety, for all Fiji's eggs are in the sugar basket. If some economic crisis occurs to ruin its sugar industry, there is nothing in sight that can take its place. What will then happen to the happy and thriving Indian colony that now forms nearly half the population of the islands? The danger is one which impends, to a greater or less degree, over Fijians, Indians and whites alike. Something must be done, as Mr. Andrews points out, if potential disaster is to be averted, to maintain a subsidiary agricultural industry and, at the same time, to make the islands self-supporting in the matter of food.

Of more immediate concern to the Indian settler, without whom the sugar industry would disappear from Fiji, is the question of his tenure. Hitherto this has been precarious in the extreme. Only a very small proportion of the land in the islands is occupied freehold by Indians. The great majority of them are either tenants-at-will of the C.S.R. Company, or grow sugar under short-term leases obtained from Fijians, who, by the way, own 80 per cent. of the land. Owing to the tribal system in the islands, an Indian finds it practically impossible to get a lease until he has satisfied not only the tribal chief but all the members of the tribe concerned. In the process he is usually bled white. Most of the current leases will shortly fall in, and the unfortunate Indian, who has probably already had recourse to the money-lender, is faced with the prospect of still further mortgaging the future by what amounts to more bribery, or of abandoning the plot of land which he has improved by his own toil and on which his home stands. The whole leasing system is demoralizing to both communities and constitutes a serious threat to the sugar industry. The evil indeed is patent and is admitted by all. But its remedy is not so apparent, since it is difficult to reconcile the British Government's pledge of 1875 that Indians in Fiji should have rights "in no way inferior to those of any other race," with the promise given to Fijians by the same Government in the previous year that their rights of ownership would be preserved. Mr. Andrews is probably correct in thinking that nothing but Government action can save the situation, though it is doubtful whether the proposals he puts forward—honouring as they do the letter rather than the spirit of the latter pledge—will find acceptance with the Fijians. The problem is pressing. It overshadows all others, and some solution must obviously be found for it.

Space does not permit detailed reference to other matters relating to Indians in Fiji which Mr. Andrews deals with, such as their indebtedness, the dual loyalty they owe to India and to the colony, their political aspirations and their relations with the indigenous islanders. He has much of interest to say on all these questions as well as on the wider subjects of the rising portent of Japan, the cultural *rapprochement* of India and China, and India's over-population. He makes no attempt to conceal his political sympathies, but he does not allow them to distort his perspective or unduly to colour his conclusions. Though it may not be possible to agree with all he writes, his book is one that can be read with pleasure and advantage by every student of Indian affairs.

R. C.-T.

Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880. By B. H. Sumner. 9" x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ".
Pp. xii + 724. Five illustrations; five maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
30s.

This is a monumental work of research and erudition by one who has made Eastern European history his peculiar study.

It shows a rare knowledge of the political conditions in the Russian Empire at a critical period, as well as of the ruler and official personages who controlled its destiny during the eventful decade treated of by the author in the present volume. The first thing which will agreeably impress many readers is the very complete documentation, which comprises references to authorities in different countries and languages, many of

which references would, however, seldom be accessible to a student outside a great centre like London, or distant from a University possessed of a national library of the type of those at Oxford and Cambridge. This in no way implies that the fullest possible documentation is ever otherwise than desirable and helpful.

It seems a pity that a valuable work of this kind should not have seen the light before the lapse of sixty and more years from the decade it deals with, but the documents forming the basis of any historical review can naturally only become gradually accessible to the world, and even then require to be sifted, compared, and carefully collated by the historian before he can proceed with his task. The writer—a schoolboy in Germany between the two wars of 1866 and 1870—ever retained a vivid recollection of the Central Europe of that day, a knowledge supplemented in later years by travel in Eastern Europe; yet it is only now by the light of Mr. Sumner's fine work that he has been able to realize the intricacies of the political problem in South-East Europe, the solution of which proved so difficult a task for European statesmanship at a time when, moreover, the sovereigns, Alexander II., William I., and Francis Joseph, were all rulers of many years standing and personally known to one another, as were indeed also their respective chief ministers—Gortchakoff, Bismarck, and Andrassy—experienced statesmen actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace.

The condition of the Russian Empire after the Crimean War was not a happy one. Discontent was rife, and the country had had to accept in 1856 the humiliating terms of the Treaty of Paris. It was financially in a precarious condition, and was confronted with the urgent task of finding a solution to the problem of the emancipation of the serfs, which was in the following years laboriously and systematically investigated by innumerable governmental and local committees specifically appointed for the purpose throughout the country. The long-looked-for Edict of Emancipation was signed and promulgated on March 3, 1861—the sixth anniversary of the Tsar's accession. As might have been expected, the terms pleased neither landowners nor peasantry; the latter complained that they were "coming forth from the emancipation with limited rights and little land, but abundant obligations," while "on the side of the gentry matters were relatively no better; they had been heavily indebted before emancipation, and much of their immediate gains from being bought out of the allotment lands went towards meeting these obligations."

The general, though temporary, disillusionment was accompanied by a profound mistrust between the people and all constituted authority. Alexander II. certainly never regarded the basis of government in Russia as other than autocratic, but not all his readers are likely to share Mr. Sumner's opinion that "the emancipation of the serfs was wrung from a reluctant ruler," for, on the contrary, it would appear that the Tsar early envisaged the necessity for the measure, and during the three or four years of its preparation never ceased to give the project consistent support.

There followed the so-called "great reforms": education reform, 1863;

the creation of Zemstva, 1864; law reform, 1864; new press regulations, 1865; municipal self-government, 1870; military conscription, 1874—all which were in a measure disappointing in their immediate results.

Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg at the time of the assassination of the Tsar, reports that in conversation with him a prominent Russian statesman said:

“That the present state of things was the logical consequence of the antecedent events of the last twenty years, that reforms were good, but that they had been hurried on so precipitately as to derange the social fabric. When the Emperor went to war it became necessary to set on foot a Panslavist propagandism, and it was in the bosom of the morbid excitement thus artificially engendered that the Nihilistic conspiracy was born and nourished” (*Life of Lord Dufferin*, vol. i., p. 322).

All true to a point no doubt, but, as Mr. Sumner points out, not only did the attempted assassination of the Tsar in 1866 give added strength to the reactionaries and the time servers in their struggle against liberal tendencies, but determined the bureaucracy to share power as little as possible with new institutions and new forces.

Is it, however, a fact that “the assassination accomplished in March, 1881, was due to the crass inefficiency of the police and bodyguard”?

The writer was some weeks in St. Petersburg during the winter of 1881-82, and heard current accounts on the spot, but did not gather that the police or escort had been to blame on the occasion.

On the other hand, Rentern, who was Minister of Finance from 1862 to 1878, did his utmost to assist and develop commerce and industry along Western lines. Money obtained from foreign loans and from the encouragement of the investment of Western capital was utilized to restore the State finances as well as to build much-needed railways.

These measures, coupled with the lowering of tariffs at the frontier, brought about a marked advance in almost all industries. The total value of manufactured goods more than doubled in fifteen years (1864-79). With the development of the grain lands and the Baku oilfields, the sea-borne exports through the Straits increased greatly and formed an index of their immense economic importance to Russia—an importance still greater after construction of the Trans-Caspian railway to Samarkand in 1888, followed ten years later in 1898 by the building and completion of a branch strategic line 160 miles long from Merv to the new Russian fort and frontier post at the Afghan frontier at Kushk. This frontier post is sixty miles from Herat.

So much for Anglo-Russian rivalry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century! But what a change indeed has now come over the spirit of the dream with the wide adoption of political principles of a democratic order in British India, to some extent in Afghanistan, and in a complete form in the Soviet Autonomous Republics of Central Asia.

It may well be that in no long time the railway systems of India, Persia, and Trans-Caspia will be linked up together through Herat, for peace and contentment among nations would seem more likely of attain-

ment in the future by the promotion of international trade than by the use of bayonets and bombs.

Since writing the above the writer has looked up an old travel diary of the year 1891, when, as the guest in Tashkent of the Governor-General of Turkestan, Baron Vrevsky, the latter spoke to him at length and with all possible courtesy of the desirability of the creation of a more friendly feeling between the two countries, complaining of the ceaseless jealousy of the English public and apprehensions on the score of India as unworthy of a great nation.

In May, 1875, Europe suddenly learnt that the Christians of the Turkish province of Herzegovina had risen against their Moslem rulers, and that the flame of revolt was spreading to Montenegro, to Bosnia and to Serbia, and in September, 1875, an abortive rising had occurred in Bulgaria.

The insurgents held their own until the following year, when on July 2, 1876, war was declared against the Turks by Servia and Montenegro, to whose banners flocked volunteers from Russia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. In May, 1876, a Bulgarian rising in the neighbourhood of Philippolis had been stamped out with great ferocity by Circassians and Bazi-Bazouks, the Bulgarian atrocities becoming a byword throughout the world.

To deal with this alarming situation Alexander and Francis Joseph had a meeting at Reichstadt on July 8, 1876, when their ministers Gortchakoff and Andrassy conferred, and agreement between the two countries was arrived at under the following heads:

In the event of war in the Balkans Austro-Hungary to be given a free hand in Herzegovina and Bosnia, while on her part she agreed as regards Europe to the retrocession of the portion of Bessarabia ceded by Russia in 1856, and undertook not to interfere with the line of march of the Russian army through Roumania to the Danube, the approach to which had been blocked in 1856 by the occupation of the principalities by the Austrian forces in that year; and, as regards Asia, she promised consent to the acquisition by Russia of Batoum and adjacent territory in Asia Minor.

This, broadly speaking, was the arrangement maintained throughout.

The defeat of the Serbians in the field led to a Russian mobilization in November, 1876, and a declaration of war against the Turks in April, 1877. The Danube was crossed at the end of June, when the three Plevnas, the first an oversight, the second an error, the third a crime, brought the campaign in Europe to a standstill until December, when Todleben's blockade of Plevna resulted in the surrender of the Turks. Thereafter a rapid advance and occupation of San Stefano, an armistice and a treaty, the latter being by general agreement submitted to a Congress of the Powers which assembled in Berlin in June, 1878, and held its first meeting on the 13th of that month, the treaty being signed on the 13th of the following month.

As regards Russia, the portion of Bessarabia forfeited in 1856 was restored.

The full independence of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro was recognized by the Ottoman Government, the position of Bulgaria was regularized,

and Russia's claim for an indemnity of 32 million was allowed, in addition to which the Tsar received the port of Batoum and a considerable extension of territory in its neighbourhood.

Mr. Sumner's great work should be profitably studied by all interested in the latter-day history of Eastern Europe, for the narrative throughout is one of absorbing interest.

E. STC. P.

History of the Arabs. By Philip K. Hitti. 9" x 6½". Pp. xviii + 767. Illustrations and maps. Macmillan and Co. 31s. 6d.

Professor Hitti of Princeton University has celebrated the thirteenth centenary of the early conquests that laid the foundations of the Arab Empire by producing an extremely valuable summary of Arabian history from the earliest times to the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1517 A.D., with the collapse of the Mamluk dynasty in Egypt, Arabia passed under the rule of Ottoman Turkey and entered upon the long trance from which she was only to awake in our own times. She has awoken with vigour unimpaired by her slumbers and with a new sense of racial unity which would make her great again but for one factor. Her long sleep has not exorcised the old spirit of civil faction that courses like a curse through her whole history. From the early contentions of Saba and Himyar to the Yamanite-Mudarite controversy that stayed the progress of Arab arms in Europe and eventually broke up the 'Abassid Empire it was always the same story—as it still remains. 'Adnan and Qahtan; North and South; Sunni and Shia'; democracy and divine right; the desert and the sown; the towns and the tribes—the conflict goes remorselessly through every aspect of Arabian society, racial, territorial, religious, constitutional, economic and political. It is not a mere matter of factiousness for its own sake, but a deep-seated conflict of genuine sentiment. Only once before our own times has it been in abeyance, when the Prophet united his people for world conquest. In the twentieth century Ibn Sa'ud has been able to suppress the conflict in his own vast territories, but not in the whole Arab world. Arabian unity is a *sine qua non* condition of Arab greatness in the modern world whose leading Powers are in no wise concerned to promote Arabian unity. That is the concern of the Arabs alone.

These reflections are prompted by the volume under review. The rise and fall of the Arabian Empire, built up on the Prophet's foundations, is indeed a glorious tale with a sad ending. The details of the story are well enough known, and Professor Hitti has nothing new to add to it. He has, however, told it anew in a simple, straightforward fashion with the fullest possible documentation for his facts. His account of the Imperial period of Arab history is an admirable manual for the use of students of the subject. To the expert it will appeal less strongly, though it will prove, even for such, a handy guide to the sources which Professor Hitti has so carefully studied.

I doubt if he attaches sufficient importance to the Poitiers battle of 732. He may be right in suggesting that the momentum of the Arab advance was already spent before that action. That was probably proved by Charles

Martel's victory. But better generalship in the Arab high command—the Arabs assumed the offensive prematurely—might have obviated that defeat. What then? It is perhaps useless to speculate, but Poitiers was surely a decisive battle.

To turn to a point of detail—there are others of a similar kind where a lack of personal familiarity with the Arabian scene seems to have resulted in a misinterpretation of his authorities by the author—he records (p. 302) that Queen Zubaida provided Mecca with a water supply from “a stream ten miles away.” The 'Ain Zubaida, which supplies the capital with water to this day, is a subterranean masonry aqueduct deriving not from a *stream* ten miles away but from a *spring* about twenty-five miles away at the foot of the great mountains.

In his opening chapters on Arabia and its people Professor Hitti errs perhaps in adopting rather old-fashioned, stereotyped views. “Arabia,” he says, for instance, “is one of the driest and hottest countries of the world.” And “among the hottest towns on the face of the earth are Juddah. . . .” The summer temperature of Jidda seldom exceeds 95°, and what makes its climate unpleasant during a few months of the year is its excessive humidity (80 to 90 per cent.). Mecca is certainly a hot town in the summer, but the Arabian plateau (the greater part of the peninsula) is not a noticeably hot country. “Bread,” he says, “is an article of luxury. . . . Millet grows in special regions.” Wheat and millet are extensively grown in the Arabian settlements and bread is a common enough article of diet. Frost is far more widespread in Arabia than is suggested in these pages. But perhaps the most questionable statement in the three introductory chapters refers to the Badawin. “Variation,” he says, “progress, evolution, are not among the laws he readily obeys.” Raiding, according to Professor Hitti, “lies at the base of the economic structure of Bedouin pastoral society.” The history of Arabia during the last thirty years is surely sufficient to confute such statements. Raiding is to-day almost unknown in Sa'udi Arabia, and is confined to those parts of the peninsula where law is weak or non-existent. The Badawin have not ceased to be nomads now that the motor-car has given them greater mobility than their, or our own, ancestors enjoyed.

To my mind the best part of an excellent book—the first three chapters should be reconsidered and entirely rewritten, as they are unworthy of the rest of the volume—is the sketch of early Arabian history given in Chapters IV. to VII. inclusive. The subject is, of course, highly speculative, and we are by no means at the end of the process of collecting epigraphic and other material for the early history of Arabia. Excavation of her ancient sites has scarcely yet been attempted. We have indeed yet much to learn, but Professor Hitti has set forth the available material in a clear concise account, which may be accepted as provisionally correct. We are shown the three main periods of Minæo-Sabæan or Himyaritic Empire, going back possibly to the middle of the second millennium B.C. and continuing till the catastrophe of the dam, which he locates in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Conventionally he attributes that disaster to a great flood, but another possible explanation is now in the field for consideration. No visitor to

Marib seems to have noticed or recorded a considerable number of volcanic cones of apparently recent origin along the flank of the Marib wadi. They may provide the explanation of the great exodus.

The great period of Sabæan civilization coincides roughly, according to Professor Hitti, with the first millennium B.C. "The Sabæans," he says, "were the Phœnicians of the Southern Sea." That statement is, perhaps, more remarkable than the author realizes. Is it not possible that the Sabæans—or rather the closely connected Minæans of the first South Arabian period—*were* the Phœnicians? We do not know yet whence the latter originated, but who else at that period could have "mapped its coast, charted its routes, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade?" With these suggestions I must close this review of a book which I have read with the greatest interest. Perhaps some day Professor Hitti will expand his all too few and short pre-Islamic chapters into a volume. In doing so he would render a great service to history.

H. STJ. B. PHILBY.

'Iraq. A Study in Political Development. By Philip Williard Ireland, F.R.G.S., M.A.(Oxon.), Ph.D. 8¼" × 5½". Pp. 510. Illustrations and three maps. Jonathan Cape. 15s.

The story of the creation of the Iraq State has already receded so far into the past as to offer material more suited to the historian than the journalist, and in Mr. Ireland a conscientious historian has compiled a detailed and authoritative record of a most interesting, but sometimes little bewildering, experiment in statecraft. Much has already been written on various aspects of the subject, but the writers have been either prominent actors in the drama and so disqualified as unbiased critics, or lookers-on who have not always seen most of the game. Mr. Ireland has the advantage of them all in that he has entered on his task with no obvious predilections, and he has had access, not only to the publications of the writers already mentioned, but to many of the relevant state papers which have hitherto been secret.

He has not attempted, however, to cover the whole field, but has rigidly confined himself within the limits indicated by his sub-title. Thus while questions of policy affecting the Mesopotamian campaigns are discussed at length, there is no attempt to record details of the campaign itself; similarly the events of the insurrection of 1920 are summarized in half a dozen pages, whereas its causes and effects supply material for several chapters. The method is one of scientific enquiry which is concerned with underlying motives and tendencies rather than with the dramatic quality of events on which the journalist would concentrate, though there are occasions—King Faisal's attack of appendicitis and the ratification of the first Anglo-Iraq treaty are instances—when drama will not be excluded.

What immediately impresses the reader is the author's thoroughness; his industry in research is prodigious. With the scrupulousness of the true historian he has depended only on original authorities, and even they have been cross-checked and occasionally corrected; hardly a statement of import-

ance is made without a footnote giving chapter and verse. He has studied not only all the important official documents of the period, but even comparatively ephemeral papers, such as the monthly reports of district officers, the files of the local English and vernacular press, the Arabic minutes of the Constituent Assembly, and hosts of other contemporary records—his bibliography runs to twenty-two pages—and he has supplemented his reading by personally interviewing many of the leading personalities concerned. It is evident that the author has taken the utmost trouble to place himself in full possession of all the facts, and his reading of the facts must consequently command general attention, if not unqualified acceptance. Moreover, his unemotional style and the deliberation with which he weighs and sifts the evidence give assurance of impartiality in his judgements.

The book purports to begin with the landing of the M.E.F. at Fao, but the author's uncompromising thoroughness leads him back in Chapter II. as far as the beginning of the seventeenth century to trace the origin of British interest in the Persian Gulf, and there is in Chapter XII. a survey of the gestatory period of Arab nationalism during the decade before the war. It is the earlier stages of Iraq's political development that have absorbed the greater part of Mr. Ireland's attention; three-quarters of the book deals with the period before the accession of King Faisal in 1921, and in particular the three preceding years are subjected to an almost microscopic examination. This is undoubtedly the most important section of the book, treating as it does of that difficult time of constructive effort crippled by divided counsels, of complicated political crosscurrents and insidious agitation and discontent, culminating in open insurrection which at last forced a decision of the question of Iraq's political destiny. Much of the inner history of these intricate processes is here revealed for the first time; one feels that, within the limits which he has prescribed for himself, the author has told the whole story, and that for the events of those years his book will remain the final authority.

On the vexed question of the respective merits of the rival schools of thought in Arabian politics at the end of the war, the author's verdict is definitely in favour of the Anglo-Egyptian or Western school. In a closely reasoned case he argues that the prejudice against enlisting Arab co-operation and encouraging Arab self-government, which was the product of the traditional policy of the Government of India and was implicit in the training and make-up of the officers who created the civil administration in Iraq, was not only a military blunder, but was at the root of most of our political troubles in Arabia. It follows that his examination of the conduct of the civil administration and of the political views and proposals persistently advocated by the Acting Civil Commissioner is severely critical. The weight of his indictment is increased by the moderate and judicial language in which it is framed. A quotation will illustrate the temper of his argument:

“It must not be imputed to the Acting Civil Commissioner that he suggested the recourse to public opinion and then took steps to ensure answers favourable to his own proposals, because they were

merely his own views. It may be suggested, rather, that he genuinely believed that his policy, founded on his own knowledge of the country, on his own background and training as a servant of the Indian Empire, and on a desire to promote its interests as well as those of the people of Iraq, presented the only way to draw H.M. Government away from the dangerous tendencies which they seemed to be following, and of combating the idealism of those who, from Cairo and from Whitehall, had encouraged and sympathized with the cause of Arab Nationalism."

There will be some who will disagree with Mr. Ireland's conclusions, but, based as they are on unassailable facts and supported at every point by quotations from contemporary documents, they will be accepted by the majority as the verdict of history.

Following the account of King Faisal's accession are chapters containing careful analyses of the Anglo-Iraq Treaty and Organic Law, and with the adoption of these instruments by the Constituent Assembly, the author evidently considers his main task accomplished, for the survey of subsequent events contained in the two last chapters is cursory in comparison with what has gone before. It is not immediately apparent why, having devoted so much attention to the creation of Iraq's political machinery, he should not have given more to the time when, with many creakings and occasional stoppages, it was beginning to revolve. There are indications, however, that he had not the same facilities for probing into the secret history of these later years. The dust of controversy must be allowed many years to settle before all the official records can be made public, and without their help it is impossible to appreciate the complicated manœuvres in which the Iraq Government, the Palace and the Residency were constantly engaged.

In conclusion, it must be said that the author's concentration on the core of his subject has involved the exclusion of some more or less pertinent factors. Iraq's foreign relations, for example, do not come into the picture, with the result that the political effect of the Turkish menace due to the delay in the conclusion of peace with Turkey is insufficiently stressed; there is little or no discussion of the ever-pressing problem of the minorities, of the political machinery for the maintenance of internal order, or of the political implications of defence measures, conscription, etc. But the line had to be drawn somewhere, and doubtless what the book might have gained by extension of its scope it would have lost in intension.

There are three maps and four illustrations, the latter being photographs of King Faisal, King Ghazi, Sir Percy Cox, and Ja'far Pasha. The gallery might well have been extended, but further portraiture would not have accorded with the impersonal method of the author, who has, with few exceptions, made no attempt to delineate personalities apart from the events in which they were involved.

R. S. M. S.

T. E. Lawrence. By his Friends. Edited by A. W. Lawrence. 9" x 6". Pp. 595. Jonathan Cape. 1937. 15s.

It is right that at last the public should have an opportunity to learn what T. E. Lawrence was really like, and inevitable that an adequate book about a character so many-sided should take the form of "Lawrence, by his Friends." Only the death of "Lawrence of Arabia" has made possible this book about Lawrence the man, for death alone can strip such a figure clean both of the ornaments and of the mud with which the living world did its best to encrust him.

Fittingly begun by his mother and elder brother, and ended by the younger brother, Mr. Arnold Lawrence, as editor, the book contains seventy-nine contributions from men and women who knew T. E. Lawrence. These are arranged in approximate chronological sequence and grouped in correspondence with successive phases of Lawrence's life. We learn how he appeared to men as far apart in their callings as schoolmasters, archæologists, generals, administrators, aircraftmen, writers, painters and many others. Indeed, we learn more: we learn how they *felt* about him, and we know they are telling the truth.

This book, taken in conjunction with the *Seven Pillars*, affords an intelligible and probable picture of a character widely regarded as a puzzle. There is no mystery. In psychology, as in other fields, we go on noting facts. If a fact does not fit into the existing frame, the frame must be enlarged to include it. The fact is there: it cannot be escaped. With imagination and sympathy we find its place. But without the will and the capacity to believe in standards, motives and mental traits different from our own or more definitely formed than ours, understanding of another's mind is impossible. Some of the writers in this book came near to understanding Lawrence, and all were, sooner or later, sympathetically disposed towards him. But if it be thought that on that account the resulting portrait must be unduly flattering to its subject, a fair reply is that others could not have produced a likeness at all.

In his Preface the editor suggests that each of the contributions is to some extent a self-portrait of its author. This impression grows so strongly as the book proceeds that the reader soon begins to see in Lawrence a kind of touchstone on which other characters may be tested. (It would be interesting, were such a thing possible, to see a companion volume, "Lawrence, by his Enemies"—they would show themselves up so beautifully—but that is another matter.) Lawrence emerges not impersonal, but selfless, the supreme example of a man of consummate understanding without an axe to grind.

The truth comes out plainly from the beginning. It is easy to discern in the early and intense development of his brain one of the chief determining factors in Lawrence's outlook. Even before he went to school he could not but have become aware of possessing an extraordinary margin of superior ability over others. This advanced the age of self-consciousness, induced an inescapable sense of being "different," and, because he was further endowed with tremendous energy, a sound physical constitution, practical sense and a conscientious desire to help and serve others rather than himself, it exposed him to none of the checks which await a mere bookish prig. An ideal of achievement, not sensation, was set up. Time saved by rapidity of thought or action or by accuracy of memory was not to be wasted in idling or empty narcissism. The ideal was pushed higher. *L'appetit vient en mangeant*: hard things grew easy, and harder must be sought. Personal efficiency, the economical use of time, the perfecting of the human machine without motive of gain at others' expense became a constant aim.

How this aim was followed in his youthful journeys, on a bicycle or on foot, either in search of the antiquities which had gained his passionate interest, or in

pursuit of some purely adventurous plan, is told by several contemporaries at school and university. The last and most exacting of these expeditions was the survey, on foot, of the Crusader Castles of Syria, which, besides helping him to gain a First Class in the History Schools in 1910, gave him his first view of the Arabian lands.

A year later, at Carchemish, Sir Leonard Woolley found him brilliant, whether in field-work, or in bluffing through the difficulties raised, from time to time, by the Turkish authorities or the German engineers of the Baghdad railway, or in the rare quality of handling, *as individuals*, the large number of Arab workmen employed by the excavators. Sheikh Hamoudi, their chief foreman, a fighting man who shared with him some adventures of that period, says in 1936: "My heart is iron, but his was steel. . . . I have lost my son, but I do not grieve for him as I do for Lawrence. . . ." More than twenty years had passed since last they met.

Early in 1914 comes the link between peace and war: the Wilderness of Zin to the archæologist, but to the soldier, as Colonel Newcombe briefly tells us, the South Palestine Survey. The making of war maps in Cairo follows inevitably, and here Sir Ernest Dowson speaks of Lawrence's mastery of the technicalities of cartography and printing, and of his even more impressive feat in exercising, from a junior and vaguely defined position, a controlling influence over the multifarious staff, junior and senior, engaged in the urgent tasks thrust by the War upon the Egyptian Map Reproduction Office and on the Government Press. Yet "I never received a grouse about him: and I never heard of an instance of misunderstanding or friction being created by him either through faulty human contact or owing to the many short-circuitings of official hierarchy that response to the kaleidoscopic situation demanded."

It was but a short step to the adventure of the Revolt. "I gave him a free hand . . . and I never had anything but praise for his work. . . ." So said Lord Allenby, and: "When Lawrence did give his friendship, he gave it freely; and, in return, no man has had more faithful friends." Among them, another soldier and administrator, Sir Hubert Young, writes: "I would rather have served under him than under any regular soldier I have ever met, provided that he was not himself fettered by having to answer to higher authority for what he did."

But this book is not mainly concerned with the War. It is after the nearly intolerable stresses of the War, when personalities as diverse as Mr. Churchill, Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Bernard Shaw, Mr. Lionel Curtis, Sir Henry Baker, and many others help us to follow Lawrence through the post-War settlement, the Fellowship of All Souls and the writing of the *Seven Pillars*—it is during this period that we find him arrived at that summit of mental and moral equipment, from which the fire of friendship was to flash, with vivifying force, into the lives of so many human beings. Dr. Altounyan, who had met him at Carchemish in 1911, found him, eight years later, "shaken by his vision, not of past accomplishment, but of incredible possibilities which, unless he was very careful, would become, were becoming, actualities leading to regions where he instinctively felt it would be dangerous to remain"; but "the man who had the courage or the instinct to meet him on equal terms suddenly found himself travelling over familiar country at an illuminating speed, all barriers down."

Why should this fulness of power be directed away from the general world of mundane activity into the individual channels of private friendship? With his range of knowledge and his vital speed, the external world must have seemed to be moving at a very slow pace. The sense of power, present from his earliest years, had grown immense. Sometimes the ownership of a newspaper, the

amassing of great wealth, or the undetected perpetration of a successful crime induces in a man an illusory sense of power. Lawrence's was different. It stood of itself, a reality inwardly felt and outwardly proved. But still there was no personal motive-force to direct that power; only the impulse to go on perfecting the wonderful machine that was himself, the ever-insistent warning of conscience to help, not harm, and the feeling that one who has no use for himself must strive at least to be of use to others. And so—for all his intensely growing interest in the arts, the literary exercise of *The Mint* and the *Odyssey*, the work on speed-boats and other activities—the most significant content of Lawrence's last phase is the friendship reflected in the varied utterances of men and women, well known and unknown, whose lives were made *easier* by the quickening touch of his genius.

Diogenes' point of view was puzzling to Alexander, and would have been still more so if Diogenes had had half a dozen assorted triumphs to his credit. It is not surprising that many were puzzled by the self-seclusion whereby, as Lawrence himself said, he tried to get the taste of Arabia out of his mouth. Physically and mentally, he had suffered to the limit of endurance, but it would be too much to say that Arabia broke—or even changed—him. It is a matter of doubt whether the essential character of a man can be changed by anything less violently distorting than marriage or encephalitis lethargica. Lawrence grew: he never changed. Self-seclusion was inevitable, without the War. If there had been no Arabia, there would have been something else, whose taste had become odious and must be eliminated. And if his aim had been, as in one popular view, self-punishment for imagined sin, he would not have enlisted: a mind so sensitive would have sought and found very hell in a suburban villa or a seaside boarding-house.

It would be improper to write of Lawrence without once using the word "imp." I do so only to point out two causes of his impishness, which this book makes clear. One was the feeling, natural to him and nourished by experience, that, granted freedom of the mind, material fortune is of little account: *ου φροντις*—"What odds to Hippocleides?" The other was that his inexhaustible spring of energy, ceaselessly working on his sense of power, demanded an outlet which, in a man possessed of strong motives of personal advancement or gain, would often have assumed a disastrous shape. In Lawrence the explosion took the form of a joke, and the world should be grateful for it.

In the concluding article Mr. Arnold Lawrence tells us more about his brother's life than would have been possible to any other of the contributors, but I will quote only the one sentence which places its subject on the highest level of human achievement: "He had, I believe, a diffident, perhaps weak core, so controlled by his colossal will-power that its underlying presence was rarely suspected." Mr. Cherry-Garrard saw this, too, and so, I think, did Dr. Altounyan, whose appreciation of the significance of Lawrence's way of living deserves quotation. He refers to "his unique sense of proportion. This quality has seldom met with due regard in human history. Its exponents, however able, either have been hopelessly obscure, or have never quite convinced posterity that the potential scope of their power was as great as they, or their admirers, imagined. It is fortunate that the men of this generation have the opportunity of studying, with the intimacy of near vision, one who made it his business to expound it, through fame and obscurity."

This book, which is to be followed by publication of Lawrence's letters, does much to enable such a study to be made. In a short space it is impossible to do more than indicate some of the principal features of its 600 pages. Death has

robbed us of what might have been written by D. G. Hogarth, and by Doughty, Hardy and several others of authority who knew him: but the contributors are representative. Their accounts of Lawrence are supplemented by very illuminating lists of the books and gramophone records at Clouds Hill, and there are eight excellent photographs. This is an important book.

E. D.

British Rule and Rebellion. By H. J. Simson. 8" × 5½". Pp. 331. Blackwood. 1937. 8s. 6d.

This book is really a thesis on the failure of the democracy known as the British Empire to preserve law and order when its subjects try to throw off the yoke, or even when they are merely dissatisfied with things as they are. The theme is not a pleasant one to those who, whether imperialists, realists, or patriots, believe—as the rather trite saying is—in the British Empire.

The author is temperate, lucid, and as a rule convincing in presenting his points. He divides the book into two parts. In the first he states his premises, and cites episodes from Ireland in support. In the second part he illustrates or proves his arguments from the recent happenings in Palestine. Indeed, to a very large extent this book is a guide to the deplorable events in the Holy Land, and might well have been written as an up-to-date account of the behaviour of the Mandatory Power there when dealing with its rebellious vassals. But this is merely incidental to the narrative, and not its main purpose.

The history of the British Empire includes the tale of many attacks on its authority, the attacks of civilized man as well as of the savage. The Riel Rebellion in Canada, the Indian Mutiny, the Sudanese and Boer Wars, all show the protean nature of the opposition that Britain has had to meet. From the rebellion of the Thirteen New England colonies to the Irish Civil War all inroads on the power of the British Crown have been dealt with successfully, and no concession has been made to its opponents until its authority has been completely restored. The Empire, though troubled within, has presented a serene countenance to the world, and has shown no sign of any crack in the fabric.

Since the peace of Versailles, after the end of the Great War, three successful attempts have been made on the rule of Great Britain, in Ireland, India, and Palestine. The concessions accorded by the Government have varied, and those in Palestine are not yet quite definite; but they have been wrested by violence and unconstitutionally from the Crown. That cynical realist Lord Beaconsfield used to say that governments yielded to force and never to reason; and the truth of this aphorism is shown by these three civil wars. Moreover, the success of the Anglo-Irish struggle greatly encouraged the revolt in Palestine.

The aggressors have always gained, sometimes all, sometimes part of their demands; but the Crown, the fount of law and order, of unity and strength, the sole means through which the artificial and fragile independence of its rebellious subjects has been won, has in every case suffered severely in all its functions as well as in its honour and prestige.

It is the method in which the British Empire meets these subversive and outrageous attacks on its sovereignty that is described and elaborated in this book with marked thoroughness and skill. The author in Part I. of his book traces clearly and relentlessly the genesis of these attacks on the established government of the land. He outlines the whole process and progress of the revolt. He shows the fatal handicaps of a democracy with its many masters and its pathetic tortoise-

like slowness of action. The League of Nations acts as slowly as the democracy which calls on it to arbitrate. Colonel Simson aptly compares the agility and versatility of the rebels with the blundering efforts of the semi-paralyzed upholders of law and order. He points out that our rule is based on mutual good-will and the arbitrament of the law rather than the decision of the sword. The reader should follow carefully his account of how the forces of misrule conduct their campaign, and how they go from strength to strength as the powers of the government weaken and decay. It is not a pretty picture, but it is a true one; and it shows how dictators come into being. To describe the action of the rebels, the author has invented the word "sub-war," not a very happy coinage, as our language possesses two synonyms in "civil war" and in "rebellion." Sub-war rather minimizes what is after all nothing else but real war.

Chapter III. gives an excellent account of the difficulties of the military called in to restore order, whilst Chapters V. and VI., which appear to be based on experience of the rebellion in Ireland, describe the grotesque efforts of the civil power to deal with a situation that daily slips more and more from its grasp. After having introduced us (pp. 50 *et seq.*) as to how a civil war is run, the dilemma of the rulers is clearly shown. As has been said, not a pretty picture.

The war in Ireland was largely due to the bankruptcy of our political insight, aided perhaps by war weariness, but there never was any excuse for our behaviour to face the facts. We shilly-shallied; and the book throughout demonstrates the helplessness of a democracy at a crisis. The fact being that if it is to deal with these attacks on its authority it cannot remain a democracy, with the shadow of an appeal to someone else paralyzing the efforts of its servants.

The reader should note Chapter VIII., where some sound practical advice is given on how to deal with a "sub-war." But the author shows that if law and order are to wait on the flabby will of a democracy and the spectre of party politics is to haunt the councils of the rulers, then common sense and clarity of purpose go by the board, and the victory is always to the rebels.

The second part of this stimulating book elaborates in a long account of the recent revolt in Palestine the points produced in the first half of the volume. The narrative is matter-of-fact and sober, and it is hard to see how the writer's argument can be gainsaid. He only too clearly shows that the lessons of the past—for instance, in Ireland—have never been learned by the administration of Palestine. It is foolish to argue that a mandate requires different treatment from that of an integral part of a country; it is merely an excuse for official poltroonery to do so.

The author is no partisan. He is neither pro-Jew, pro-Arab, nor pro-Government. He is certainly no harsh critic of any of the parties. He cites (p. 161) the utter lack of control which display ignorance of the elements of administration. The account of the two rival governments, Jew and Arab (pp. 164 and 165), the absence of a police reserve (p. 171), the friction between the executive and the judicature (p. 210)—the hall-mark of a rotten administration—and more inefficiency of the same kind, all tending to prove that no one knew, or, if they did know, cared for what was going on. This may sound harsh. The state of Palestine is the answer.

Six chapters deal with the Arab rebellion. To read them one would imagine that we were in the days of the Crusades or of Napoleon, not of Allenby and the Great War. The situation was well known at home, and the writer lays stress on the inaction of the home government, the bewildering changes of plan, and the muddle and harm that resulted. The burning problems of the Holy Land were to be cooled by fountains of official small talk and foolish palaver.

It is idle to say that we are guilty of exploitation, imperialism, finance-mongering or the like for producing this constant state of stasis in Palestine. We have had to face worse things in the past, and we have triumphed. Why then have we failed in the case of a small country a few days from our shores? Colonel Simson raises the question, and perhaps seeks to find the answer, for it must be in us. Has then the genius of our race to rule, and administer, and finally to retire after handing over the reins of power to the people we have just been governing departed from us? It looks very much so, for this book is a very real and able criticism on our methods and their failure.

The book is well printed. There is no map, and there is no index, two blemishes for which there can be no excuse. It is a small point, too, that the writer is often slovenly in his language, and uses slang which mars his narrative. Generally speaking, this book has much to commend it, and is a warning of how not to deal with a situation such as has arisen in Palestine.

R. C. S.

Le Kemalisme. By Tekin Alp. Préface du Président Édouard Herriot. 5½" x 9". Pp. viii + 298. Alcan: Librairie Félix. 30 francs.

The object of this book is to explain to foreigners the real nature of the Turkish Revolution.

It is divided into three sections, entitled respectively *La Genèse du Kemalisme*, *Le Chemin du Kemalisme*, and *La Doctrine et l'Idéologie Kemaliste*.

The Revolution, says the author, was in the nature of a biological development and the realization of aspirations which had long been dormant in the Turkish soul. It was the genius of Ataturk which gave effect to these aspirations; hence the Revolution is aptly named Kemalisme. Foreign observers have laid too much stress on external events in Turkey and have not sufficiently remarked the new spirit which animates the nation. *Les rues d'Istanbul ne sont sillonnées que par des physionomies exprimant l'énergie et la vitalité, des yeux reflétant la joie de vivre, l'aspiration vers le progrès, le bonheur et le bien-être.*

The author maintains that Kemalisme is quite distinct from previous movements of reform. These had two important results from a cultural and social point of view, but they failed politically, as they attempted to found a Constitution based on the old Ottoman régime. Nevertheless the Kemalists owe much to the earlier reformers. The Tanzimat opened Turkey to the influence of foreign literature, mostly French, which gave a great impetus to the spread of liberal ideals and furthered contact with the West; while the reform of the Turkish language had been advocated long ago by such men as Shinasi, Namik Kemal and Zia.

Kemalisme commenced with the struggle for independence against the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. The Allies at this period continually played into Ataturk's hands, and the Greek invasion gave him his opportunity. Nothing was better calculated to rouse the Turkish nation, and the final defeat of the Greeks in the Askaria in 1921 established his fame as the saviour of his country.

The spirit of Kemalisme is displayed in intrepidity, circumspection and opportunism. Ataturk knew always how to mask his real intentions till the right moment for action arrived. The author gives an instance of this opportunism when at a meeting of the Grand National Assembly in September, 1920, he actually intervened on behalf of the Sultan-Caliph, for he considered the time was not ripe for his abolition. When the last relics of the old Ottoman régime had

disappeared the way was clear for modelling the new Turkey. The first step was the formation in September, 1923, of the Halk Firkasi or Peoples' Party, which was to be the focus of, and training ground for, Kemalism throughout the country. The attempt to form a Liberal opposition was a failure, and the Peoples' Party is the sole political organization in Turkey.

In the second section the author describes the various steps taken on *Le Chemin de Kemalisme*, such as the fixing of the capital at Ankara, the abolition of the Caliphate, the proclamation of the Republic, the adoption of the Latin alphabet, etc.

Ataturk has attributed many of the ills of the Ottoman régime to the obscurantism of the clergy and has dealt drastically with Islamic institutions.

There is little doubt that the Ulema were conservative and reactionary and hindered the work of reform.

The simplification of the alphabet was no doubt advisable in view of the large number of illiterates among the Turks and will encourage the study of Turkish in the West. Culturally it seems a mistake, as it must lead to the neglect of past Turkish literature and discourage the study of Persian and Arabic.

The author lays much stress on the emancipation of women in New Turkey. The harem and polygamy, however, only affected a small section of the people, and had been gradually dying out from economic and other causes. It is not very clear how the seclusion of women first took root in Turkey. It is commonly supposed it was adopted from Byzantium, but although the Gynecium was reserved exclusively for women they were free to mix with men outside its precincts. The Arab traveller, Ibn Battuta, was much struck with the freedom of the Seljukean women when he visited Asia Minor.

In Chapter XV. the author argues against the theory of the Mongolian origin of the Turks who now claim they are of Aryan descent. The Turks, he states, exercised a profound influence on Islamic civilization. The author then recounts the steps taken to purify the Turkish language. Much had been done before the Kemalist régime to free the language from foreign, particularly Persian and Arabic, forms and words. Attempts are being made to bring back into the language old Turkish forms which have fallen into disuse, but it is doubtful if Arabic words will ever be entirely eliminated. At a congress on this subject a deputy remarked: "Aucune Autorité, aucune Comité ne peut assumer la charge de rejeter de la langue les mots étrangers et les remplacer par des mots essentiellement turcs car ils n'auront par les moyens de le faire accepter par la nation. C'est une question tout à fait individuelle on plutôt indépendante de l'individu. Cela se fait par l'évolution naturelle de la langue." The speaker was howled down, but in the writer's opinion he was very near the truth. The vitality of a language is shown by its power to admit the forms and expressions of tongues foreign to itself while yet preserving its own native and original construction.

In the final section the author theorizes on *Le Doctrine et l'Idéologie Kemaliste*, but it would take up too much space to discuss his views. The writer must conclude by quoting the six principles embodied in the programme of the Peoples' Party. These are: 1. Republicanisme. 2. Nationalisme. 3. Laïcisme. 4. Etatisme. 5. Démocratie. 6. Revolutionnarisme.

The book suffers from a lack of the critical spirit; not a doubt is expressed as to the wisdom or expediency of the measures taken to found the New Turkey.

The remarkable man who presides over Turkey to-day, as formidable in the forum as on the battlefield, has in the space of a few years wrought changes in the political, social and economical life of his people which by other methods would take generations to accomplish. One gets the impression the pace has been

too hot to ensure stability, and that the despotic manner in which they have been carried out may result in a reaction in time to come. Ataturk has ridden roughshod over many institutions and interests, and it is impossible to believe he has not raised up many enemies in the process. This book throws no light on this point. Time alone can show the wisdom of some of his measures, but there can be no doubt he has the interests of his people at heart. The result of his work, this strange blending of East and West, will be watched with interest by all students of Near Eastern affairs. Monsieur Édouard Herriot contributes an enthusiastic Preface which ends in an almost lyrical strain: ". . . Aux jardins du Rhône et de la Seine fleurissent des roses qui peuvent s'unir aux roses d'Istanbul en un vivant et harmonieux bouquet."

F. F. R.

Documents pour l'Étude des Pays Orientaux.

Under this heading a pamphlet by M. Gerard Tongas is dated Paris, August 7, 1937, and entitled "*Ataturk et le vrai visage de la Turquie moderne.*"

The author appeals for a better press in France and a more sympathetic understanding for the new Turkey. His zeal seduces him into flattery, as has happened to so many French writers on Turkey. On the first page he invites his readers to accept without question the claim that the world owes the ancient Hittite civilization to the ancestors of the Turks; and he harps on this theme throughout. He can hardly escape the criticism made by Tacitus of those who take for granted "quoquo modo audita pro compertis habent."

His short biography of Mustafa Kemal contains the strange error that he drove the Greeks out of Anatolia in September, 1921, twelve months before he did so.

The statement that the Kemalist revolution injured France more than any other country is true, for she possessed, as the author says, "a spiritual and financial domination" in the old Turkey. French Roman Catholic colleges and schools played an important part in education and always received strong support from the French Government, which even went so far as to press for the admission into Turkey of Jesuits expelled from France; and French capital was largely interested in many enterprises in the old Turkey.

M. Tongas, while urging his countrymen to devote more attention to the new Turkey, is careful to point out that the Angora Government is determined to allow no foreign political influence in its affairs.

He gives an interesting account of the Alexandretta dispute, now happily settled through the mediation of the League of Nations.

To the statesmanship shown by the Angora Government is due the formation both of the Balkan Entente and of the Asiatic Entente, which latter has brought together Iran, Irak, Afghanistan and Turkey.

The pamphlet concludes with a short sketch of the agriculture of the country and of the steps recently taken to develop industries.

A. T. WAUGH.

Ancient Cyprus: Its Art and Archæology. By Stanley Casson. 7½" x 5".

Pp. xii + 214. Sixteen illustrations; end paper map. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Casson sets out to give the reader a fairly detailed survey of Cypriot art and archæology. He starts with the earliest known remains and traces the whole complicated action and reaction that went on in Cyprus between the Grecian, Egyptian, Syrian, Anatolian and Persian influences.

In the introduction the author gives a scathing account of the neglect and looting of monuments and antiquities that went on in Cyprus during the period of the Turkish occupation, and also under British rule. It seems that at all costs a British garrison had to have its amusements, with the result that the unique refectory at Bellapaise Abbey was used as a rifle range. The grossly pitted east wall does not even suggest that the marksmanship was of a particularly high standard—but perhaps that in itself is a justification by showing how necessary the rifle practice was.

Near the beginning Mr. Casson remarks on the Cypriot's genius for adapting outside motifs to his own ends, so that his art, though reflecting the cultures of the surrounding Mediterranean peoples, always has something definitely Cypriot about it. He explains this by the fact that Cyprus was never a goal in itself for invaders, but always just a stepping-stone to something further, with the result that the local culture was never seriously interfered with. He also stresses the extreme conservatism of the Cypriot and the handing down of traditional shapes and methods of doing things for generations. There is an impressive list of Bronze Age survivals that have come down to the present day. After remarking on this, however, the author is surprised and rather at a loss to explain the apparent break between the Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures.

There is an interesting account of the development of Bronze Age pottery, showing how the early potters were inspired by gourd shapes to begin with, but gradually transferred their interest to the imitation of leather forms. The whole of this account is very carefully written, while its reasoning and easy style make it a pleasure to read, quite apart from the information that it gives.

In Chapter II. the author criticizes the views of various authorities on the tremendous amount of Mycenæan material that is found throughout the island and comes to the conclusion that a Mycenæan colonization took place at about 1400 B.C. or soon after. The whole question of the Cypriot script is carefully discussed in Chapter III., and a table of all the signs that are so far available is given at the end of the chapter. Chapter IV. begins with a discussion of external references to Cyprus, mostly Egyptian; and then goes on to give an account of the trade relations between Cyprus and the Hittite kingdom in Anatolia and the working of copper in the island itself. In Chapter V. we have an account of the Dark Ages that veil the end of the Bronze Age and herald the coming of the Iron Age. During this period Cyprus seems to have maintained herself in isolation from the surrounding countries, in a period of decadence and poverty, but at any rate free from the wholesale ruin that overwhelmed Greece and most of the Levant. Chapter VI. is devoted to the Ancient Kingdoms of Cyprus, and this leads to a discussion of their possible continuity from Achæan times right up to the Classical period. Chapter VII. on Cypriot art seems, at any rate to the non-archæologist, to be one of the most interesting in the book, for in his history of Cypriot art we have a complete visual history of the island—we can actually see the influences at work that archæologists tell us took place. However, there is one phrase on page 171 in connection with ceramics, which the modern designer might well take exception to, "and the shapes, while utilitarian to the highest degree, are in themselves not beautiful." Without bringing up the much hackneyed question of functionalism in applied art, one cannot help but feel that the phrase is somewhat ill-chosen.

While the book is brilliantly written, and admirably produced, it might even be better than it now is, if there were more photographs of actual objects referred to, and fewer general views, which, though extraordinarily good in themselves, do not seem to help the text much.

R. H. M.

Across Cyprus. By Olive Murray Chapman. With a Foreword by the Viscount Mersey. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 256. Illustrated. The Bodley Head. 15s.

In *Across Cyprus* the author gives an account of a tour she recently made. In order to see as much of the less frequented parts of the island as possible, as well as the more remote villages, she was willing to make use of any form of transport that seemed convenient, be it car, cycle, mule or donkey.

There is an interesting Foreword by Viscount Mersey in which he lays stress on the need for the preservation of what still remain of the ancient monuments of Cyprus.

The author sets out to give the reader some idea of the natural beauties, some of the folklore, customs and history of the island. She devotes Chapter I. to a short historical survey; here she traces with admirable clearness the way in which Cyprus, throughout practically the whole of its history, has been treated as a political shuttlecock by its numerous rulers. In Chapter II. the reader gets a first inkling into the general style of the book when she gives an account of her arrival at Famagusta and her first impressions of that town and the island in general. From then onwards follows chapter by chapter a detailed account of her tour and the numerous small incidents, amusing and otherwise, that are likely to befall the traveller in Near Eastern countries. The whole narrative is written in a light, vivacious manner interspersed with descriptions and short historical sketches designed to give the reader a proper appreciation of the many historical and archæological monuments of Cyprus.

The author obviously has a romantic temperament which shows itself very clearly throughout the whole of her book, as, of course, is inevitable, but it does give the book a very definite character, which means that it will probably either appeal strongly or otherwise to her readers.

The numerous photographs are good in themselves, though "A forest glade, Mesopotamos," facing page 215, in spite of its caption, might well have been taken almost anywhere—even on Hampstead Heath. There are two water-colour sketches by the author, which, though interesting as showing even more clearly than her writing her personal reaction to the characteristic beauties of Cyprus, seem to be a little lacking in a sense of composition and colour.

On page x of the Foreword Viscount Mersey mentions the "bearded men of Sumer and Accad" as having had connections with the island. Have we any reliable proof that such a contact did take place?

On page 110, in connection with her visit to the excavations at the Neolithic site at Khirokitia, the author uses the phrase "the very earliest Stone Age period"! Surely this is inaccurate when describing a site that she has previously stated as dating from about 4000 B.C.?

The book is well produced, the type is clear and the paper of good texture. It might possibly have been better if the map had been to a slightly larger scale to allow more space, and consequently larger lettering for the long names that have to be inserted on it. The dust cover is unfortunate in being identical front and back, which seems to be a fundamental mistake in design. However, in spite of these small criticisms, the book is well worth reading, as it contains a mass of interesting information, and its usefulness to the intending visitor is enhanced by the hints for the traveller at the end.

R. H. M.

The Nile in Egypt. Part II. *The Life-Story of a River.* By Emil Ludwig. Translated by Mary Lindsay. 9" x 6½". Pp. 344. Plates and map. London: Allen and Unwin. 1937. 16s.

Part I. of the *Nile in Egypt* pursued the river from its sources to the First Cataract. Part II. sets out to complete its progress to the sea. It is the more difficult task. Harnessed and confined by human hands, the Nile has been tamed, and the sense of adventure seems missing: nor does the author's reasoning that persuaded him to replace the narration of a river's course with one of Egyptian political history throughout the ages carry conviction. No doubt configuration, climate, all physical conditions in short, do influence mankind in the making: but that admission is very far from subscribing to Ludwig's contention that "the story of a human life closely resembles the life story of a river." It is a startling statement: can there be close similarity between men free to wander where fancy takes them, and rivers that are pinned to their beds?

Since Ludwig has elected to devote two-thirds of this volume to the narration of history, he must be judged by the decision, and his methods do not suggest intimate acquaintance with the history of Egypt. His quality is more evident in descriptive passages, and in their composition he is at his best. His pen flies fast, his thought travels apace: the narration is vivid, the flamboyance of style is excusable. His description of the bucket wheel that lifts the water to the land is a good example. "It turns and whines. All Egypt is permeated by two sounds, a scream and a complaint," he declares, and the reader has at once a mental picture of the familiar Egyptian *sakia*. His pen portraits are no less skilfully sketched: the portrait (p. 145) of the Sphinx "speaking in spite of its silence and its sounds," and that of the fellah, "the silent serious peasant guarding the field of his fathers through the centuries," are true to life. Less intelligible is his inability to explain the origin of the anarchy that devastated Egypt from the sixth to the eleventh dynasties, and he is forced in the end to fall back on the unsatisfying verdict that "the cause will always remain a mystery." A study of the religion of the period might have helped him to discover a more acceptable solution.

Ludwig's history is sketchy. In the preface he quotes only two authorities, but appends no bibliography: thus a reader cannot know whether study or imagination has inspired the writing. His treatment of the Ptolemies may be taken as an example. It would be interesting to learn, for example, the name of the Ptolemy Queen who "killed a brother to marry another and win pillaged wealth." Nor will Chapter VII., that dealing with Cleopatra, add much to the world's knowledge of this woman. It is too superficial, and, concerning her relations with Antony, statements are made that classical authority does not support. Of Cleopatra's boy brother husband, Ludwig says he was "mysteriously drowned during a bathe in the Nile": but Hirtius, one authority, gives another version of the boy king's death. It is a relief when, leaving history, Ludwig returns to descriptive writing, and many readers could well spare some of the twenty pages he devotes to the Græco-Roman period for some addition to the meagre five pages he allots to the struggle between Paganism and Christianity. Perhaps also in approaching the confused history of the Mohammedan and Turkish occupations with a Mameluke Sultanate sandwiched between the two, Ludwig felt a vague presentiment of the difficulties ahead: at all events we have in place of history mainly a series of pictures painted in artful colours.

But the vein becomes exhausted, and a fresh incursion into political history is made. His relation of Bonaparte's expedition in Egypt cannot be commended as altogether reliable. Bonaparte, for instance, was not "the first to come from the West to conquer Egypt," nor did the Egyptian people welcome them [the French

soldiers]. It was indeed very much the other way: to the last they loathed the French occupation. And is it true that "three years of doubtful French dominion left profound effect on Egypt?" Surely French culture in Egypt originated more probably in a later age and in different conditions.

The comparison between Mohammad Ali and Bonaparte is interesting, and in these pages the first emerges what indeed he was, a dominating personality. But the effect is spoilt by Ludwig's habit of interpolating unwanted history. Thus he confuses the dates of the two battles of Abuqir, and places in the second Mohammed Ali's escape from death. He goes on to say: "A few months later, in the same year, 1799, the one (Bonaparte) had made himself first consul in Paris, the other (Mohammed Ali) commandant of the most important regiment (?) in Cairo." History to be of use must be accurate.

Oddly enough, Ludwig keeps his best for the British occupation. He is eminently fair to the Occupying Power, he is profoundly appreciative of Cromer's work. That remarkable man he paints thus: "He gave the fellah for the first time the confident feeling that he was as good as the pasha not only in the sight of God but of the Law." It is a verdict that would have satisfied the subject.

The twenty-three illustrations accompanying the text are rather commonplace with one exception: the representation of an unnamed Ptolemy and his Queen. It would be interesting to know the provenance of this portrait, but the tantalizing Ludwig offers no information on the point.

P. G. ELGOOD.

Scratch a Russian. By H. S. Marchant. With decorations by Donald Nash.

8" x 5½". Pp. 212. Lindsay Drummond. 7s. 6d.

However hard an author tries to exclude his own political opinions, it seems almost impossible to do so when writing about Russia. Mr. Marchant has almost achieved the impossible. He has written a very attractive series of sketches depicting life in Soviet Russia to-day. They not only ring true, but give the impression that the people he met did more than say the things they did—they really thought them as well.

The author has not failed to show us the rougher side of Soviet life. In fact, we never get out of it. One imagines that he must have spent some very uncomfortable nights and some very boring days waiting for things to happen. Such is his tolerance (it can scarcely be his physical indifference) that he only once refers to the discomforts caused by "animal life." However, there is not much doubt left in my mind that he faced and fought it on many occasions.

Like most observers of Soviet life, he is astonished and irritated by the degree to which men, women and children are submerged by Government propaganda. To escape from it is impossible. One result has been to eliminate any sense of proportion or humour among the rising generation. Mr. Marchant has a keen sense of humour. If he had not, one wonders how he could have endured and apparently even enjoyed the worries and hardships of his trip to Russia.

There is an interesting description of a marriage ceremony which he witnessed. It appears just as devoid of sentiment, fun and frolic as we have often been led to believe. Signing a paper, paying three roubles—and all is over.

The sketch called "Proletarian Climbing" gives a very good picture of the incredible lengths to which Soviet self-discipline and self-sacrifice can go. Yearly hundreds of workers climb the 16,000 feet of Mount Kasbek. They seldom seem to have any desire for, or experience of, mountain climbing, and almost invariably suffer considerably in the attempt, yet they make it, and, having reached the

summit, their enjoyment and satisfaction come not from the view or the climb, but from the thought that in the face of terrible difficulties they have behaved as "good Bolsheviks." Singing the Internationale at the end of the climb gives them unlimited happiness.

A book written about pre-war Russia was never complete without many references to vodka drinking. Apparently once again the old habit is becoming very general. Whatever may be the reasons for this return of one of Russia's greatest evils, it certainly had the effect on several occasions of loosening the tongues of Mr. Marchant's chance acquaintances. Without it we should have been deprived of some of the most attractive and informative chapters in this readable little book.

V. A. CAZALET.

Soviet Tempo. A Journey of Travel in Russia. By Violet Conolly. 8" x 5½". Pp. xvi + 190. Illustrated. Sheed and Ward. 7s. 6d.

Soviet Tempo is a more serious study of a trip to Russia. Here again Miss Conolly met with many of the same experiences as every other tourist in recent years. She speaks Russian and travelled third class, and by the end of her trip must have become quite immune to discomfort, smells and the invariable lateness of Russian trains.

Her previous visit to Russia was in 1928, and the changes which she finds and recounts are not only interesting in themselves, but give us an idea of how the religion of Karl Marx is being altered and interpreted by its adherents. In some directions it would appear that an even stricter interpretation is being put upon some of its canons, while in other matters there is a strong tendency for bourgeois characteristics to prevail. To-day there appears to be very little religious persecution for the simple reason that there is no one left to persecute. God and church have been for so long depicted as being in the same deplorable category as the capitalist and his money that there is as little left of the former as of the latter.

A few years ago Miss Conolly was able to make friends in Russia. She was even able to talk to them with some measure of intimacy. To-day, except for chance meetings in stations or railway carriages, there is no association between Soviet citizens and foreigners. On the other hand, one finds with surprise that lipsticks, beauty parlours and jazz dancing are the order of the day, bringing in their train many variations in the social and economic life of the people.

Propaganda remains the same, only to-day everything has to be even bigger and greater than in the past. The same parrot-cry prevails, "We are free, we are happy." It has been dinned into the people's ears with such repetition and energy that the great majority really believe it. As Miss Conolly says, they know no better. Their complete ignorance of all outside world affairs is as remarkable as it is depressing.

All visitors to Russia come away with at least two similar impressions: constant irritation over small matters and a very favourable recollection of the courtesy and kindness of the people themselves. There is no country in the world where small matters assume such proportions or take up so much time. Where in other countries one form has to be filled in, at least three are required in Soviet Russia. Your passport assumes enormous importance; deprived of it for a few hours, you feel the hand of the police already on your shoulder. Trains, instead of being minutes or hours late, are literally days late.

To compensate for this irritation there is the incredible kindness, sympathy and generosity of the people. There is nothing the Russian will not share even with a complete stranger from his last crust to his innermost thoughts.

Miss Conolly gives a good account of some of the pleasure resorts, but even these make me doubt whether there is any more fun to be found along the shores of the Black Sea than at Margate or Clacton.

Both *Soviet Tempo* and *Scratch a Russian* are well illustrated with many pen pictures which add considerably to the enjoyment of the reading matter.

V. A. CAZALET.

Baghdad Sketches. By Freya Stark. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiv + 269. Illustrations; sketch-map. Murray. 12s. 6d.

Members of the Royal Central Asian Society need no introduction to the writings of Miss Freya Stark, and some of them will need none to her *Baghdad Sketches*. It is more than six years now since readers of the *Baghdad Times* were intrigued to find their daily ration of Reuter's telegrams interlarded with a series of delightful sketches of Baghdad life by an unknown but obviously skilled hand. These sketches, afterwards collected and published locally, are now republished with additions in this country.

The reproduction of early work on the strength of a reputation subsequently gained is a risky business, especially so when such work consists of random articles contributed to a daily paper. But there was no risk here. Not only are these sketches worthy of the literary reputation that Miss Stark has since acquired, but they actually enhance it. It is evident that she was already an accomplished writer, and the sketches reveal in their full freshness those engaging qualities of style that she has made her own. In fact, the random nature of the literary sketch lends itself to her peculiar art, gives her freedom to indulge her fancies—to wander from the track of her narrative to give new and fine point to a moral or to philosophize lightly on life as she finds it. And it is all done with an artlessness that only a real artist can achieve.

The earlier sketches embody Miss Stark's first impressions of the East, or rather her first reactions; for although her professed intention was "to sally forth with a leisurely and blank mind," her writings prove that her mind was anything but inactive. She was determined from the outset to get to grips with the life of the people, unshackled by the conventions of the tourist, who "travels in his own atmosphere like a snail in his shell and stands as it were on his own perambulating doorstep to look at the continents of the world." To this end she took up her abode in a minute, and most insanitary, house in the Muslim quarter of Baghdad with one Armenian maid-servant. These thorough-going methods enabled her in a few weeks to gain a real insight into the character and customs of her neighbours. One of the sketches, to take an example, contains a most penetrating study of the modern Effendi, trying to find his feet amid the conflicting and complicated stresses of East and West, and the Old and the New. She manages to keep surprisingly free of political controversy, being quick to perceive the unreality of "that great body which we call Public Opinion because it has no opinion at all," and her method of gauging social tendencies and developments is as far removed from that of the official investigator as is her literary style from that of the blue book.

Actually less than half of the sketches are about Baghdad proper, and none of the eight now printed for the first time falls within that category. Visits to the Holy Cities, to Shaikh 'Adi, Kuwait, Mandali and so on are included, and the varied life and scenery of town and desert, plain and mountain, river and sea give scope for her vivid powers of description. A few magic strokes of her pen

bring the most ordinary objects to life; camels, for instance, "looking as if they felt that their walk is a religious ceremony."

It is evident that Miss Stark is one of those people who fall in love with the East at first sight, but she differs from many other such devotees in that she does not permit her sympathies to smother her critical faculty. She finds the Effendi's weak spots as she does the Tourist's, and she is as ready to twit the fellah's method of digging (with two assistants pulling the spade by a rope, "a method which is said to enable three men to do the work of one in double the time") as she is to reduce to absurdity the regulations of British officialdom. It is only in the more mundane sphere that Miss Stark may be accused of overlooking the shortcomings of the East. There is, it is true, a brief chapter "Concerning Smells," but for the most part there is a complete disregard for those personal discomforts which so afflict the tourist and which must have been for her particularly acute. In this she is aided and abetted by the magnificent photographs by which, with some attractive drawings by Mr. Prescott, the book is abundantly illustrated; for the camera, too, takes little account of heat and insects and thirst and glare and dust and dirt and smells. No doubt Miss Stark ignores such things as being accidental and not essential properties of the East, where, as she says, "happiness and sanitation are not held to have any particular connection," but that she is able to do so is a tribute to her strength of mind. The photographs have no captions (except for a list of illustrations at the beginning of the book), but they are so appropriately chosen and placed in relation to the text that none is necessary, and they show that Miss Stark is an artist with the camera as well as the pen.

R. S. M. S.

Useful Plants and Drugs of Iran and Iraq. By David Hooper. With Notes by Henry Field. Publication 387. Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

This is a descriptive catalogue of various plants and drugs collected in Iran and Iraq during the past eight years by Henry Field, Captain P. Johnston-Saint, Dr. J. M. Cowan and Dr. C. D. Darlington. The author does not claim any new discovery, but nevertheless the catalogue is of great interest. The value of the book to the student of Pharmacognosy would have been enhanced had the plants and drugs indigenous to Iran and Iraq been given in a separate section. As it is, the reader must sort these out for himself.

The collecting, examining, cataloguing and describing of the plants and drugs listed can only have been accomplished by long, arduous and patient labour. Some indication of the importance and the widespread use of these plants and drugs is given by the fact that nearly fifty per cent. of them appear in textbooks of Pharmacognosy in general use in Britain. This catalogue, with its description of so many others, particulars of which have not hitherto been readily available, will be a very useful addition to the student's library.

The notes supplied by Mr. Field on the local uses of the drugs are a valuable feature of the book. Observations such as these, made on the spot, and followed up by scientific research, lead to discoveries of great importance—discoveries not confined to medicine nor to the arts and crafts. Mr. Field's notes, therefore, are very welcome; they suggest lines of investigation that should repay study. They often indicate also a common use in England. For instance, under "Henbane Seeds" he says, "The smoke of the seed is inhaled for toothache." Forty years ago, in country districts in the English Midlands, henbane seed was often used for the same purpose. The seeds were burned on hot cinders and the smoke inhaled.

Saliva drooled from the mouth, and little spirals of this, coated with soot, were taken to be the "worms" that were causing decay and pain in the teeth. It would be interesting to know if this idea originally came from the primitive medical folklore of Iran, said by Mr. Field now to be rapidly disappearing.

The list is a very comprehensive one. The absence from it of *Ferula fœtida*—*Asafœtida*, will occasion some surprise. Under "Dragon's-blood" a note that Socotrine or Zanzibar dragon's-blood must not be confused with Sumatran (generally supplied in England) would not have been out of place. There are a few statements in the book open to question. It is difficult to see how the returning sailors of Columbus could have introduced *Smilax China* into Europe; the author appears to be confusing this plant with West Indian sarsaparilla, obtained from other varieties of *Smilax*. The constituents of Galbanum are given very definitely—so definitely that if the percentages of resin and gum were as stated the essential oil could not possibly reach twenty per cent., and no mention is made of ash. In drugs of this type, of vegetable origin, the percentage of such constituents as gum and resin must vary. The paragraph should be re-written. The statement that "plaster of Paris is powdered gypsum deprived of its water of crystallization by heat" is scarcely correct. If all the water be drawn off the resultant powder is useless. "Most of its water," etc., would be better. Also, as its solubility in water is so very slight, one wonders whether, in Mr. Field's note, "mixed" is not intended rather than "dissolved," as written.

The very few and very minor debatable points only serve to emphasize the care with which this useful catalogue has been compiled. The amount of time, research and painstaking work involved in drawing up the list of native names with Latin equivalents which appears at the end of the book will be obvious to all, but its value to other collectors should be great.

ERNEST M. MELLOR.

The Pageant of Persia. A Record of Travel by Motor in Persia, with an Account of its Ancient and Modern Ways. By Henry Filmer. 9½" × 6½". Pp. 422. Cover maps; illustrations. Kegan Paul. 15s.

This is a subtle mixture of history and guide-book by an American who has travelled and lived in Iran and who has read widely and well in the English and French literature of the country. First we have a prologue which is like a shattering series of cinematographic projections introducing an important film—quotations, allusions, epigrams, memory-stirring names of the mighty in the long line of Iranian history—a barrage of headlines, as it were, that makes an impressive preparation for the attack.

When this is over we are ready for anything; but our nerves are soothed by a good beginning on page 27: "The sight of the vast barren mountain ranges . . . brings in the end an indefinable peace to the soul." There follows a generous list of the good things we owe to Iran, and the English words derived from Persian, including, somewhat doubtfully, the rose and the peacock. With this we begin our travels on the road from Teheran by Salehabad to Khurramshahr (Mohammerah), with much about Daniel and Esther, and some whimsical reflections on the decision to build a most costly railway line across Iran when other countries were wondering what to do with their own railways.

In Chapter II. we go to Persepolis and survey the architectural remains of the Achaemenian empire as latterly revealed by the work of Professor Herzfeld. These are illustrated by a number of excellent photographs. There follows a

descriptive chapter on the beauties of Shiraz and Isfahan, with a brief survey of the millennium after the Arab conquest.

Next we travel by less hackneyed ways to Yezd and to Kerman, where Mr. Filmer has something to say of the bad taste of Americans in directing the design of Iranian carpets. In a reflective chapter on Mithraism and Zoroastrianism he indicates with tact the influence of those older faiths on Christianity in matters of legend, seasonal observances, and conceptions of a life after death, justifying his temerity with the conclusion :

“If through the painful and slow evolutionary ascent of man in his efforts to master his environment, magic has passed imperceptibly into religion and into the formulation of man’s code of ethics, man’s upward and onward march is likely to be furthered rather than hindered by a recognition of this ideological evolutionary process. In the light of the history and development of natural species by slow growth from simple to ever more complex forms, of man’s evolution from a unicellular form of life rather than from a fully developed Adam and Eve, a study of the religions of Persia and Asia assist us in comprehending that it was by no sudden revelation but likewise by a slow evolutionary progress that man has developed an ethical code which has become purer and more consonant with his full and free development as the devotees of magic, the Magi, gave way to Zoroastrianism, and Zoroastrianism came in turn to be supplanted by Christianity, Buddhism and Islam.

“But the end is not yet in sight. . . .”

On page 143 Mr. Filmer writes: “From this priestly caste (the Magi), it is generally believed, there arose in the seventh” (*sic*) “century B.C., the Magus Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, the date of whose birth has been established by Professor Herzfeld as 570 B.C.” The origin of Buddhism was certainly no later. On page 145 he refers to the supreme god, Ahura-Mazda, and the good spirit, Ormazd, and to the presence of the one alongside the other. The obvious identity of the names appears to have escaped him. Mr. Filmer repeats throughout the common error of translating the Masjid i Jama’ as the Friday Mosque. On page 177 he writes “Gawhar Shah” for Shad, and the Imam Ja’far appears elsewhere as Safar. On page 201 he says that Mani “conceived of himself as the *final and last* Prophet in historical succession to Buddha, Zoroaster and Christ, thus *anticipating in this claim* the Prophet Mohammed.” On page 268 is a reference to “the inability of the modern Englishman to read readily even Chaucer of the fourteenth century, not to speak of Shakespeare. . . .” On page 305 he speaks of “the star of Azhura, emblematic of the Zoroastrian faith.” On page 297, writing of Teheran, he mentions “the retreat of the more civilized inhabitants to the cellars which form an indispensable part of almost every house, as an escape from the intolerable heat of the summer.” This description might needlessly alarm intending visitors. It is more strictly applicable to places like Dizful.

Mr. Filmer’s view of the historical attitude of Russia and England to Iran in the bad old days is deeply coloured with prejudice. He may find it difficult to believe that they were never, in fact, rivals “for the possession of Persia” (page 210). He may be equally beside the mark when he refers, on the same page, to “the passing, for the time being at least, of the importance of Persia as a great natural bridgehead between Asia and Europe.”

After descriptive and historical chapters on the east, the north-west, and the Baghdad-Teheran road, there follows an attractive description of the new roads opening up the Caspian coast. On page 319 he writes :

"There can be few more scenically beautiful roads in the world than this new highway which skirts the Caspian shore from Meshed-i-Sar to Rudisar for more than one hundred and fifty miles. On the one side is the Sea and on the other the lofty Elburz Mountains rising in all their magnificent glory to a height of more than 10,000 feet.

"Their densely wooded northern slopes descend now abruptly in rugged crags almost to the shores of the Sea, or open in a succession of terraces to make way for rich rice fields or for the cultivation of tea and cotton. When the indefinable charm of Persia has become better known to the world, with its astonishing varieties of scenery and its treasure house of monuments commemorative of the cultural past of the race, the road between Meshed-i-Sar and Resht will prove one of the major goals of those alike sensitive to beauty and to the martyrdom through which man has passed on his toilsome ascent from the beast to a semi-civilized state."

The book ends with two chapters on modern Iranian history and on present-day trends of development in Iran. An excellent account is given of the successive steps in juridical and sumptuary reform and in the emancipation of women, whereby the civil power of the clergy has been taken from them. On the last page the author refers to "the ultra-fanaticism which" has "characterized the Persian people these many centuries. . . ." Iranians are not as a race fanatical, and never have been. They have too just and lively a sense of values.

The movement towards rationalization reached its greatest activity in 1935, when Mr. Filmer was writing this book. His point of view suggests the office table or library easy-chair of an American diplomat, rather than the interpretations of a man who has entered the lives of the people. We are none the less grateful for a work of sound quality which merits the attention of all who have an interest in Iran. A special word of praise must be added for the numerous photographs that illustrate the book. They are without exception very good indeed.

Mr. Filmer mentions a report in the spring of 1936 that Iran was about to follow Turkey in adopting the Latin character in place of Arabic script. Would it had been so for the sake of those foreigners who live and work there. All that has happened, however, is that regulations have been issued in the autumn of 1937 making compulsory the use of the Persian language by foreigners in business in Iran. Meanwhile the Arabic character is retained.

F. H.

A Persian Pilgrimage. By the Countess Maud von Rosen. Being the story of a journey through Persia with its experiences and adventures. Translated by E. C. Ramsden. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. 288. Illustrations. Hale. 15s.

Iran has long suffered both historically and politically from the written word; the *Persian Pilgrimage* leaves both subjects aside. Countess Maud von Rosen devotes herself to describing her sojourn in Iran; her contact with the life of the people is exciting reading; Dema Vend should raise his coolie hat to her. Her style is vivid and her subjects absorbing. She was fortunate, for the experiences which she recounts do not fall to the lot of many travellers or indeed to many of those foreigners resident in Iran. Her account of the customs and the religion of the people is not the least interesting part of her story.

I can strongly recommend this book of travel which has created afresh in me the desire to revisit that hospitable country.

T. L. J.

Something New in Iran. By Rev. J. N. Hoare, Missionary in Iran, 1933-36. 7½" x 5". Pp. viii + 72. Illustrations. Church Missionary Society. 1s.

Dictators of the West and the countries which they rule have more than their share of the limelight. For it is sometimes forgotten that, farther East, as in Turkey and Iran, other countries are also undergoing startling transformation under the energetic control of "a strong man armed." The change in Iran is vividly described in this brief and extremely well-informed sketch by the Rev. J. N. Hoare. He shows that, at the time when the Great War broke out, the country was not even strong enough to protect its neutrality. The provinces had their own Governors, who at times acted as kings and despots in their own areas, and did not even pay the taxes due to the capital. Nearly a quarter of the people were wandering Bedouins of the desert who acknowledged no man's authority, and from their ranks were recruited the expert class of highwaymen. There was no army worthy of the name, practically no motor roads, no educational system, or medical service.

To-day Iran is completely changed. The country is ruled by a strong Government with a large number of local officials; all is centralized and no independent authority springs up. The old wandering tribespeople are being settled in towns and villages. Births, deaths, marriages, lands, cars, and even bicycles and cameras have to be registered. There is an efficient system of conscription, a large standing army, a strong police force, and an air force. How did this transformation come about? It centres around a man, Reza Khan, soldier-Shah since 1925, and a movement, strongly resembling in general features similar movements in Europe. It is a constitutional and nationalistic movement, but has no particular slogan. Its aim is progress, and "Iran for the Iranis."

Rapid developments have followed the pursuance of this policy. First, the country has been unified and made conscious of its unity by the establishment of new national festivals, in which Moslem, Parsi, Jew and Christian mingle as one. Secondly, it has been necessary to free Iran from outside influences, especially from Communism, and this has been done very effectively. Women have been freed from the restraints of seclusion and the veil and given the opportunity of fuller education. Even girls, clad in knickers and blouses, have performed Swedish drill and gymnastics in public! Many other changes are taking place. The authority of religion—and for 1,200 years that has meant Islam, which has hitherto gone unchallenged—is now in Iran, as in the totalitarian states of Europe, being challenged by the authority of the state. Customs are being changed everywhere, and ancient superstitions abandoned. Means of communication have been extended by the building of fine motor roads, and education and medicine revolutionized by the application of modern methods.

The effect of all these changes on the work of the Christian Church in Iran may well be imagined. There is, of course, greater freedom for the individual, though the missionaries, being "foreigners," are subject to a new kind of suspicion. Yet the Church itself is becoming increasingly national; and the Iranis, of whom vivid stories are given in this attractive sketch, are already showing that the Christian religion can produce its own Irani heroes and leaders and pioneers. These will undoubtedly play a large part in the inner and spiritual renewal which is quietly but increasingly accompanying the outward political and social transformation of this ancient country and people. Mr. Hoare has done a fine bit of work in small compass. He is not afraid to include shadows as well as high lights in his canvas; but the impression gained from the book is, on the whole, one of great hopefulness for the Irani people and for the Christian Church in their land.

R. W. HOWARD.

***Forbidden Journey: From Peking to Kashmir.** By Ella K. Maillart. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. xvi + 312. Illustrations and maps. Heinemann. 1937. 12s. 6d.

This *Forbidden Journey*, on which the reader gladly follows Miss Maillart across Asia, turns out to be very different from the one already familiar through *News from Tartary*. The two books are best regarded as variations, by gifted composers, on the same theme. The audience must congratulate them for combining their efforts to find such a fruitful theme, instead of attempting rival enterprises.

Miss Maillart's keen eye for beauty is shown in imaginative photographs and incisive word-pictures: "The time of year when watchdogs are no more than balls of hoar-frost crystallized round a warm sleep" is not easily forgotten. Her attention is often caught by the details of life, in the travellers' camp as well as among the natives, which lend a vivid immediacy to the narrative. Mr. Fleming's impatience, his *Times*-worship, his indomitable virtuosity and charm prove as engrossing as the frailties of Asiatic generals, mayors and caravan men.

But the authoress also deals with wider issues, to the interpretation of which she brings considerable acumen. Thus the alternatives before Central Asia are well summed up in the question: "Will it revolt against the priests or against the agents of Russian manufactured goods through whom its own artisan class is disappearing?" (p. 49).

Miss Maillart's ultimate objective is defined, in the English edition, as trying "to discover how the situation of the (Sinkiang) natives compared with that of their brethren in Russian Turkestan" (p. xvi), previously described by her in *Turkestan Solo*. Yet the same passage in the French edition* is perhaps more revealing: ". . . pourrais-je enfin comprendre si les indigènes y sont *plus heureux* que leurs frères . . ." (p. 9; italics mine). Although the authoress wisely refrains from dogmatic conclusions, she gives the views of a Russian-speaking Turki from Ferghana, now living near Yarkand, a cynical trader who "claimed to be able to do business no matter who was in power. He had laid in no stock of political opinions and his observations seemed to me to be quite objective. . . . We asked . . . whether he thought the Soviet influence was good for the country. He knew more about it than we should ever have found out by ourselves. 'One has to face the fact that Sinkiang is a mediæval country,' he answered. 'The inhabitants are savages . . . and everything that is done to help them is good. If Soviet influence makes it possible to recruit fifty or a hundred schoolboys and send them to Tashkent for a few months, it is good. But where it is done in opposition to the wishes of parents, it is bad. In the name of goodness, why not let those who still believe in the Koran go their own way? The Russians,' he went on, 'are most active in the north of the province, at Urumchi, where there is a Soviet military school. At Urumchi, also, the police system is so organized that everybody has to mind what he is saying, even in his own house. . . .'" (pp. 243-5).

There are adequate maps and a useful index. The quality of the book, however, deserved a better translation, and ambiguities are not always as harmless as in: "Throughout the journey I never saw Peter's nose without being sunburnt." The phonetic spelling of native terms should have been transcribed—e.g., for *chabis* (p. 63) read *shabis*. But the interest and tempo of the original survive and carry one irresistibly towards the goal.

E. J. L.

* *Oasis Interdites*, Paris.

In Search of the Mahatmas of Tibet. By Edwin G. Schary. With a Foreword by Canon C. E. Tyndale Biscoe and David Macdonald. Pp. viii+293. Illustrated. Seeley Service and Co., Ltd. 1937. 15s.

Since George Bernard Shaw started his "black girl in search of God," that particular form of title has been so hackneyed and commercialized that one might easily be excused for passing over this book as the product of a Tibet Travel Bureau. Whether the simple-minded author has been done a disservice by his publishers or whether he himself was mistaken in choosing a title which, after all, literally expresses the object of his travels, the fact remains that a remarkable book has undergone the risk of being ignored by those most capable of appreciating it.

Edwin G. Schary at the age of sixteen, after youthful truanancies of a determined but not altogether unusual nature, settled down to employment in a department store in San Francisco for a period of two years in order to save up money for a larger journey.

"This time," he says, "I had a definite plan in mind. During those two years I had gone deeply into the study of Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. So profoundly was I impressed by the books I had read that I at last resolved and determined to proceed, by any means possible, to India and there find some of those Sanyasis or Mahatmas whom I had read about and who were reported to live secluded somewhere in that country, and there seek to become one of their disciples."

At the age of eighteen, with only sufficient capital to take him to Honolulu, he starts on his travels—the first of his three separate attempts to attain his object. Going and coming between San Francisco and the Tibet border, he was always under the necessity of breaking his journeys at the principal ports of call and again in India and Kashmir in order to earn the fare for the next stage. So he worked, or begged, his way over a period of twelve years.

He first meets with Buddhism in Ceylon, where characteristically he goes direct to the chief priest of a temple to seek advice. He is told that he should seek experience in travel, and enlightenment in a study of the languages and peoples with whom he was to come in contact, "and in this way you will find underneath it all, underneath the ceremonials of their religions and social structures, that which you seek. . . . Do not seek it through their priests; they are not for such as you."

Proceeding to Madras, he is informed by a fellow-passenger of "an institution headed and directed by an elderly European woman named Mrs. Besant," and that the purpose of the place was "to circulate books and knowledge regarding the Hindu religion in its more mystic aspect." Evidently his philosophic studies in America had not brought him up to date. He lost nothing thereby, for in spite of a written application he was not admitted to the august presence.

Working his way—with all the difficulties that connotes for the European vagrant in India—to Lahore, he is led by chance to establish a contact with Lala Lajpat Rai. From conversations with him in which he discloses the object of his travels, he gathers that one who "desires to be instructed in the mysticism of India's philosophic lore" might possibly find a centre of instruction somewhere in Tibet.

In Lahore he finds employment which provides him with funds to go on to Rawalpindi, and there purchase a second-hand bicycle—leaving him two rupees with which to finance his expedition via Kashmir and Leh into Tibet. Feeling that "India possessed that inner something that leads to peace and tranquillity of the spirit and of the mind as well," he starts on his first attempt "in search of the Mahatmas of knowledge." This first effort was a gallant one. The knight of

La Mancha could not have bettered it, even with the advantage of the armoury and the faithful attendant which Schary lacked. But then the Don could hardly have asked his Rosinante to carry him at a height of 18,000 feet or more, nor would he have been so surprised when his charger, foodless and overridden, died on him. The improvident Schary was lucky to return alive. He faced cheerfully the task of working his way home—fully determined to try again.

It was his misfortune on this occasion that he failed in a plan to travel to Lhasa in the retinue of the rightful abbot of a monastery near Leh. The story of that reincarnated lama is one of the many gems to be found in the pages of this book. Sent from Lhasa to take charge, he is cold-shouldered by those monks who have benefited from the interregnum since the death of his previous incarnation—so painfully that he asks permission to return to the capital. That being refused (to Schary's discomfiture also), he and a faithful follower make their way to Bombay, where they are drawn, as soldiers or camp-followers, into the vortex of the Great War. Returning from the "campaign against the Mesopotams" (*sic*) unharmed, the simple abbot, stiffened by his experience and perhaps brutalized, goes back to his spiritual charge, and, following up the alarm created by his return, proceeds to beat up his former persecutors and finally establish his authority. "It seemed strange but nevertheless true that the Western influence should be felt even in that far-off and forgotten land" is our author's comment.

The two years of preparation for his second journey are described by him as years of torment. Living in a world apart, all his desires were but for one thing—"to return again into the Himalayas." With all his toil he accumulates only enough funds to take him to Shanghai. It is while working in a plantation in Johore that he has a dream that strengthens him in his resolve. He sees a map of Asia and he sees a finger pointing out the route from his plantation across the Bay of Bengal, up into Kashmir, and thence following the trail he had previously taken into Tibet.

"The moving finger continued . . . and stopped over half-way across. Then the map disappeared from my vision and I beheld a scene of utter desolation—a narrow canyon through which ran a tiny stream over a terribly rocky course. . . . About three hundred feet above the stream was a large cave. Above the cave I saw the figures 9-5. . . . On awakening that morning I felt that I had been given direct guidance by which to reach the Mahatmas."

That was all the guidance he wanted, when some months later he again entered Tibet from Leh. Not only had he no guide and no map, but he discards on that ascent of the Tunga La his sole piece of luggage, a blanket. Reaching the plateau, he goes for four days without food before he finds a traveller who gives him a meal and directs him to the monastery of Hanle.

This astonishing statement is one of many that arouse the doubts of the reader as to the genuineness of this account. So little does the author appear to realize the nature of his achievement that he devotes only 80 out of 293 pages of his narrative to this his main journey—the first and third being abortive. Yet, staggered again and again by almost incredible statements, one cannot help but be convinced in the end that in all essentials this is a true story. And, it may be added, that was the view of those who from official and personal knowledge were best able to judge at the time. Schary himself, at any rate, has no idea that he is anything particular in the way of travellers when he covers twenty miles a day from Leh to Hanle without food or adequate covering—or when he descends "at a dog trot" from the top of a pass which he subsequently found to be 22,000 feet "when looking over a map published by the Royal Geographical Society in India."

At Hanle and at Tashigong the heads of the monasteries are good to him: the

former because he sympathizes with the object of his journey, the latter, curiously enough, in spite of being told by Schary that he is a secret agent of the British Government on his way to Gyantse. Why a different story was told in this instance is not obvious: nor why it failed to have the opposite effect to that intended.

More hard going over high passes takes him to Manasarowar and Kailas, where a number of pilgrims are assembled. It is strange that it does not occur to him to make special enquiries at this holy centre for the location of the abode of the Mahatmas. But evidently he is obsessed by his vision and by the fatal date 9-5—September 5 by American notation.

Neither here nor previously at Gartok nor at Gyanima is he stopped, though he never hides the fact that he is a white man. On the contrary, he exploits his origin as a means to procuring food and shelter wherever he goes, and on one occasion actually lodges with an official. His luck fails him later when he gets to Todom—two days before his appointed day of discovery of the Mahatmas. He is turned back under escort, but eludes it. On the 4th he comes to the narrow canyon and the cave of his dream—only to find it uninhabited.

In bitter disappointment he breaks down, both mentally and physically. He is no longer interested in anything but a return to his home. Yet he is fated to undergo many more hardships—including an attempt by the authorities at Sakar to get rid of him by pushing him over into Nepal; failing in that, he is allowed to proceed to Gyantse: and now for the first time he gets occasional company and intermittent transport. Without it he could hardly have survived. His final arrival at the post of the British Trade Agency at Gyantse is described by Mr. Macdonald, then agent, in a Preface to this book.

“One evening at dusk, a begrimed and filthily clad figure covered with festering sores crawled up to the main gate of the Gyantse Fort. . . . He was really in a terrible condition, verminous, ill-nourished, and really very ill. After he had bathed and clad himself in borrowed garments he told his story. . . . Schary’s story, in so far as it related to his visit to the Nepal Frontier, was afterwards proved to be true in a peculiar manner. . . .”

We have, therefore, a check on his journey at the commencement—his permit to go to Leh and his stay there: in the middle his arrival on the northern Nepal frontier due north of Khatmandu: and at the end his arrival at Gyantse.

This book is published twelve years after the conclusion of this lone crossing—an adventure more astonishing than the classical journeys of the early Chinese, of Père Huc and his companion, and of the celebrated A.K. For over the most difficult and the longer portion Schary travelled without transport and without company. Some of his statements are certainly open to doubt, mainly as a result of exaggeration or misunderstanding or ignorance. But his ingenuous manner inevitably convinces us that in the main and in all essential points this is a true story.

His third attempt was entirely abortive. He was refused a permit and foolishly tried to escape surveillance by disguising himself. He was at once caught and deported from Calcutta.

It is to be regretted that his publishers neglected to have the proofs of this book checked by any person having even a superficial knowledge of India and Kashmir. It would not have been disfigured by such obvious errors as the description of Allahabad as the capital of the Central Provinces, the official offer of an appointment in the Forest Service as a Ranger on £700 a year, or Rs. 1,000 a month, and, last and most pleasing, the story of his final escapade in the course of which he is produced before the “Hindu Governor of Kashmir, Ram Chandra

Dhobi," whose description will be familiar to some. These are but a few of the many "gaffes" perpetrated.

The map of the journey is a poor one and gives no idea of the nature of the terrain. It is certainly inaccurate as regards the plotting of the route of the first journey. In spite of these blemishes the book as a human document, no less than as the record of a very remarkable achievement, deserves the widest recognition.

R. H. W.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. A Biography. By K. M. Panikkar. 9" x 5½". Pp. x + 412. Oxford University Press. 18s.

Although it expressly disavows any claim to be an official biography, this book is based on the State records of the Maharaja's reign. This fact adds to its authority, but perhaps prevents it from giving more than one side of its subject's character and achievements. Mr. Panikkar's able and facile pen furnishes an admirable description of the Maharaja's remarkable career, which perhaps reached its zenith in the years at the end of and immediately following the Great War. Perhaps the Maharaja's most noteworthy achievement was the raising of his principality from a position of comparative obscurity to its present status among the great Indian States; a status which, as Mr. Panikkar indicates, has not been achieved without causing jealousy. In the wider arena of Indian affairs, however, the Maharaja's best-known achievements are his share in the framing of Federation and the creation of the Chamber of Princes. The former the Maharaja was, perhaps, the first to propose in 1914: though the proposal was then of an exclusive and undemocratic council of Ruling Princes and Heads of Provinces, very unlike the ultimate shape of the Federal body. The momentous declaration of the Indian States at the first Round-Table Conference was doubtless largely due to disappointment at the Harcourt-Butler Committee's report, and perhaps Mr. Panikkar does not sufficiently emphasize the influence of the politicians from British India in that declaration. Moreover, the consent of the Princes to enter into an approved scheme of Federation was supposed to be based on certain indispensable conditions, known as *sine qua non*s, which have in fact had to be largely dispensed with. But there can be no doubt that the adhesion of the Maharaja to the principle of Federation, and the further committal involved in his share in the prolonged discussions that followed, did much to bind the States for better or worse, let us hope much for the better, to Federation. The Chamber of Princes, whose existence is so largely due to the Maharaja, is at present under an eclipse, just as the League of Nations is, and for very similar reasons. The dislike of the greater States, as of the Nations, to be regarded as the equals of their smaller brethren, and their consequent abstention or defection; the fear of the smaller fry that they are being made use of by their big brothers; and the internal jealousies and rivalries, naturally more marked at Delhi than at Geneva because more personal, have all contributed to the present loss of influence of both bodies. In the case of the Chamber, however, even more than in that of the League of Nations, its continuance seems necessary to guard common interests. It would be ungenerous not to recognize the constant friendliness of the Maharaja of Bikaner to the smaller States.

A jarring note in the book is the constantly unfriendly references to the Political Department and to some of its Officers. No one can deny that the Officers of that Department make mistakes, due generally perhaps to the creditable but not always judicious inclination of the British officer to interfere, to prevent what he believes to be injustice. Where, moreover, so high an individual standard

is required, it is inevitable that some should fall below it. But surely it is unnecessary to describe the Political Department as "adepts in the art of Jesuitical casuistry when it suited their purpose." Grievances more than forty years old might well be now forgotten. After all, if any States have to complain of the Political Department, surely Bikaner is not among them. The permission to take water from the Sutlej, in spite of the opposition of riparian Provinces and States who, rightly or wrongly, believed themselves to have the first claim to it, would seem sufficient to establish some claim for gratitude.

Perhaps the most pleasing portion of the book is the final appreciation by Sir Walter Lawrence. It gives a convincing and charming description of the exceptional qualities and services which entitle the Maharaja to be regarded as one of the greatest figures in the India of the present century.

Indian States in Federation. By N. D. Varadachariar. 8" x 5". Pp. vi + 156. Oxford University Press. 5s.

This little book is interesting as an expression of the views of a Nationalist politician on the position of the States and on the possibility of bringing them entirely into line with the democratic institutions of the Provinces of British India. Except for an unfortunate passage on page 39, its tone is free from objection: but it makes no secret of the sympathies of the author. The points are set out fairly, though exception may be taken to the inclusion of Kolhapur and Rajpipla among the States created or recreated by the British power. Inconsistency may also be found between the statement on one page that there was an irresistible tendency on the part of the States in favour of Federation, and the further opinion, which is nearer the truth, that the Rulers' acceptance of the Federal idea was neither full nor hearty. The author clearly enough indicates that the Rulers, when they from various motives agreed to the principle of Federation at the first Round-Table Conference, contemplated something more in the nature of a Confederacy of States and Provinces than a true Federal union. When the Act establishing the new Constitution adopted, doubtless for good reasons, an entirely Federal form, it proved unpalatable to many of the Princes.

It is, however, on the two points of Sovereignty and Paramountcy that the views of the author are especially unfavourable towards the States, or at least towards the position of their Rulers. He would like to deny them any real Sovereignty at all: and he is especially angry with Lord Sankey, then Lord Chancellor, for what he calls the unfortunate assurance to the Rulers at the Round-Table Conference that their Sovereignty would continue unchanged as regards all residual power left to them under the Government of India Act. The author, however, realizes that that Act, and the method of the Rulers' accession to the Federation by individual Instruments, do admit and recognize Sovereignty. He relies therefore on the ill-defined power of Paramountcy as the weapon for moulding and indeed coercing the Rulers into agreeing to modifications of the terms upon which they have acceded to the Federation. He admits that these terms cannot be legally altered without the consent of the Rulers themselves: but he suggests to these Rulers that they should agree to the introduction of democratic institutions into their territories, in order to safeguard themselves against the exercise of Paramountcy to attain the same object. As the author regretfully recognizes, however, the exercise of Paramountcy will remain with the Crown, and not with the Government of India. It may be doubted

whether the Crown's Representative will agree to use that power to effect extra-legally what is not possible under the provisions of the Act.

But the suggestion of such a course by an obviously serious writer may well cause some misgiving to the Rulers and their advisers when they contemplate the future of their States under Federation.

P. R. C.

Agricultural Marketing in Northern India.

The important elements in a thesis for a Doctorate of Philosophy are clear expression, original work, and a substantial contribution to the available knowledge on the subject treated. Dr. Husain, in his careful discussion of the problems of agricultural marketing in India, has satisfied the first two of these requirements. His command of English is exceptional, in view of the fact that it is an acquired tongue. He has travelled to the principal markets of the Punjab, the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal, and examined the way in which the peasant produces and sells his produce, the obstacles which prevent him from producing more or receiving a higher price, and the mental inhibitions which hinder an improvement of his methods. The system of dealing on the organized and unorganized markets is reviewed, and the whole puzzling question is placed before the reader in a manner with which no fault can be found. When, however, the author puts forward his proposals for remedying the evils which he has described, he has nothing new to offer. Production should be increased, markets should be controlled, agricultural holdings should be consolidated, and Government is to finance all the desirable projects which private capital is unwilling to finance. A loan for the purpose is recommended, although the return on many of the schemes suggested is very doubtful. So far as the available resources of Government permit, the proposals which Dr. Husain has to make are just the same as those which the agricultural, co-operative and allied departments are endeavouring to carry out. Other than the flotation of loans, few of the recommendations are in any way controversial, and the only matter in issue is how to apply them. On this point Dr. Husain has nothing but generalities to give us. The right men are to do the right thing in the right way, and all will go well. Obviously those things which have been attempted by Government or, in some cases, by private persons or bodies have been done in the wrong way; but which is the right way? To this the answer must be detailed and exact, not general. The journeys made by the author in search of information gave him a direct touch with the cultivator, and the hard work which he did in preparing his book will be a valuable asset to him as a University lecturer. His students will profit from his teaching, but those who are familiar with the practical difficulties which stand in the path of rural reform in India will not find in this book more than an exhortation to think hard how to overcome them.

The Armenians in India. From the earliest times to the present day. By Mesrobyb Jacob Seth, M.R.G.S. Calcutta: Author, 9, Marsden Street. Rs. 10, or 15s.

This is a considerably enlarged edition of a shorter *History of the Armenians in India*, published by the same author in 1895, including some papers read before the Indian Historical Records Commission. For forty-five years he travelled extensively in India "from north to south and from east to west," delved into

ancient records and wandered in snake-infested cemeteries in quest of matter for his subject. The fruits of this long and arduous research have been carved into a comprehensive and profusely documented narrative. But it cannot be said that the author has chosen the best form of presenting his material. In his enthusiasm for his subject he has become perfervid and diffuse at times, and has wandered into numerous irrelevant digressions of no historic interest. These have unnecessarily swelled the size of the volume and detracted materially from its cachet and its purpose. This, however, is not to say that the book is not a contribution of importance to the history of India. It throws many hitherto unpublished side-lights on the events of the period it deals with, which are of real interest both to the student of Indian history as well as to the ordinary reader.

Armenians, like the Scots, have from time immemorial been addicted to migration from their relatively poor and small country and the rigours of its climate, to countries which offered greater scope for their enterprise and energy than they could find in their homeland. As far back as 515 B.C. we find "the Armenian Arakhu, the son of Khaldita," making a bid for the throne of Babylon as Nebuchadnezzar II. (Sayce, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, p. 147).

In their wanderings southwards the pioneers of Armenian Settlements in India found their way to old Delhi and Agra through Persia, Bactria and Tibet long before the appearance of European traders on the scene. They became successful traders and were followed by others, apparently in a continuous stream; and we find flourishing Armenian trading communities established in the leading cities of the Mogul Empire from the middle of the sixteenth century. They always remained a numerically unimportant community, however, though many individual Armenians rose to positions of eminence both in commerce as well as in the civil and military services of Indian rulers. They were a religious people and built churches wherever they settled in sufficient numbers. The Armenian churches at Chinsurah and Calcutta, and notably "Matyrose's Chapel" in Agra, are among the oldest Christian edifices in India.

The East India Company found them useful allies both for the promotion of its trade and as trustworthy emissaries in negotiations with native rulers. It granted them a charter providing "that the Armenian nation shall now and at all times hereafter have equal share and benefit of all indulgences this Company have or shall at any time grant to any of its own adventurers or English merchants whatsoever."

The history of the Armenians in India is mainly the history of their trading settlements and more or less obscure individuals, but the few who rose to positions of influence have left their mark on the events of the times in which they lived. In 1698 Khojah Israel Sarhad secured from Prince Azim-Ush-Shan Letters Patent for the East India Company to rent the villages of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govindpur. It was by virtue of these rights that Job Charnock subsequently laid the foundations of the City of Calcutta.*

It was this same Israel Sarhad who in 1705 was sent to Delhi by the Bengal Council as "an equal member" of the "Surman Embassy" and secured the historic "Grand Firman," the charter of the East India Company, from the

* Professor C. R. Wilson, author of *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, in an article in the *Calcutta Englishman* (January 31, 1895), writes as follows: ". . . it was through the Armenians that the English Colony secured a footing in the country. If Job Charnock be the founder of Calcutta, the author of its privileges and early security is the great Armenian merchant Khojah Israel Sarhad."

Mogul Emperor Farrukh Shiyar, Auringzeb's grandson. Grigor Arratoon, known as Gorgin Khan, for many years Commander-in-Chief of the Nawab Mir Kassim, "was for three years, 1760-1763, the virtual ruler of Bengal, Behar and Orissa." Colonel Jacob Petras "was for seventy years Commander of Scindhia's armies." Aga Petros, Clive's "the Armenian Petrus," whose timely disclosure of Omichund's plot to lure Watts to remain at Murshidabad on the eve of Plassy, not only saved Watts from imminent peril, but warned Clive of Suraj u'd daula's designs to oust the British from Bengal. Discussing Omichund's letter to Aga Petros, written in Armenian, which was found among the Clive manuscripts, Sir Richard Carnac Temple writes :

"He (Aga Petros) had resided in Calcutta since 1748 and had rendered valuable service to the English at the time of its capture and in the negotiations following its recapture.

"Omichund's plan miscarried because Petros remained loyal to Ja'fir and the English."

And again :

"No doubt so worthless a prince as Suraj u'd daula would not long have retained his power, and no doubt Clive would in time have found means to obtain supreme authority in Bengal, but it would have had to be achieved in some other way. There was nothing then but the loyalty of Aga Petros to prevent the success of Omichund's proposal and a complete change in the story of British supremacy in India as we know it. The letter we have been discussing therefore just missed being of the first importance to history" ("Sidelights on Omichund," *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xlvi., p. 2657).

Without the support of a Government of their own, the Armenian settlements in India lacked this fundamental element of permanence and declined rapidly under the pressure of growing competition by Portuguese, Dutch and British settlements. They finally disappeared, though there still remains a considerable Armenian Colony in Calcutta with two schools and a church of their own, and there are smaller communities in Bombay, Madras and Dacca.

The Empire of the Nabobs. By Lester Hutchinson. 7½" × 5½". Pp. v + 278. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

Has Mr. Hutchinson adopted the Totalitarian doctrine that history should serve not truth but an ideology? He says in his Foreword that "no historical work can be impartial, as history is a question of the interpretation of facts" (which does not follow), and his professed Socialist bias has led him not merely to a one-sided selection of facts, but to their distortion. Every accusation made against Clive, Hastings and their contemporaries by their enemies is accepted as literally true. Everything the British did, even if the results were good for India, is ascribed to evil motives. Quite consistently he can find no good will towards India in the recent India Act, only a more far-seeing Imperialism, which overcame that of the blinder reactionaries, to whom he is duly grateful for various statements which, without excessive difficulty, he can use to buttress his argument. The increase in the electorate at one bound from 7½ millions to 35 millions is described as "restricting the suffrage." Poor Mr. A. O. Hume is dismissed with a sneer as having founded the Indian National Congress because he found it

“difficult to occupy his enforced leisure.” When Mr. Hutchinson refers to the events at Sholapur in May, 1930, he inverts their order. “A demonstration of textile workers and Congress volunteers was fired on by the police. . . . At this the people, forgetting their pledge of non-violence, rose.” In fact, the people forgot their pledge first, and a small band of officials and police remained quiet under a hail of stones for a long time before, to save their lives, the order to fire was given.

The Golden Age of India is a period very difficult to place on the historical map, but Mr. Hutchinson unhesitatingly makes it extend up to the advent of the British, even though his picture of the conditions, which made the incursion of the West into India both inevitable and, according to himself, teleologically desirable, casts grave doubt on that theory. When he says that under Hastings “for the first time in Indian history land became a commodity to be bought and sold,” he ignores several relevant facts. As before, the ownership of the land remained with the State and only the right of occupation was transferable; and it was only then, for the first time for some hundreds of years, that Law and Order were sufficiently strong to give the right to land a commercial value.

After the famine of 1899-1900 the Government of Bombay passed an Act to limit the right of occupants to sell their holdings. The opposition of the peasantry, led by Congressmen and politicians, was so determined that the Act fell into disuse and was repealed. Mr. Hutchinson might say that the peasantry were then misled by persons who were really concerned to defend the interests of the moneylenders. Can we then be sure that when, under similar prompting they here and there destroyed Government forest and other property in the name of civil disobedience, or when, over a larger area, they take part in a no-rent campaign, they are actuated by a clearer understanding of their own interests, and not again the tools of agitators more cunning than themselves?

Mr. Hutchinson had every opportunity to know all about “the Great Girni Kamgar Union” of which he speaks so glowingly. Once indeed it claimed 65,000 members, but after a disastrous strike which led to nothing but misery, it dwindled rapidly to a mere 5,000 or fewer. It set back the whole cause of Trade Unionism in India. There, as in this country, Communism is the most deadly enemy of Socialism.

Mr. Hutchinson’s book has merits which would have made it more convincing if it had been less unfair. He picks out with no small skill incidents which support his thesis: the opposition to the Ilbert Bill, the contrast between Curzon’s magnificent Durbar and the pangs of famine not yet ended, the agitation caused by the Partition of Bengal, which may have been the wrong solution, but did correspond to a real administrative necessity, the blunder of the Rowlatt Acts, with its effect on Mr. Gandhi, and through him on so much else, and the horror of the Amritsar tragedy. When he comes to the present day his references to Mr. Gandhi lack generosity, and he very cheerfully demolishes the myth of Congress unity. If we believed his views to commend themselves generally to Hindu India, the persistence with which, from first to last, he casts the Moslem community for a rôle almost as nefarious as that of the British would leave small hope of harmony in the future.

E. H.

A Roving Commission. By Henry Newman. 7½" × 5½". Pp. vi + 328. Bell. 7s. 6d.

The author wishes his reader to know that the book is not written in the spirit of the historian who surrounds himself with books of reference and all available

material that will assist in ensuring that his statements are correct. The reader is therefore prepared for inaccuracies, and he is not disappointed. To take an instance, the reviewer happens to be the "somebody" mentioned on page 63 who was sent to restore order in Peking, and he can definitely state that Count V. Waldersee had nothing to do with it. Order was restored before the Germans arrived. Unfortunately, as soon as the Germans came there was a fresh outburst as, no doubt supposing they ought to have their share, they started looting on their own account. This was suppressed mainly by the efforts of the British and American police commissioners and their respective military police forces. There are no grounds for saying that previous to the German arrival the Allies were on the brink of a disaster.

The book is also marred in places by positive assertions made on the strength of the author's personal observations, which a closer and more extended knowledge of the facts in question would have shown him were either premature or not justified at all. Again to take an instance, the author assumes to his own satisfaction, because he has not seen anyone who has been killed or wounded by the "arme blanche," that the bayonet is a useless weapon. He is evidently unaware that it proved so useful in the Great War that even the cavalry were armed with it. Neither does he seem to be acquainted with Allenby's campaigns in Palestine when time and again the cavalry charged infantry and guns, with conspicuous success. And, for further example in support of the criticism of the author's unwarranted assertions—having happened to dine with an Indianized regiment (having a British commandant and second-in-command), seen it drilling, and hearing that it had put up a fine performance on some frontier operations—he says, "That puts an end to the idea that some old stagers had that the sepoy army would deteriorate unless it had British officers." It is possible that Indianized regiments will some day prove themselves the equal of non-Indianized regiments, but no one having any knowledge of all the conditions and the manifold questions involved would have the temerity to predict the future with such confident finality and on such flimsy evidence.

There are several minor inaccuracies of no particular importance, such as calling Sir John Maffey by a wrong name; stating that Captain Finlay, who, by the way, served under the reviewer at Peshawar at the time the author is speaking of, was "Chief Intelligence Officer of India"; or "of the whole Himalayan frontier from Assam to the Khyber"; and so forth.

Most people will be ready to go the whole way with the author in his regrets regarding the laxity of our present-day newspapers concerning the news they publish, in contrast to their former strictness in this matter.

The chapters on the Tibet expedition and on Lhasa give an interesting picture of that veiled land.

The book is chatty and easy to read, and, although containing some superfluous verbosity, will give two or three hours' entertainment to anyone not too well versed in modern Indian history.

G. DE S. B.

Yoga: A Scientific Evaluation. By K. T. Behanan. Pp. 270. Martin Secker. 1937.

The author of this book is an Indian, a native of Travancore. After taking a B.A. degree at the University of Calcutta he studied at Toronto and Yale. In 1931 the latter university granted him a Sterling Fellowship to enable him to study yoga. While carrying this out, he spent a year at an institution in Lonavla in

the Bombay Presidency, where there is a Health Centre and where a system of yogic physical culture and therapy has been worked out and is taught. In the appendix it is stated that "in spite of its various cultural and humanitarian activities" the ultimate goal of yoga has not been lost sight of and "an exclusively spiritual centre is available for those who seek salvation through complete adherence to yogic discipline." Apparently the author did not study at this centre.

This appendix gives the clue to the book. Orthodox Hindus object strongly to secularly minded Europeans prying into the inner mysteries of their religion. The author has not offended in this respect. In his preface he writes: "I have tried to appraise yoga from the standpoint of science and Western culture." The result is a Eur-asi-american mixture no true Hindu would bother his head about. The book has obviously been written for Americans with no previous knowledge of India. The ultimate goal of yoga studied at the exclusively spiritual centre is not dealt with. The first chapter (twenty-seven pages) is headed "The Apparent Complexity of Indian Culture." Others follow on "Prakriti or Nature"; "Purusha or the Soul"; "Yoga Psychology"; "Yoga and Psychoanalysis," etc. There are three chapters on exercises and eight pages of very good illustrations from photos of some of the simpler postures.

The author has certainly carried out what he set himself to do, but the result is misleading. Readers who know India will not receive much enlightenment, while those who do not will probably get quite a wrong impression of what yoga really is. In one respect, however, the book is very interesting. It clearly shows the influence of the West on educated Indians and how this is being carried down into their culture and even into their religion, though short, as yet, of the "exclusively spiritual centre." From this point of view the book is most instructive and well repays perusal.

M. F. W.

The Yogis of India. By Edmond Demaitre.

This book will please those who want a light and pleasant account of the habits of Saddhus and other members of Hindu religious orders. The author draws an amusing picture of India and its mendicants, and is throughout whimsical and cynical in his descriptions. He is entirely sceptical about the old "tricks" of Hindustan and explains them away in a most convincing manner. He maintains that the "rope trick," mango-tree trick and others cannot be done and never have been done. He supports this by negative evidence—namely, that as far as he can discover no one, and by this he means no European, has ever seen them actually performed. He explains away these and other phenomena as the results of mass-hypnotism, against which the European, he considers, should be proof by reason of his logic. He suggests that the superstitions and susceptibility of the Indian peasant have more to do with the success of these miracles than any divine power. He gives an interesting account of the "withered-tree miracle" which he saw performed in Benares, and he shows how in this case hypnotism was the source of it and logic his defence.

He gives a clear description, as an outside observer, of the various sects and classes of Hindu ascetics. He is obviously interested, and stimulates the interest of the reader to delve deeper into the subject, which is perhaps the chief object of writing upon any matter.

The book is, however, marred by a grave anti-Hindu bias to which the author confesses in his "Letter to a Yogi" at the commencement of the book, and in which he rather seems to glory. He does not give the Hindus credit for any real depth of feeling and does not succeed in grasping the ideas or ideals which

activate the Hindu religion in its purest form. We are thus deprived of an opportunity of assessing the real value of yoga in its pure sense and are only allowed to see its more fantastic and superstitious side. It is, of course, only true yoga which can have any real interest for students and which is difficult to discover without prolonged discussions with the ascetics and their followers.

Another handicap is that the author has confined his studies to Benares, which is admittedly the meeting-point of true worshippers and false prophets from all over India, but still is only a minute portion of that vast land. To attempt to sift the genuine from the spurious in such a place demands a more than usual knowledge of the language and a lifetime of study of Hinduism. Such a place offers to the chance traveller too much that is interesting, but is not really valuable. Conversation with peasants and the men in the street, to whom the author does not often refer, would have given greater value to his conclusions and might have enabled him to appreciate the Hindu point of view.

J. E. F. G.

Anglo-Russian Relations Concerning Afghanistan, 1837-1907. By W. Habberton.

The editors of the *Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* may be warmly congratulated in their recent publication of *Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan, 1837-1907*, by William Habberton.

The fear of Russia's advance in Central Asia, Russia having taken the place which France under Napoleon had held, caused grave anxiety in India, although at that period the distance separating the two empires was very great. Lord Auckland, who, refusing to accept the opinion of Alexander Burnes, decided to impose Shah Shuja on an unwilling Afghanistan, was responsible for the First Afghan War, which, apart from the legacy of hate which it created, cost the British the great disaster of the retreat from Kabul, a disaster which was not equalled in Asia until the British garrison at Kut-el-Amara surrendered to a Turkish army.

The long diplomatic battle between the British and Russian Governments is described until, in 1873, the Granville-Gortchakoff Agreement, by which the eastern section of Northern Afghanistan was outlined, marked the beginning of better relations.

A few years later, in 1877, British intervention on the side of Turkey to save Constantinople resulted in Russia despatching a mission to Shir Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan. The refusal of the Amir to receive a British mission undoubtedly caused the Second Afghan War, with the disaster of Maiwand and large losses of life.

Once again, Russia's advance towards the undefined western half of Northern Afghanistan, in 1885, nearly caused war between the two Powers, but it ended happily in a joint delimitation by representatives of the two Powers of the contested boundary. In 1894 the whole northern boundary was completed by the Pamir Commission, and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1895 constituted the final step in the delimitation of the Afghan northern boundary.

The years passed, and British statesmen considered that a settlement of differences with Russia was most desirable. Russia had been defeated by Japan, but, even so, her military party was unwilling to make terms with Great Britain. Thanks, however, to Sir Arthur Nicolson, our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to whom much credit is due, the long disaccord between the two great Asiatic Powers was ended by the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. Throughout Mr.

Habberton has shown not only a profound knowledge of his complicated subject, but also a statesmanlike attitude in dealing with the various questions involved, which is admirable.

P. M. SYKES.

The Land of the Gurkhas, or the Himalayan Kingdom of Nepal.

By Major W. Brook Northey, M.C. With a Chapter by Brig.-General the Hon. C. C. Bruce. 9" x 6½". Pp. x+248. Illustrations and map. Cambridge: Heffer. 1937. 10s. 6d.

A book about Nepal written in a popular style by someone who knows his subject has long been lacking, and in the volume under review Major Northey has admirably supplied the want. In this handy book of 230 pages he gives us a brief but accurate account of the country and its history, the people, their characteristics, sports, tribal divisions, and so on, with chapters on the ruling dynasty, temples and shrines, and many out-of-the-way districts hitherto unknown to the outer world.

Major Northey has special qualifications for his task. He served for twenty years in a Gurkha Battalion, and was for five years Gurkha Recruiting Officer, and has visited not only the capital, Kathmandu, but also various parts of the country to which no other European has hitherto had access. His sympathy with and affection for the Gurkha soldiers and his knowledge of their language have given him an insight into their lives and ways of thought, and he is therefore in a position to present to us a more intimate portrait of these plucky little men than can be obtained from the more elaborate and scientific works dealing with Nepal.

A long preliminary chapter is contributed by Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. Bruce, whose name is a household word in Nepal and the neighbouring countries. He was one of the pioneers of "scouting" in the army (the reviewer first made his acquaintance in the Tirah expedition of 1897, when he and his men excited the pious horror of orthodox soldiers by appearing in shorts and open-necked shirts), and many years ago he trained some selected men of his regiment in the science of mountaineering. His chapter gives a concise summary of the geographical features and divisions of Nepal, with special attention to the great Himalayan peaks and the districts which provide the Indian Army with its finest Gurkha soldiers; and it serves as a key to the bewildering labyrinth of mountain chains and rivers which constitutes the kingdom of Nepal.

Major Northey elaborates this geographical section, and in a series of most interesting and informative chapters deals with the early history of Nepal, the rise of the Gurkhas, and the origin of the present ruling house, and the remarkable dynasty of Prime Ministers founded by the great Jung Bahadur.

These chapters are, perhaps, of the greatest interest to the general reader, as they deal with the individuals who have swayed the destinies of the country for the last century and who have forged and cemented the strong and enduring ties of friendship which now unite Great Britain and Nepal. Moreover, they describe to us a series of really outstanding men and rulers—beginning with Jung Bahadur and ending with his nephew, the present Prime Minister (Sir Joodha Shum Shere Jung), the fifth of a family of brothers who have held that great office in turn. It is to the members of this family that Nepal may be said to owe its present strength, unity and prosperity, and its admirable relations with its great neighbour, India.

Much detailed information is contained in the later chapters of the book regarding the various fighting races—the Gurungs, Magars, etc.—which constitute the bulk of the Gurkha regiments of the Indian Army. "It is his Mon-

golian strain," says Major Northey, "that makes the Gurkha the cheerful soul he is. For he differs from his Indian brothers as much in character as he does in appearance. He possesses in particular that most precious of all characteristics, a sense of humour," and so on. And after reading this sketch we can understand how it is that the Gurkha can fraternize so readily with the British soldier (especially the Highlander), and the mutual trust and affection between him and his British officers.

Several chapters deal with the Nepal Valley and its three cities, Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhatgaon, with their amazing architecture and multitude of temples—dating back in some cases to an almost fabulous antiquity. And Major Northey is able also to present to us pictures and descriptions of certain districts in Central Nepal which he alone has been permitted to visit.

In fact, a very great deal of valuable information regarding this little-known country has been compressed by the author into a small compass. The book is not only eminently readable and informative, but is profusely illustrated with a number of excellent photographs of the scenery and typical figures—ranging from that of the present Prime Minister to simple soldiers, villagers and children.

And a sketch-map compiled from the latest surveys is included at the end of the book.

F. O'C.

Towards Angkor : In the Footsteps of the Indian Invaders. By H. G. Quaritch Wales. 9" x 6". Pp. 249. Forty-two illustrations and five maps. Harrap. 12s. 6d.

Dr. Wales occupies the interesting post of Field Director of the Greater India Research Committee. Previous to this, he spent some years in service and study in Siam. He has travelled widely in Siam, Indo-China, and Indonesia. Owing to the generosity of two patrons he was able to undertake two archæological expeditions, the results of which are described in this book.

The main object of these expeditions was to investigate the earlier phases of Indian migrations eastwards which resulted in the establishment of what is now called Greater India. In brief and simple language it may be said that, starting in some period before the Christian era, waves of Indian migrations went eastwards from India. These migrations and colonizations lasted for over 1,000 years and resulted in the establishment of a number of Indian or Indianized kingdoms extending over a very wide region which included Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Sumatra, Java, and Borneo. The conquerors and colonizers brought with them the Hindu religion, but there were also subsequent infiltrations of both northern and southern Buddhism. Eventually, the Buddhist religion gradually obtained an ascendancy, although both religions continued to run a parallel course as they do in Bangkok and in other parts of Siam to this day. The civilization and culture of Greater India culminated in the great Khmer Empire, which disappeared in or around the thirteenth century A.D. under circumstances which have not yet been satisfactorily explained, leaving behind it the glorious monuments in Indo-China and Java, the beauty and interest of which are being revealed to the world through modern archæological research. Owing to the paucity of inscribed monuments and, in many cases, to the imprecise nature of the epigraphical evidence, the history of this greater Indian expansion remains as one of the most fascinating mysteries of Asia. A vast amount of research work has been carried out on the main sites in Indo-China and Java, but archæological exploration and discovery in the surrounding regions on the fringes of this Greater Indian "Empire" still remain in the primary stages.

As Dr. Wales clearly shows in his book, up to the end of the fourth century A.D. the main Indian migrations took place through the Straits of Malacca. From about 400 A.D. onwards, owing to the increase of pirates and sea-rovers, the Indian adventurers were compelled to adopt an overland trans-Peninsular route. The object of his first expedition was to find and to trace this route. At Takuapa—a small port and settlement situated about half-way down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula—he found traces of an ancient settlement and three important stone Hindu images dating from the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. Again at Wieng Sra, situated about the centre of the Peninsula, he excavated an ancient brick temple, finding a fine Indian stone image of the fifth century A.D. With these discoveries, linked up to the ancient remains situated on the shores of the Bay of Bandon on the east coast, he presents an interesting case for the existence of a trans-Peninsular route in this region.

In his second expedition the most important archæological work carried out by Dr. Wales was the examination of the ancient city of Sri Deva, situated on the Prasak River in Central Siam. This kingdom was formed by the westward expansion of the Indian state of Fu-Nan, founded in Cochin China in the first century A.D., about which he presents a historical résumé in Chapter VI. At this spot he traced and mapped the main fortified city together with the larger subsidiary city. During his excavations he found four early Indian statues and a curiously shaped bulbous pillar bearing a mutilated Sanscrit inscription of the sixth century A.D., which is important as contributing towards fixing the date of the foundation of the city as the capital of a vassal state. He also examined the later imposing ruins of the Khmers, which date from about the eleventh century A.D., when the Khmer Empire expanded westwards from Cambodie into Central Siam.

Further field-work was carried out at Nakon Pathom, where he examined the Dvaravati remains of the capital of the kingdom founded by the Mônns in the sixth century A.D., which was afterwards conquered and built over by the Khmers in the tenth century A.D. He describes and discusses the excavations and discoveries made by M. Cœdès.

The examination of Uthong in Central Siam, which he describes as "a cholera-stricken city," seems to be in the nature of a digression, because the city belongs to the early mediæval period and can hardly be included in Greater India. The emigration of the Pallavas from Southern India between the years A.D. 550 to A.D. 750, described in Chapter X., seems to rest only on the discovery of a few scattered images found on the west coast of the Peninsula.

It would appear that the most controversial material in the book is contained in Chapters XI. and XII., in which an attempt is made to identify the capital of the little-known Sailendra Empire. About the middle of the eighth century A.D. a prince belonging to the Ganga dynasty of Mysore, whom Dr. Wales describes as "a striking and romantic person, the greatest of Indian Argonauts," conquered a great part of Malaya, also Sumatra, Java, and parts of Indo-China, founding an Empire which lasted until the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D., excluding Java, which became detached from it not long after the death of the founder. This conqueror was designated in Indian inscriptions as the Sailendra or King of the Mountain; and Dr. Wales considers that the capital of his Empire was located at Chaiya or Jaya, just to the north of the Gulf of Bandon. It is worthy of note that M. Cœdès—one of the greatest authorities on the subject—believes that the capital was situated at Palembang in Sumatra, and it must be admitted that Dr. Wales's actual discoveries on the spot are not very imposing, and that his theory seems to rest on slender foundations. At Chaiya he found only some

ancient Chinese porcelain, one small bronze Hindu image of the period, two ancient lotus-covered tanks, and a few other relics. He informs us that "there were signs that . . . at least some of the suburbs extended as far as five miles westwards," but he omits to state precisely what these signs were. Furthermore, with the exception of one find made by Prince Damrong, it does not appear that any important archæological evidence has been found in the past. Altogether, it seems probable that his theories will be considered as unproved for the present.

In addition to the main archæological work in Siam, which occupies the bulk of the book, the author supplies a general historical background to this little-known period, written, of course, from an archæological standpoint. Two chapters are devoted to the description of the two ancient Indian kingdoms in Burma, and in the final part there is a general résumé on the Khmer Empire, together with a short dissertation on the religious practices carried out in Bali—the last territorial unit to remain faithful to the Hindu religion.

Obviously, the book is written by a pioneer blazing a trail which, in the future, may be converted into a broad, well-paved highway. The human interest is well sustained throughout by attractive descriptions of the country, the local population, and incidents of travel. It fully justifies the claim made by Sir Francis Younghusband in the Foreword that, by a skilful blend of scholarship and the art of the narrator, it should appeal not only to the student, but also to the general reading public. The illustrations and sketch-maps are both pleasing and instructive.

D. B.-B.

Burmese Interlude. By C. V. Warren. 9" × 5½". Pp. 288. With map and eighteen illustrations. Skeffington. 15s.

The last paragraph but one seems to me to indicate the chief value of the book. That paragraph reads:

"Then one day there came to my camp a runner, bearing in his hand a letter. And the letter said that the firm was too full; after another month they could retain me no more. They would recompense me for my service with three months' pay."

The letter was received by a sick man alone in the jungle at the end of five years' service under the most trying conditions. He had risked his life, endangered his health, and directed his abilities to acquiring knowledge and skill of a nature useless to him in any other walk of life. The life of hardship, sickness and discomfort described in the book is not exceptional. It is the normal lot of the young man, who, lured by a salary which in English money sounds more than adequate, and by the expectation of a handsome retiring bonus or provident fund at the end of some twenty years' service, goes out to Burma to engage in forestry on the commercial side.

I hope this book may be read by any parents who may be thinking of letting their sons enter that service and may prove a warning to them. They should bear in mind that of every hundred young men who go out only between seven and ten complete the twenty years' service which is necessary to secure a reasonable competence on retirement. Violent death, shattered health, and behaviour such as that briefly referred to above, account for most of the remaining ninety per cent.

I have one great complaint to make against this book—the carelessness of the proof reading. I cannot believe that the author really intended two such solecisms as, on page 111, "Sic transit *omnia* gloria mundi," and, in the list of illustrations

and again facing page 266, the description of Supayalat as Theebaw's "Middle Queen." Supayalat means "Middle Princess" and was her title before marriage. On marrying Theebaw she became his principal wife and first queen—for some time his only one. Later she permitted him to marry her younger sister, purely to free him from the disgrace of having only one wife. She never permitted any intimacy between them.

There are numerous other minor errors.

Mr. Warren apparently arrived in Burma early in 1931, during the first flush of the Rebellion of 1930-32, and returned home to England in 1936. Considering the opportunities he had, the book is disappointing. There is no connected story—only a series of anecdotes, some personal experiences of the author, others tales which he had heard. In the setting of the book they are at times vivid and enthralling. They would not stand transplanting into a review.

C. R. M. ORR.

Makassar Sailing. By G. E. P. Collins. 8¼" × 5½". Pp. 256. Illustrations and plan. Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d.

Having sailed boats for years, and having had experience of the Malay, I anticipated a very pleasant time reading Mr. Collins's *Makassar Sailing*. Regarding the natives, I was not disappointed. Mr. Collins has the faculty of making friends with these East Indians, and he has the ability to write about them from an original angle. He gives a wonderfully clear picture of their lives, ideas and psychology, tells how charming they can be at one time and how exasperating at others. But for me there was too little boat-sailing—in fact, it is nearly all reserved for the last page. Not that boats are not mentioned; we learn all about that interesting native boat, the *prahu*—in fact, Mr. Collins built his own *prahu*, and had endless trouble and difficulties to get it completed.

However, he did get it completed and sailed it away—on the last page. I am looking forward to reading more of his adventures now that he has actually got to sea.

His pictures and diagrams are particularly good, but I wish he would use more commas in his writing: it would make his book so much easier to read.

G. T.

Fond Trivial Records. By Sir Laurence Guillemard. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 187. Illustrated. Methuen. 10s. 6d.

This is an all too brief sketch of the successful and distinguished career of one whose lines throughout fell in pleasant places. Sir Laurence Guillemard joined the Civil Service in those halcyon days when office hours were from eleven to five, with two hours' interval for lunch and repose. (What a lot of unnecessary work has resulted from the introduction of shorthand and the typewriter!) He was first for two years in the Home Office, after which he was transferred to the Treasury, wherein he remained for four years; but of this time almost the only trace to be found is in some short sketches of some of the super-Civil Servants of those days, who are remembered only as legends in the offices in which they served.

Sir Laurence was early singled out for advancement, and in 1892 he started his career as a private secretary, in which capacity he remained for the next ten

years, during which time he came in contact with everybody of interest in the political world. He gives some vivid portraits of the great political leaders of those days, particularly of Sir William Harcourt and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, with whom he was most intimately associated, but of this most interesting period we have only sixteen pages, though it is worthy of a whole volume.

Six years as Deputy Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue account for another four pages; he was then transferred to the important post of Chairman of the Board of Customs and Excise, or from direct to indirect taxation. The Lords of the Treasury had no illusions as to the popularity of the administration of which he was to have the future control; in a letter to the Board of Customs just after his arrival appeared the following wise warning: "While the Revenue service may earn the respect, it is hardly to be expected that it can command the sympathies of the community."

During the next eleven years, which included those of the Great War, the duties, in both senses of the word, of this department increased out of all knowledge, and at the end of the period Sir Laurence reminds us of the relative revenues, before and after the war, from beer, tobacco, and spirits. These comparisons must make some of our heavier drinkers wonder whether they really took full advantage of such pre-war facilities, alas! now gone beyond recall.

The second half of the book is devoted to the seven years during which Sir Laurence was Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Malay States, and here he discusses the constitutional problems affecting these, in some way, conflicting interests. Here again it is not about the things that he tells us that we complain, it is about the things he has left unsaid; we should have liked so much more of all of it.

We should like to have heard much more about the life of one who owed his success not only to his ability, but also to his personality, which was so eminently suitable for the important posts he has held.

Is it unkind to suggest that possibly it is the comfortable life he has led, and the many interests he has retained, that have rendered him disinclined for the sustained effort necessary to satisfy our wishes in this respect?

H. K.

Crisis in China: The Story of the Sian Mutiny. By James M. Bertram. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. xxii + 318. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. net. 1937.

The author of this book is introduced in the publishers' note as a young New Zealander who had a distinguished career as a Rhodes scholar and who went out to China to investigate social and political developments in the Far East.

After visiting Canton and Shanghai in October and November, 1936, he went on to Peking, which he reached in time to see the outbreak of students on December 12. For some years Young China had been restless and dissatisfied about Japanese plans for an autonomous North China. These students, male and female, were the only articulate unarmed opposition in the country, and they were anxious to show their resentment against the invasion of Japanese-paid Mongols into Sui Yuan, the armed occupation of Tsingtao by Japanese marines, and the arrest of some prominent leaders of the patriotic movement. Processions were formed, and the author describes how the students, ten thousand of them, with banners, were unmercifully beaten and arrested by Chinese police who were armed with rifles and machine-guns. Japanese authorities had warned the police that unless they could keep the peace the Japanese troops would take a hand.

The author describes the pitiful plight of the processions and the rough handling they received.

Just at that time a rumour spread that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek had been captured at Sian by the young Marshal, Chang Hsueh Liang, and killed. But the news was from a doubtful source, and so Mr. Bertram decided to make his way to Sian and investigate for himself. With the aid of some political Chinese friends, he managed to worm his way through, and, after his arrival, at once set himself to unravel the whole plot. Chiang Kai-Shek had not been killed, but had been arrested and segregated by Chang Hsueh Liang, who later bore him off, a freed man, in an aeroplane to Loyang.

The greater part of the book is occupied with disentangling the threads of the plot that led up to the young Marshal's action, and the story loses nothing in the telling. It shows us how the Nanking Government led by Chiang Kai-Shek had done its best to suppress Communism and banditry in order to meet Japanese demands for more discipline, the lack of which was hindering trade and interfering with the "Continental Policy" of the Japanese militarists.

Chiang foresaw a probable aggression and was doing his best to ward it off. The first point of his policy was to destroy the Chinese Red Army. He was evidently strangely out of touch with the real feeling of the people, civil and military, of all Northern China, who had sunk everything in a wave of intense patriotism and anti-Japanese propaganda.

The strategic importance of North-West China for Japanese policy is abundantly clear. Since the conquest of Manchuria and Jehol the direction of military penetration had been insistently towards Inner Mongolia with the obvious intention of driving a wedge between North China and any possible connection with Soviet Russia through Sinkiang or Outer Mongolia. Control of the north-west would safeguard Japan's hold on North China and secure her lines of communication in the event of war with the Soviet Union.

Peasants, soldiers, officials and students all recognized the dangers of aggression and made up their minds to sink every difference, to forget the injustices of misrule, and to be prepared to fight and die for the cause of warding off the Japanese. But unfortunately, as has so often happened in the past in China, they attended mass meetings and paid too much attention to political fervour without practical study of how best to equip and arm themselves and to study modern warfare. They lacked competent leadership either from the Central Government or from their own Generals. Though the author is plainly a benign critic and makes the best case that he can on their behalf, all that he writes only serves to show that the real crisis for China was the want of any clear-cut policy and the heedless drifting into disaster, while the Japanese under their militarist Government were effectively preparing themselves to bring North China under their tutelage and deprive it of Chinese sovereignty.

When Chinese troops should have been holding active manœuvres and laying in a stock of war machinery and munitions to defend their territory, they were holding mass meetings and listening to a spate of perfervid oratory instead. Among the illustrations in the volume there is one showing a boy soldier, nine years old, speaking to a microphone, addressing a gathering of 100,000 soldiers and peasants.

In China Bismarck's dictum "if you want peace prepare for war" is unknown, and so it came that the present conflict found the people ready to do and die, but without strategical knowledge and ill-armed. The air force was weak and the pilots inexperienced, and they did not have tanks or sufficient artillery.

The book ends with the period prior to the Japanese attack, and though it

might thus seem somewhat behind the times it will be found to give a very clear picture of how the subsequent events, by which several hundred thousand Chinese have been killed or wounded, came to happen.

Students of Far Eastern politics should read this volume. It will show them how China was aware of the coming onslaught, and yet the Central Government fiddled with the problem of Communism with the idea of evolving order out of a chaos for which the Government had itself to blame. The Chinese Red Army sprang from agrarian unrest, but it was, according to the author's findings, not so much a Communist body as an Army of National Revolution manned by a people thirsting for national independence. Ten years of useless civil strife gave the Japanese a good reason for taking active measures and found China unable to resist, but with a burning patriotism which all the losses of the present conflict have only served to accentuate.

Japan has set herself to "bring China to her knees," but with such a people as are described in *Crisis in China* she will only succeed in creating for herself an implacable enemy. The universal slogan now in China is "United Front," and when one asks just what that means the reply is, "Resistance to Japanese aggression by a united Chinese people."

G. D. G.

Great Britain and China, 1833-1860. By W. C. Costin. Clarendon Press. 15s.

One's first inclination on embarking on this book is to regard it as a historian's treatise for historians. The author's modesty in his preface (where he claims only to "throw some new light on the motives of the principal persons" engaged in a field of action which "has already been covered in detail"), together with the meticulous character and scholarly restraint of his treatment, help to confirm this impression. There is no denying that Mr. Costin is solid reading. Yet, having reached the end of the book, one feels safe in recommending it to a much wider circle of readers than that of professed students of history. Anyone genuinely interested in the China Problem of the moment will be making good use of his time in reading this record of the formative period of Anglo-Chinese relations when many forces were born which are vitally operative to-day. He will find it an intriguing study to seek out analogies and contrasts between the reactions of a past generation of Englishmen and those of modern Japanese in circumstances which have many features in common. (Our own chronicles of a hundred years ago repeatedly echo, for instance, the complaint which we hear daily from Tokyo of Chinese "insincerity" and evasiveness; even parallels to the cry for "beating China to her knees" are not entirely lacking.)

Those who know their Morse will want to know what sort of "new light" Mr. Costin sheds on his subject. The answer is that, by relying largely on semi-official sources such as the Peel and Auckland papers in the British Museum, he is able to take us behind the scenes and show us the working of the minds both of responsible statesmen at home and of the leading men on the spot. Besides this, he lets in a good deal of side-light from the despatches of French officials and the archives of the French Catholic Missions. The result is a book which gives beside the historical framework an insight into the way that events appeared to the eyes of contemporaries and into the outlook of the Englishmen of the day on China and Great Britain's China policy.

In spite of the reference to "die-hardism" already made above, the general impression which comes from reading the book is that fairness and moderation entered far more fully into the British China policy in the middle of last century

than is generally allowed. Mr. Costin—though coldly objective as becomes an essentially historical writer—drives some much-needed nails into the coffin of the familiar myth that we went to war with China in order to force opium on her. How is it possible to keep this old story alive in the face of such evidence as Palmerston's categorical statement in 1829 (quoted on page 60) that:

“Therefore H.M. Government by no means dispute the right of the Government of China to prohibit the importation of opium into China, and to seize and confiscate any opium which, in defiance of prohibition duly made, should be brought by Foreigners or by Chinese subjects into the Territories of the Empire. But these fiscal prohibitions ought to be impartially and steadily enforced; and traps ought not to be laid for Foreigners by at one time letting the prohibition remain. . . .”?

Or the instructions to Pottinger (p. 107) that:

“it will be right that Her Majesty's servants in China should hold themselves aloof from all connection with so discreditable a traffic. The British opium smuggler must receive no protection or support in the prosecution of his illegal speculations and he must be made aware that he will take the consequences of his own conduct”?

It may be of some special interest at the present juncture to trace out the motive which we originally had for acquiring what is now our “furthest-flung” military outpost in the Pacific. The considerations for taking Hong Kong were, at that time, purely commercial—the crying need for a trading station which would be free from the interminable wrangling and recurrent clashes with local Chinese officials. There was, as a matter of fact, strong reluctance in some quarters to extract territorial concessions from China—and this for a reason which Japan to-day might well be wise to be taking seriously to heart. It was feared that drastic demands on China might have the effect of overthrowing her Government, and “I cannot,” Sir Charles Elliot writes, “conceive a more unfortunate consequence to ourselves than an extensive political convulsion in China.”

It is truly a tragic fact that, during the critical three decades with which Mr. Costin deals, two nations with so many natural bonds, material and psychological, as exist between England and China should have been almost constantly at loggerheads and twice actually at war. Why it was so is dealt with in the introduction to the book, to which, in view of the length to which this review has already extended, the reader must be referred. The author's analysis of the causes is indisputably sound, but can this be said, incidentally, of his summing up of the Manchu Emperor's status? He describes the Emperor as “rather a spiritual head than a political potentate.” It is surely open to question whether the “spiritual” aspect of the monarchy held any serious place among the Chinese people in the age of which Mr. Costin is writing.

G. E. HUBBARD.

Hong Kong, 1841-1862. Birth, Adolescence and Coming of Age. By G. R. Sayer. Pp. viii + 198 + 23. Oxford University Press. 1937. 18s.

After making three introductions to the reader, geographical, historical and linguistic, the author, a cadet in the Hong Kong Civil Service, brings to his notice the first contacts with the island made by British vessels at the beginning of the

nineteenth century. By 1830 "the island and harbour are clearly becoming known." It was Lord Napier who, in a dispatch (dated by a misprint 1934), first urged the possession of the island of Hong Kong "admirably adapted to every purpose." From then onwards we are given in eight chapters a sketch of the development of Anglo-Chinese relations with which is bound up the early history of the island—sixty-five pages take us from 1836 to 1841 and seventy pages from 1841 to 1862. Though the colony did not juridically come into being until June 1843 (when the Treaty of Nanking was ratified and Hong Kong proclaimed a possession of the Crown), the disparity of space can partly be justified by the importance of the early years preceding its foundation. The disparity results also, one suspects, from the fact that the printed material at the author's disposal is much fuller during the stormy period before and during Elliot's Superintendency than for the relatively prosaic times from 1842-1856.

The general presentation is rather jerky, and the style at times incongruous with his theme. There is created an atmosphere of "chattiness" which may annoy a literary purist. He writes, for example, of a "change of personnel, coming so pat at the same time as the substitution of Bonham for Davis" (p. 165). And what is one to say on reading that there has been "provided a niche" for "several interesting gems" (p. 124)?

Where the author is without evidence he allows himself surmises, and the evidence more than once shows his surmises to be incorrect. Thus Davis before sailing from England had stipulated that a baronetcy should be conferred upon him. He was not therefore given his title for any specific achievement (p. 149). Nor is it true that Bowring was the first British officer to be responsible as Superintendent to the Foreign Office and as Governor to the Colonial Office. The dual control had existed from the day of Davis's Commission. Similarly he is wrong in guessing that on Bowring's appointment there was any suggestion made of his succession to the Superintendency (p. 173). The state papers of the time show that the author's elaborate surmisings (pp. 168-9) on the reasons for Bonham's leave of absence are unnecessary and incorrect.

But in spite of such faults, inevitable perhaps to one who has not had access to the unpublished correspondence in the Record Office, there are some interesting things in the book. There are valuable descriptions of the topography of Hong Kong reprinted from such sources as the *China Review* and the *Chinese Repository* and discussed in some of the appendices. Indeed, it is a pity that we have been given so much of China and so little of Hong Kong.

W. C. COSTIN.

China at the Crossroads. By General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

London: Faber and Faber Ltd. 7s. 6d.

Few books written and published by Chinese about themselves have revealed so complete an impression of true Chinese mentality and psychology as *China at the Crossroads*, by General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. It is written in two parts; hers, the more ambitious, attempts to show something of the causes which gave China its great impetus some twenty years ago towards Western civilization, and the ingrained obstacles which had to be overcome. The Generalissimo's share of the work, which loses nothing in the translation by his wife, is, in the light of to-day, a truly pathetic document in diary form, telling of the traps laid for him, his captivity and his escape from the clutches of Chang Hsueh-liang in December, 1936. There can be but few of us who know and love China who do not share in some small degree the sorrows and disappointments of this outstanding

couple, whose amazing courage is remarkable even among a people whose valour nobody now disputes.

Mayling Soong (sister-in-law of Sun Yat-sen, later to become Madame Chiang) was first known to the writer of this review as an exceedingly clear-headed student, very pretty and attractive, who had recently graduated from an American university—an arresting personality and an asset on the international committee of women to which she had been elected. Mme. Chiang's comments on the "returned students"—no negligible factor in China's latter-day history—in the earlier pages of her book are made with refreshing frankness, although it seems hardly necessary, in view of China's amazingly rapid progress as far as Western education and industrialism are concerned, to make apology for them. However much China may have lagged behind in past centuries, there is no doubt that her speeding up during this one has been little short of phenomenal, so much so that it is perhaps necessary to see in order to believe. That the earlier "returned students" had to bear the brunt of sharp criticism at, so to speak, both ends of the yardstick has been exemplified both in fact and fiction—pioneers must always eat the bread of bitterness. Disapproved by their elder relatives (and the overwhelming force of family disfavour can turn most Chinese blood into water) for their adoption of foreign innovations, they found themselves back in China—to quote Mme. Chiang—"equally burdened with high degrees and broken hopes," struggling to find scope for much half-digested knowledge, but "cordially disliked by old-time officialdom, who resisted appointing them to responsible positions or frustrated their efforts to impose on China the Western ideas they had accumulated abroad." It is not, perhaps, generally realized that in the early days of sending Chinese youths abroad for education that they were actually better able to adapt themselves to foreign customs than to shake these off and re-adapt themselves on their return to their native land. More might possibly have been done for these none too happy young men when they came back by foreigners who were making their living in China, or by the very agencies who were instrumental in equipping them for their venture overseas. One's conscience pricks one. Mme. Chiang's account of this difficult problem is distinctly enlightening and helps to explain the "background of China" of which she complains, and not without reason, that the foreigner is usually so ignorant. Her somewhat caustic comments on the "Occidental understanding of this great country" are not, it is to be feared, wholly undeserved, although everything goes to show that public opinion to-day is that, given a fair chance, China would have made good to an extent undreamed of in her Manchu days.

Whether Mme. Chiang's concluding words that "it may be said that if ever such an unfortunate necessity comes, China can now return to her self-contained condition in defence of her honour even better than she could centuries ago," will be borne out in fact, remains to be seen. One wonders!

B. M. G.

A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China. By Lin Yu-tang. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. iv + 179. Oxford University Press. 1937. 8s. 6d.

Any book from Mr. Lin's pen is sure to be lively, and the reader opening this, his latest, will find that the prosaic sobriety of its title is merely a cover for a pungent monograph on a theme dear to the author's heart. In so far as it is an essay in history, it is interesting in its discussion of those things which performed the function of the newspaper before the press existed. Mr. Lin approaches his theme, both in its pre-newspaper aspect and in its modern form, with the words,

"The history of the Chinese press only becomes interesting to the writer *as a history of the struggle between public opinion and authority in China.*" He maintains that, at all times in Chinese history, there was such a thing as public opinion, usually led and instructed by the *literati*, but having its effect even among the illiterate public. And he reminds us that the successful wielders of authority were those, be they Viceroys, Governors or humble magistrates, who managed to steer a middle course between the Scylla of Imperial censure and the Charybdis of popular discontent. Public opinion, as Lord Morley once said, is a thing you cannot describe, but you know it when you see it. This might almost be a Chinese saying. In the days before the modern press arose the public mind manifested itself, one could say it was revealed to itself, by lampoons and rhymes passed from mouth to mouth, and the satire thus frequently expressed was the running commentary of popular feeling upon the events and decrees recorded in the official Gazettes. Mr. Lin's first seven chapters describe how the process worked in what he calls the "ancient period," but it is in the following six chapters on the growth of the press in the nineteenth century and on the problems of press and public opinion to-day that he really gets into his stride.

Three of these chapters—the last three—contain the real substance of this book. Mr. Lin is only interested in the past for the light it throws on the present: and when he comes to estimate the influences that now operate to give the press of China its growing power and at the same time impair its intrinsic value, he is at his best. His examination of the actual presentation of news in the leading Chinese papers makes very interesting reading, and is illustrated by statistics of a most illuminating kind. He shows the space devoted to various classes of news and concludes that, both in the character of the written accounts of events and in their arrangement in the pages of most Chinese newspapers, the strictures passed by Mr. Ko in his *History of Chinese Journalism* are only too well justified. Though he claims that there has been a progressive improvement in the quality of the press in recent years, he is on the whole very critical: and he would not be himself if he were not! The foreign reader will look at the matter with a somewhat more indulgent and charitable eye, and will be more inclined to emphasize the significance of the statistical record on page 146, where Mr. Lin reports that in 1895 there were 19 Chinese dailies, in 1910 250, and in 1935 910! This growth is one of the features of modern China. It reveals the extent of the national awakening. It also creates a new problem which is discussed with lively candour in the final chapter on "Censorship."

In all respects, a valuable monograph which bears the authentic stamp of Lin Yu-tang on every page.

A. F. WHYTE.

My Russian Jailors in China. By Georg Vasel. Translated from the German by Gerald Griffin. 9½" × 6". Pp. xxiv + 288. Illustrated. End-paper map. Hurst and Blackett, Ltd. 18s.

When a youth standing on a German aerodrome looks with the eyes of his imagination out across Asia to the China Sea, that which lies between him and that distant goal, represents romance with all its lure. Georg Vasel was such a youth, and when he responded to, and closed with the offer of a German Chinese Company to assist in establishing regular air services "with foreign nations of ancient culture, who were anxious to get in touch with European ways and European culture," he was going to meet romance, but romance at such close quarters as strips it of its glamour.

"I had been allotted the task," he writes, "of going into the wilderness and

building aerodromes and wireless stations right across Asia from Shanghai to the Soviet frontier." Out of an attempt to fulfil these obligations he became involved in the series of events which caught Central Asia in their murderous grip between the years 1932-35, and changed the whole outlook of that country.

Three years later he looks back over the unfinished task and the broken purposes of his vain endeavour, and wonders whether other hands will ever carry it to a successful issue or whether the "winding sheet of sand" will bury for eternity the half-built aerodromes and run-ways which he attempted to construct.

The reader follows the author through all the strange events of that period, beginning with the isolation of a pioneer among Mongolian sands. The descriptions are vivid, though Herr Vassel lacks appreciation of the more intense beauties of the desert surroundings.

It was the time of the rule of North-West Kansu by Ma Chung-ying, the Moslem rebel General, and the natives of that province were in terror as they saw his army sweep back from Sinkiang, then ride off across the desert once more. Soon after the final departure of the troops, the long-expected motor lorry arrived which was to convey Herr Vassel to Sinkiang, so he started in the wake of the rebel army, over the Gobi track. It was a hard journey. The water was "either salty or as bitter as gall and it was unsafe to drink unless it was boiled. It was impossible to procure either meat or bread. The sugar, salt, rice and raisins which we purchased from passing caravans were embedded in such layers of sand and dust that they looked like masses of dirty, yellow loam."

At Hsing-Hsing-Hsia, the border pass between Kansu and Sinkiang, they found the place empty. The garrison of more than a thousand men had fled and deadly silence prevailed. The houses "were inhabited only by huge scaly scorpions which hid under the blankets and cushions. From now onward our route lay through scenes of desolation and death. Nearly two thousand five hundred soldiers of General Ma's army perished in the Gobi." Further on the horrors increased. "I tried for a little while to tack so as to avoid driving over the dead bodies . . . this field of death along whose surface for a stretch of over fifty yards an unbroken rampart of piled-up corpses, jumbled together indiscriminately, stretched. . . . We were almost overcome . . . as we passed through this dreadful inferno and I was on the verge of utter collapse when at length we reached an open stretch of country."

Lurid as these descriptions of Gobi battlefields seem, they are merely realist, nor are the conditions in any way overstated. The furthest extent of the journey brought the author to Chuguchak, a town whose inhabitants live in a state of constant nervous tension because of the fact that only a few miles away lies the boundary line of China and Russia. Here he recognized clearly that the Russians had no intention of fulfilling their contract to deliver the supplies on which he must depend for the execution of his mission.

"The real dangers associated with my undertakings were only now beginning. I could deal with rebels and assassins, but I saw plainly that dealing with the Soviets was quite a different matter. They wore a mask which was utterly impenetrable. Woe to the man who got trapped in the net which their invisible army of spies had scattered through this unhappy land! . . . I instinctively felt that this invisible army was entrenching itself with demoniac insidiousness everywhere throughout this harried and panic-stricken country. . . . They professed to come into the country as umpires, mediators, and trustees of the people's 'rights.'"

It was at this point that Vassel realized the inimical power of Russian influence closing in on him. It culminated in his arrest and transportation to Urumchi.

For a year he was a captive in the terrible conditions which are the lot of prisoners under the Russo-Chinese system of incarceration. The mental torments were mainly supplied by his "Russian jailors" and the physical horrors through the callous and apathetic ways of Chinese prison officials. The sufferings through constant hunger, frequent thirst, and repugnant filth and vermin were intensified to an almost unbearable degree by the terrible cold of a Turkestan winter.

All this is common knowledge to those who are familiar with the conditions of Chinese prisons, but in China proper the miseries are mitigated by a measure of human adaptability on the part of the jailors, who, though they do not understand the quality of mercy, yet exemplify the ethical sense inherent in a people who pride themselves on their recognition of the relationships which bind man to man. When, to the abject misery of a Chinese prison, is added the mental agony of the Russian spy and psychological torture system, then he is a strong man indeed who comes through it alive and sane.

In that Urumchi prison men of many nationalities have met an unrecorded death, and but few Westerners have survived. Georg Vassel was one of the few, and the story of his release and subsequent journey to Shanghai is well told. The whole book is a most interesting record of a great historical event and of the consequent passing of an important province from independent rule into the control of Soviet administration. The illustrations are excellent, and Herr Vassel has rendered real service by telling the truth, unpleasant though it be, concerning life in Chinese Turkestan. The Chinese words and expressions transliterated by the author contain many mistakes, and the book is not free of inaccuracies, as will be patent to all who know the country, its people and their language, but the errors are due to lack of knowledge of Chinese; and it must not be thought that the author has in any way exaggerated the horrors of the Tungan revolt of which he was an eye-witness.

Red Star Over China. By Edgar Snow. 9" x 5½". Pp. 464. Illustrations. Gollancz. 18s.

The *Daily Herald's* China correspondent has given us one of the most interesting books on that country which has appeared for some time. It is well worth reading as a travel book alone. But beyond that it has high political interest, for the author is the first Englishman ever to penetrate into the Soviet districts of China, round which a tight blockade has been in force, and no authentic description of which has ever been published.

Mr. Snow has a strong bias to the Left, without which indeed he would probably never have been able to visit the Chinese Soviets or to write this book at all, but his enthusiasm does not blind him to the limitations of Chinese Communism. It is clear from his account that it is an indigenous movement and does not spring from Russia, with which indeed it has surprisingly little connection and from which it has had very little help. The Chinese movement is essentially agrarian, and has so far made little headway in the cities, in spite of labour conditions in industry being peculiarly fertile for its propagation. Economically, its policy is primitive and is practically confined to abolishing taxes, dispossessing large landlords, and redistributing the land among the peasants; in most districts the *kulaks* have been left undisturbed, and in some the resident landlords are still allowed to collect rents. Political doctrine is ultra-nationalist, and has for some years been focussed on opposition to Japan. Indeed, the differences between the Communists and the Nanking Government largely centred round this question, and culminated in the kidnapping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian in December, 1936,

by Chang Hsueh Liang at the instigation of the Communists, with whom he was by that time in secret alliance. It is probable that the negotiations, which followed this kidnapping and resulted in Chiang's conversion to a stronger policy against Japan, were the spark which lit the train leading to the present conflict, in which the Reds are now embodied as the 8th Route Army and are likely to prove a thorn in the Japanese side in Shansi.

The Chinese Communist movement is the child of the chaotic fifteen years following the revolution of 1911; and the life stories of Mao Tse Tung, Chou En Lai and other Communist leaders, as told to Mr. Snow, make an extraordinarily vivid picture of the conditions which bred the movement. It reached its zenith during the short-lived Hankow Government, which followed the northern expedition of 1926-27. But when Chiang Kai-shek and the Soong clique, refusing to take orders from Moscow, swung violently to the Right in the spring of 1927, the Communists had to run for their lives, and for seven years maintained themselves in Southern Kiangsi and Northern Hunan, a band after the model of "All Men are Brothers," successfully harrying the Government forces and defying all attempts to suppress them. Then in the autumn of 1934 they moved ground and made the Long March, finally settling in Northern Shensi and Southern Shansi, where they still are. This Long March, a mass movement covering a great part of the West of China, mostly through hostile country and under continuous pressure from Government forces, was a wonderful feat of endurance comparable with some of the great marches of the past.

What is the future of the Chinese Communists? Though the Chinese are great individualists, they are also equalitarians, and a good deal of the Communist doctrine is easily applicable to Chinese peasant society. Furthermore, the chaotic conditions which are likely to follow the Japanese conquest of North China will give the Communists their chance, and they may well become the rallying point for patriotic anti-Japanese action. Indeed, it would not be surprising to see the lead pass into their hands, and Chiang Kai-shek and the other leaders deliberately turning Red; for although they have been trying to stamp out the Communists for ten years, the Nanking leaders have few fundamental differences with them. However that may be, the Communists are likely to give the Japanese a lot of trouble in the next few years. They may become little more than an active guerilla band, sweeping down from the mountainous North-West to harry the Japanese communications, or they may spread eastwards and form a Red state over the whole of North China, which will drive the Japanese back beyond the Great Wall.

Whatever the future, this book is well worth reading as a sidelight on the present situation, even if it has no more permanent value.

J. S. S.

Adventures in the East. By Lili Körber. 8½" x 5½". Lane, The Bodley Head. First published in England 1937. Price 12s. 6d. net.

There is no indication in this volume as to the identity of the authoress beyond her name, but from the publisher's cover slip we can note that she is an "intelligent and perceptive traveller with a social conscience . . . a keen eye for significant detail and a vivid pen to describe scenes from modern life." Miss Körber set out to write from her own observation an account of social and political life in China and Japan of to-day, with special reference to the Japanese standpoint in the interference with China, which is now taking place. The authoress, who is evidently a trained social worker with an able pen, has accom-

plished her task well, but, though she writes in an original way, there is much in the book, especially of social life that has been described over and over again in the Far Eastern literature that floods our shelves.

She describes her journey by Trans-Siberian railway through to Vladivostock, and from there to Japan, where her trained mind soon became engrossed with the new pictures of Oriental life which she saw at every turn: they recalled to her more than once Bernard Shaw's words: "I expected to find Japan a fairyland, but I found it a nightmare." Reference is made to the absurdly low scale of wages which result in a low standard of life, and, in a table showing that the rate of mortality in Japan is higher than in the white States, the following comparisons are made: U.S.A. 12 deaths per 1,000, England 12.4, Germany 12.9, Italy 16.8, France 17.4, and in Japan 21.4.

Out of 120,000 conscripts in the Amori district only 2,000 were found fit for military service; also 60 out of 360 children were born dead and 35 per cent. were born before time. The lot of girl workers is evidently poor: the women in big town factories live on the premises. "Even to-day 70 per cent. of the women workers live in barracks. There are villages where no young women are to be seen: they have all gone to the towns as prostitutes or factory hands."

The chapter on May Day in Osaka shows the politico-social troubles that have come to stay "for good," and how the Japanese can only carry out their Socialist programme by seizing the natural wealth of adjacent countries. Conflicts between Capital and Labour are destructive influences that are groping their way toward some method of general reconstruction. New doctrines are being elaborated under the theory of "scientific Japanism," which has amongst its principles a demand for a strong and independent policy towards all countries which do not come into the great *bloc* of Asiatic peoples under Japan's leadership.

There is a Japanese State Socialist Party which has among its tenets hostility to parliamentarism and the abolition of capitalism through State control of the banks, trade and industry. Large masses of the people have swelled the ranks of Fascism founded by a Mr. Akamatsu, one of whose claims is that Manchurian-Mongolian interests must be put in the hands of the masses. Strikes in Japan occur very frequently and are conducted with a militancy unknown among us in Europe. "The busmen of the Daido Company, for instance, drove nails through the rubber tyres of twenty-eight buses so as to make it impossible for the firm to employ strike breakers." Our London busmen were more reasonable than that!

A pleasant break is given us in the chapter on Kioto, the Japanese Versailles, where the culture of Japan is described.

The Japanese attitude to anti-Semitism has changed greatly in the past year or so, and, following the doctrines of *Mein Kampf*, "where the preposterous view is put forward that the Jews are the most implacable enemies of Japan," Hitler's catchwords have begun to take root in the Land of the Rising Sun.

We are told how Japan can laugh at all our tariffs and quotas, for only 7.5 per cent. of her total exports go to Europe. "But European Powers—England, France and Holland, and America—are in control of the Asiatic Continent and the islands of the Pacific, and it is there that the conflict is becoming serious." Not everyone will agree with that view.

An examination of the prevalent economic conditions showed Miss Körber that, while the cost of living is going up, wages are steadily falling, chiefly because of the terrible state of affairs in the villages where cheap labour power is plentiful.

School bookshops are full of revolutionary books, and when the Ministry of Education investigated the matter it found that fifty per cent. of the boys and

girls who were asked why they were poor answered in a very radical sense; twenty-five per cent. were militaristic, particularly in regard to Manchuria and Shanghai, and forty-five per cent. expressed definite approval of the Soviet Union—and all this in spite of the patriotic textbooks provided for them.

The latter part of this book deals with China and the Japanese expansion in that country. The authoress contends that Japan's cry of over-population has less justification than her lack of raw materials.

She must have occupied all the time she spent in the Far East in diligent investigation, and, though critical throughout, she does not write in any partisan spirit. The book does not deal with events beyond 1936, and is therefore only useful for a study of Japanese and Chinese psychology in events leading up to the present conflict. Messrs. John Lane, The Bodley Head, have found a capable translator in Mr. K. S. Shelvanker who writes in easy English. The book was published in Budapest, in German (*Begegnungen im Fernen Osten*), by the Biblos Verlag.

G. D. G.

The Silent Traveller. A Chinese Artist in Lakeland. By Chiang Yee. With a Preface by Herbert Read. London: Country Life, Ltd. 1937.

Readers of the attractive interpretation of Chinese art which Mr. Chiang Yee published in 1935 under the title of *The Chinese Eye* will welcome the little book in which the same accomplished writer and scholar records his impressions of the English lakes. In the earlier book Mr. Chiang introduced himself to the British public as an art critic and as an exponent of the history, theory and practice of Chinese painting; in that which has been so charmingly produced for him by the publishers of *Country Life*, he reveals himself as an artist, as a poet, as an observant traveller, and as a lover—as nearly all Chinese are—of mountains and water.

Even when the mountains were hidden in mist, and the water manifested itself not only in the lakes but in an incessant outpouring from the sky, our Silent Traveller's appreciation of the beauties of the lake district was undiminished; indeed, he assures us that he found the mountains more entrancing in rain than in sunshine. This was most fortunate, for the narrative of his twelve days' tour of the lakes leaves us with the impression that it rained daily from morning to night, except on the day on which he walked over Honister Pass and visited Buttermere. The trifling fact that he had the daily experience of getting wet through—for he spurned umbrella and raincoat—did not disturb his equanimity; and when his boots were so coated with mud that walking in them was difficult, he took them off and washed them in a stream. "It is my opinion," he says, "that a walk in the rain gives one the true opportunity of appreciating nature. . . . Too many people, unfortunately, sit within doors and enjoy their comforts, unaware of the loveliness outside." During a pleasure-trip in a motor-boat the rain came down in torrents, and of his English fellow-passengers he says "most of them crouched under their coats and mackintoshes, but I only took off my spectacles and enjoyed looking at the great grey and then white mass of powerful Nature." While he was enjoying the view from Friar's Crag "the rain fell in sharp standing lines as if a Chinese screen made of bamboo were hanging in front of my eyes. It was a joy to sit there quite alone."

He was fortunate in finding a respectable flow of water in the falls of Lodore. In this he was favoured as Southey was, but as the writer of this review (during a visit in 1933) most assuredly was not. He pays the falls a compliment by comparing them with a well-known (and, as he is too polite to say, far more beautiful)

waterfall in the famous Lu mountains near his birthplace. It is not surprising that the thoughts of the Silent Traveller, as he gazed on the falls of Lodore, turned towards his native land. In spite, indeed, of his obvious desire to say all the good he can about one of the gems of English scenery, he is constrained to confess, after all, that he saw nothing better than the ordinary scenery on the south bank of the Yangtse—"calm, undulating, agreeable." The mountains of his native country are, he knows, grander and more mysterious than those of England, and the people who dwell there, or even pay brief visits to their heights, are more blissfully sundered from urban civilization than they can ever be in English Lakeland. The dwellers on a Chinese mountain, he says, "seem like the mysterious inhabitants of a fairyland." Neither Lakeland nor its visitors and inhabitants reminded him of fairyland. The motor-buses alone were sufficient to banish all such memories. Travelling by bus through mist and rain was an experience that gave him little pleasure, and he preferred to make most of his expeditions on foot. "The driver," he dolefully observes, "was a man without taste, shouting the names of lakes and mountains, pointing out the properties of famous noblemen, etc., without giving us any opportunity of enjoying the actual scenery." The Silent Traveller had not gone to Lakeland for the sake of observing "the properties of famous noblemen"; nor did he relish the bus-driver's tales, thrilling to some of his fellow-travellers, about war and "murders and horrors." He came to the dismal conclusion that the driver "must have been trained to talk in this way to suit his clients."

During one of his journeys he was unexpectedly and pleasantly reminded of his native land, for he espied a Chinese bronze bell. He discovered, apparently from the Chinese inscription, that it had once been the property of a Chinese temple, and he "wondered greatly how it came to be there." Perhaps he solved the problem when he came to turn it over in his own mind, but was prevented by his native courtesy from imparting his solution to his readers. "Loot" is not a pretty word.

On one occasion he found himself close to Crummock-water and could have walked to the lakeside easily, but he preferred to stand where he was, behind a clump of pine-trees and *imagine* what the lake looked like—just as the English poet (whose grave, by the way, he visited at Grasmere) preferred to turn aside from Yarrow rather than undo his own vision of it. But a day or two later our Chinese poet again followed the example of his English predecessor, and visited Crummock-water after approaching it from a different direction.

At Keswick he shrank from reading the newspapers because he did not wish to be confronted with news of the daily carnage in Spain. He was no partisan of either side and "could not understand why human beings should prey upon each other like the beasts." A few months later, when war was raging in his own country, he must have pondered that problem again, with profounder bitterness.

One of the gems of the book is the author's description of how he and a fellow-countryman (whom he met by chance in Keswick) hired a rowing boat one evening on Derwentwater in order that they might enjoy a view of the moon—our Silent Traveller's "Soul's Companion." The evening was misty, the water was choppy, and the two Chinese moon-seekers felt cold. Yet they "talked on many familiar topics and sang some of our native poems." But, alas! no moon made her appearance, though they remained on the lake in the vain hope of catching a glimpse of her after every other boat on the lake had vanished. So our poet-artist went home, wrote a little poem about the missing moon, and went to bed hoping—as Derwentwater had failed him—to see her in his dreams. And next morning he records the fact that he did indeed see her in dreamland—but it was the moon as

he used to see her over a pine-forest on his native mountain of Lu, not the moon as she should have presented herself reflected in the waters of a tranquil English lake.

He does not conceal the fact that even Lakeland, for all its beauty, did not cure the homesickness of which he writes in his Introduction: it rather intensified it. Nevertheless he tells us gratefully that he found more peace and happiness among the English lakes than he had experienced during his three-years' exile in England. City life does not attract him, either in China or in Europe, and he looks forward to paying another visit to Lakeland *in the season of snow*. He will not complain if no tracks of motor-buses sully the sparkling whiteness of the roads.

The book is adorned with the author's own drawings and with poems which are reproduced from his own Chinese script and accompanied by his own translations. At Grasmere, taking shelter for once, under a tree, from a heavy shower, he seized the opportunity to write a poem, in addition to which he drew one of the best sketches in his book—"Grasmere and its island in rain." Another excellent drawing, similarly inspired by the rain, is that of a group of people going to church, though the poem that accompanies the picture says nothing either about the people or about the pious purpose which has drawn them away from the comforts they enjoyed "within doors" and sent them out with umbrellas to brave the elements.

The poems, fifteen in number, are written in the classical Chinese style, ten of them being in 5-character and five in 7-character lines. The translations are faithful to the originals, though they necessarily lack the charm that is inherent in the Chinese sounds and verse-forms which cannot be reproduced in English.

Mr. Chiang Yee's literary name in Chinese is *Ya Hsing Chê*, which means the Dumb or Silent Traveller or Wanderer. Hence the title bestowed upon his book. His readers will put the book down with a feeling of gratitude to the Silent Traveller for having given expression to his thoughts and feelings, if not in audible language, at least in the form of a written chronicle of his visit to Lakeland, accompanied by the delightful sketches and poems which came to him out of the silence.

It is understood that since his visit to the English lakes the Silent Traveller has seen something of the lochs of Scotland, and has even penetrated as far as a lonely island that lies at no great distance from the romantic coast of Argyllshire. May we venture to hope that his Scottish tour may inspire him, as a similar tour inspired the English poet, to give us another book which ought to be no less charming than that which tells us about his visit to Lakeland?

REGINALD F. JOHNSTON.

Chinese Lyrics. Translated into English by Ch'u Ta-kao. With a preface by

Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Cambridge University Press. 4s. 6d. net.

This little volume of verse was published in the late spring of last year, and in view of subsequent events is possessed of almost prophetic significance. Beginning (Chinese influenced perchance) at the end of the introduction, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch remarks that the constant attitude of the Chinese mind has throughout the ages been pacific; "the Chinese hate war simply, finding it silly. Their few war poems deal almost exclusively with the waste of it, the blind marching no-whither, the skeletons left and frozen into the sedges." He quotes from the eight-century poet Li Hua, who muses on the imbecility of war in his "Elegy on an Ancient Battlefield":

“ . . . where army and army have fallen,
At times the wailing of ghosts is heard
When it is cloudy and dark. . . .”

But, alas! because of their inherent love of peace have the Chinese not infrequently become the easy prey of the aggressor, for “the ancient rooted conviction of his race that the best reward of life is that a man be granted to retire betimes to his own fields and orchards . . . and, in the leisure of a contented household, reading the poets and philosophers to confirm his own assurance of the true ends of existence.” Such war poems as are said to exist in Chinese are seldom in praise of valour and but rarely in glorification of conquest. Self-sacrifice and bravery almost unparalleled in history have been commonplaces during the fighting of last year, and it is merely by chance that many instances have come to light. The poignant lament that echoes across the world is not connected with hardship endured so much as for the shattering blows which have been dealt to lofty ambitions and ideals for scholastic development and the bettering of the condition of the masses. The wastage of the past ten years’ phenomenal effort and achievement in these directions is harder than anything else for young China to bear. The splendid modern buildings of their universities in North, South and Central China, begotten by hope out of the spirit of peace, have been ruthlessly razed to the ground by an aggressor both wanton and vindictive. Thus and thus do their enemies think to prevail, but the spirit of this great race which has endured throughout the ages, bent though it may be, is not yet broken. This, however, is wandering away from Mr. Ch’u’s lyrics, of which there are about fifty. They include the charming little poem “The Seventh Night of the Seventh Moon,” by Ch’in Kuan, which, as the story of the Weaving Girl and the Herd Boy, will be familiar to all who have lived in China. There are also some ten poems by the Prince Li Yü, the last of the rulers of the Southern T’ang Dynasty (A.D. 937-975) whose capital was Nanking.

B. M. G.

Jan Compagnie in Japan, 1600-1817. By C. R. Boxer. Pp. 190. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff. 1936.

As one grows older, one becomes less and less optimistic about a new book on Oriental matters and more and more inclined to react to its appearance rather than to its contents. The author who wishes to tempt a jaded reader does well to have his work pleasantly bound and clearly printed; and Captain Boxer evidently has correct views on this subject. His last volume (*A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*) was charmingly produced, and the appearance of this present work is a credit to him and to his publishers. He is lucky in his printers also—enviably so, feels this reviewer, who has had to suffer such iniquities as “pidge” for “judge,” “trumph” for “triumph,” and on one awful occasion “Broad Manners” for “Broad Banners.”

So much for the appearance of this pleasant book: and now for its contents. Captain Boxer deals with the period 1600-1817, with particular reference to the cultural influences exercised by the Dutch during the two centuries of their mercantile activities in Japan. He has already treated of Portuguese influence (*Transactions of the Japan Society*, London, 1935) which, as he reminds us in his introduction to the present work, was, given the physical difficulties of communication of the period, surprisingly powerful in the few decades—rather less than a century—of its operation. What is sometimes overlooked is the fact that when the exclusion edicts shut out the missionaries of European culture, the

sequel was not merely negative, not merely an abstention from further interest in the Occident, but a positive reaction against Western studies, which for a variety of reasons took the form of, shall we say, a relapse into Confucianism. Captain Boxer thinks that Japan was saved from the dangers of a static society on Confucian lines partly by a peculiar strain of "tough virility in the national character," but also by "the devoted efforts of the Rangakusha or Dutch scholars, a noble band of enthusiasts who kept alive the flame of Western science and knowledge, often under conditions of great danger and difficulty, until they saw the triumph of their cause in 1868."

This is his main thesis, which he illustrates by chapters showing in interesting detail the progress made by Japanese scholars in separate branches of Occidental learning, Cartography and Geography; the Military Arts; Medicine, Botany and Astronomy; Language; and Pictorial Arts. The book concludes with a description of old Nagasaki between 1640 and 1860 and an interesting biographical account of Isaac Titsingh (1745-1811), a remarkable man whom the author regards as a pioneer Japanologue deserving of much greater praise than has hitherto been accorded to him.

Each of these sections contains matter of interest, a good deal of which is new to all but specialist students. A brief survey of their contents will serve to introduce the main features of Captain Boxer's argument.

Cartography and Geography: By a characteristic irony of history, it was the study of Dutch geographical works which contributed to the Shogunate's decision to close the country. They saw how big the world was, how divided by political and religious strife; and they did not like its looks. They kept most of this knowledge to themselves, and private students, not being allowed to learn Dutch, relied upon scientific treatises printed in China (in Chinese) by the Jesuits. Dutch influence was therefore relatively slight in these studies, though the remarkable achievements of such scholars as Ino Chuokei owed something to Dutch learning, especially after 1745, when the study of Dutch books by interpreters was officially encouraged. But it was in popular geographical literature rather than in strictly scientific works that Dutch influence was most perceptible. Captain Boxer gives a short list of more popular works published in Japan before 1800 in which foreign countries are described; and he judges from them that in the eighteenth century more information about the outside world was available to educated Japanese than most historians will allow. After 1800 books about foreign countries were published in increasing numbers, and there is no doubt that this kind of literature played an important part in preparing the ground for the Meiji Restoration.

Military Arts: After the seclusion edicts not much progress was made in the study of European military science, partly because the Dutch visitors to Japan were merchants and not soldiers. But the Shogunate and the leading Daimyo were always anxious to obtain guns and firearms. The trade in lethal weapons was particularly lively in 1614, when Ieyasu was preparing to besiege Osaka, and it continued for some decades; but thereafter the Tokugawa régime developed upon peaceful lines, and military ardour waned. It was not until late in the eighteenth century that interest in gunnery and fortification revived as the Japanese began to realize how defenceless they were in the face of modern artillery. It is interesting to note that the unwelcome visit of H.M.S. *Phaeton* to Nagasaki in 1808 helped to bring home their weakness.

Medicine, Botany and Astronomy: Usually the Japanese have tended to take from foreign civilizations those features which seemed to them of immediate practical utility, and to disregard more philosophical and less tangible offerings.

It is, for instance, a notable feature of the Nara period that, in the curriculum of the university and in Chinese studies in general, emphasis is laid upon works which deal with government and social organization, or upon the applied sciences of those days, such as astronomy and astrology. The speculative and fanciful parts of Chinese learning were, if not neglected, at least not ardently pursued. Thus Taoism met with little success, and was indeed officially discouraged, if we may judge from existing fragments of a treatise by Kimi no Mabi, who put the practice of the Way in the same category as extravagance and excess in eating and drinking. In Japanese Buddhism, similarly, one can discern a tendency to pay more attention to ritual and practical ethics than to metaphysical subtleties. It is therefore not surprising to find that the Japanese, when confronted with Western science, were more interested in its application than its theory, and took with enthusiasm to the study of surgery, botany, and the practical use of astronomical data in surveying and navigation. Captain Boxer gives interesting particulars of the work done by Japanese scholars in these fields, their efforts in translating Dutch books; and lists the principal works which they produced, including the celebrated treatise on anatomy *Kaitai Shinsho*, of 1774, compiled by Sugita Genpaku and others from a Dutch translation of Kulmus' *Anatomische Tabellen*. He reproduces the title-page of the Dutch work (which has hitherto not been traced) together with the title-page of *Kaitai Shinsho*, which shows some amusing departures from the Dutch original—as, for instance, the substitution for a medallion portrait of Vesalius of a design of dragons, and a more modest delineation of Adam who, in the Dutch version, is, in prelapsarian nudity, holding out an apple to Eve apparently in expostulation.

Language: In this section we are given a very interesting account of the progress made in the study of Dutch by Japanese students—both the official interpreters and the Rangakusha—from 1640 onwards. Captain Boxer corrects the common belief that the importation of all European books was prohibited by the edicts of 1630 and later dates. There was no general prohibition, but only a ban on works connected with Christianity—a ban which, it is true, included even scientific treatises published by the Jesuits. It was not legal prohibitions, but rather linguistic deficiencies, which delayed progress in the study of Dutch books; and it is because the Nagasaki interpreters had begun to acquire real proficiency in Dutch in the time of the Shogun Yoshimune that it is sometimes supposed that Yoshimune gave them special privileges. It would be more correct to say that under Yoshimune somewhat liberal views were current in official circles, and the atmosphere was therefore favourable to Western learning. It was in the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the greatest advances were made: yet in reading not only this section but the whole of Captain Boxer's story of Jan Compagnie, one is impressed by the inevitability of the process which, despite resistance and delays, despite natural difficulties and artificial obstacles, carried Japan from her first contact with Europeans to her full entry into the modern world in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The author's standard of careful accuracy is so high that he will probably wish to take note of the following points where correction or addition seems to be needed:

(1) Though the name of Otsuki Gentaku appears in the text, it is not in the index; and on page 47 the date 1718 for his enlarged edition of *Kaitai Shinsho* must be a mistake.

(2) Though Shiba Kokan's engravings are well known, there was a contemporary engraver who should perhaps be mentioned—Aodo Denzen (1748-1822). While on the subject of Shiba Kokan, it may be worth while to mention that the

views on art which he expressed in *Seiyo gwadan* were shared to some extent by Motoori Norinaga. He and the other leaders of the nationalist revival in religion and literature, whose writings did so much to prepare the way for the Meiji Restoration, were bitterly anti-Chinese. Captain Boxer points out that Hirata Atsutane had a great respect for European science, and placed the Hollanders far above the Chinese. Motoori, in his work *Tamagatsuma*, in a discussion of painting, is all in favour of exact representation, and speaks somewhat disparagingly of the impressionist ink-drawings appreciated by the tea-masters. The clash of East and West is perhaps at its most interesting in the field of æsthetics, and it is amusing to compare the views of the innovators (for Motoori, though a revivalist, was in fact an innovator) with those of the traditionalists. Shiba Kokan is, of course, more extreme than Motoori, and goes so far as to say that Japanese and Chinese painting is just painting done to amuse people at drinking parties, whereas Western painting is superior because it portrays light and shade, the shape of solid bodies and their perspective. It is most valuable, he says, for illustrating in books things which cannot be explained in words. He uses as a term of praise the word *shashin*, which meant "copying truth" and now means a photograph. It is only fair to give the other view, and this is well expressed by one Kuwayama Gyokushū, a connoisseur who, writing in 1790, said of certain realistic Chinese paintings that they were so bad that they might be mistaken for the work of barbarians—that is, of Europeans. A true artist, he added, would never try to make faithful copies of things, for fear of being mistaken for a mere artisan!

(3) Captain Boxer mentions five paintings by Kawahara Keiga of the type of the Blomhoff Family, but Professor Moriya, in an article in the issue of *Bijutsu Kenkyū* for May, 1937, describes a painting in the possession of Mr. Ito Chuko, Tokyo, which seems to be additional to the five or is perhaps the painting described as belonging to a collector in Kyushu.

One query in conclusion is suggested by the popular descriptions of foreign countries from which Captain Boxer quotes. If the Japanese in the early nineteenth century could describe the inhabitants of lands adjacent to Holland as having one eye in the top of their heads, what amount of credence can be placed in the Chinese notices of Japan which we find in the Wei and Han Chronicles? These are uncomfortable thoughts for historians, but they have to be faced.

G. B. S.

Transactions and Proceedings of the Japan Society, London. Vol. xxxiv. Forty-sixth Session. 1936-37.

The customary high standard of this valuable periodical is well maintained in the present volume. Of the five articles which it contains, perhaps the most noteworthy is the first instalment of an account by Dr. R. A. B. Ponsonby Fane of the family and exploits of the famous Cheng Ch'eng-kung, better known in Europe as Koxinga, a Portuguese corruption of the Amoy pronunciation of his honorific title Kuo Hsing Yeh. The author's sources of information are chiefly Japanese—Koxinga had a Japanese mother—and his valuable and interesting paper is prompted by a desire to show that Koxinga's European reputation as pirate and adventurer is entirely undeserved, and that he was in reality a patriot devoted to the dying Ming cause, as indeed his title should indicate. Dr. Ponsonby Fane's article is accompanied by a striking portrait of his hero, and by several other interesting illustrations.

Major W. Peer Groves contributes an article on the Stoneware of the Bizen

and Totomi Provinces, accompanied by fourteen illustrations; and there is a pleasant account by Professor F. J. M. Stratton of the expedition which he undertook to observe the solar eclipse of June, 1936, in the north island of Japan, and of the very friendly and sympathetic reception which was accorded to him.

Of the remaining two articles, one, by Sir Reginald Johnston, is a short résumé of a paper read by him in January last on Han Shan and Shih Te, two little-known hermit poets of the T'ang Dynasty whose fame is much greater in Japan than in China. This is illustrated by five plates, one being a reproduction of a painting by the famous seventeenth-century artist Kano Tannyu.

The other article is a paper by Mr. E. V. Gatenby, lecturer at the Sendai University, who writes interestingly on the influence of Japan on English literature, an influence necessarily slight until quite recent years; for, until the publication in 1727 of the English translation of Kaempfer's history of Japan, little or nothing was known in England about a country with which the Portuguese and Dutch had had such close connection for nearly two centuries.

E. B. H.

The Individual in East and West. Edited by E. R. Hughes. Contributors: Dr. R. Marett, Dr. Gilbert Murray, K. J. Spalding, E. R. Hughes, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson, F. M. Powicke. $7\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. vi + 198. Oxford: University Press. 7s. 6d.

Human society is composed of individual persons, who in isolation would be little higher than the beasts. The individual and society are interdependent, but the relations between them have varied with time and circumstance, social stability allowing no more liberty to each member of the group than is consistent with its own requirements. When too narrow a liberty is granted, critical and philosophic thought undermine the foundations of the rigid structure of the State until it either collapses or is rebuilt on a new basis. If excessive freedom is enjoyed by each member, the group loses its security and dissolves, or is held together by an authority imposed in the general interest.

It is this oscillation of the balance between greater and less freedom, and the theories of statesmen and philosophers which precipitated or justified the changes, that are described in the collection of lectures delivered at Oxford and now edited by Mr. Hughes. The place of the individual in primitive societies is discussed by Dr. Marett, the Greek view by Dr. Gilbert Murray, the Chinese by Mr. Hughes himself, and the Hindu by Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan. All these are illuminating and interesting, though the chapter on Hinduism is prolonged, and there is in it a tendency to represent the ideal Hindu society as having really existed in an ideal form. Dr. Wheeler Robinson draws the contrast between the group-dominance of early Jewish civilization and the release of the individual to enter into a personal relation with his God through the later Prophets and their influence on the old beliefs. A final chapter by Professor Powicke illustrates the persistent tradition of Western Europe that the individual should have personal rights, whether their origin lies in Nature or in the conventions of Man. He makes the notable point that the true Revolution in Western Europe was not that of France in 1789, but the reversal of the movement towards liberty, under the leadership of Prussia from 1848 onwards.

There is no analysis of, and scarcely any reference to, the position of the individual under the Roman Empire. So many analogies, possibly misleading, but not to be left without examination, might have been found in the circumstances of the Roman citizen and the Central European of to-day that the omission will

be regretted by readers who have appreciated the rest of the book. It is a suggestive and thought-provoking book, and with the exception of a chapter by a distinguished Oxford philosopher on Aristotle and the Chinese Hsun-tse, which is encumbered by innumerable references and quotation-marks in the text, it is intelligible to any man of ordinary understanding. A knowledge of abstruse philosophy and terminology is not necessary.

C. F. S.

It is hoped that reviews of the recent edition of "Marco Polo" (Frampton's translation) and of "The Régime of the River Euphrates" will be in the next edition of the Journal.

NOTICES

THE Librarian would be glad if any member who has a copy of any of the following numbers of the Journal which he does not want to keep would sell them at 5s. each to the Society :

- 1917. Vol. IV., Part 4.
- 1920. Vol. VII., Parts 2 and 3.
- 1922. Vol. IX., Parts 2 and 4.
- 1925. Vol. XII., Parts 1 and 2.
- 1926. Vol. XIII., Part 4.
- 1927. Vol. XIV., Part 1.
- 1935. Vol. XXII., Part 4.
- 1936. Vol. XXIII., Part 4.
- 1937. Vol. XXIV., Parts 2 and 3.

The Council congratulate Captain G. Gracey, D.S.O., on his appointment as permanent Organizing Secretary of the "Save the Children Fund." Captain Gracey is well known to members for his work among the Assyrians and to a larger public for his refugee work throughout Europe. His wide experience and his devotion to this work make it an excellent appointment. Perhaps Captain Gracey's own experience as prisoner-of-war in Russia gives him the more sympathy for those whose lot has fallen in hard places.

CORRESPONDENCE

DIJLAH,
REID AVENUE,
COLOMBO.

November 9, 1937.

DEAR SIR,

I imagine I am not the first to protest against Colonel P. G. Elgood's statement (vol. xxiv., part iv., p. 720) that "Aristotle believed ideal government unlikely till either kings were philosophers or philosophers were kings." He may conceivably have agreed with his master's statement and was perhaps not always averse from propounding doctrines as his own which really belonged to his master. But the evidences of Plato's *Republic* and of his own practical sense are too much for him in this case.

What I really wanted to point out, however, is the curious translation which Mr. Philby appears to have made of our common hero, Doughty, on page 696. "Also," wrote Doughty, "the Arabs speak the last words as they have turned the back: and they pass upon their way not regarding again." "Looking back" is a fair translation of "regarding again," but it is not, surely, "telling" (as your reviewer describes the passage). Nevertheless it is something to have "discerned" what Doughty also noted.

We all owed so much to Doughty that I may be forgiven the suggestion of reminiscence even in a traveller-cum-author who has so much to his credit, in both aspects, as Mr. Philby. I trust he will forgive the friendly malice of an old colleague of Iraq.

Yours faithfully,
R. MARRS.

OBITUARY

THE Council greatly regret the deaths within the last two months of four valued members. Miss Tanner joined the Society thirty-four years ago; she travelled widely in Anatolia and Persia at a time when travelling in those countries demanded courage and the endurance of discomforts. Mr. W. P. Smith was latterly a master at St. Paul's School; his son, Captain C. C. H. Smith, of the Indian Political Service, carries on a name long connected with India. Colonel E. T. Rich, C.I.E., R.E.(ret.), was for many years on survey work on the Indian and Burma frontiers. During the war he went with the Dunster Force to the Caspian and worked both on the Persian Gulf and Iraq, but afterwards returned to the Burma Circle, of which he was Director on his retirement in 1929. The Society is indebted to him for the new cover map, which he planned but did not see finished. The fourth was also a well-known member, Sir Abdul Qaiyum. Of him one who knew him well writes:

"By the death of Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qaiyum the Society has lost a valued member. The Sahibzada had a remarkable record in the Political Service, and in his earlier days he took part with distinction in numerous frontier expeditions from the Black Mountain operations in 1888 to the Zakka Khel expedition of 1908, when he was Assistant Political Officer to Sir George Roos Keppel. From then onwards he remained closely associated with Sir George during the latter's long tenure of the Chief Commissionership, doing particularly valuable work during the Great War. Later, politics claimed him, and for many years he was a member of the Legislative Assembly where he proved himself a doughty champion of his Province.

"He continued his battle for the inclusion of the North-West Frontier Province in the Reforms scheme at both sessions of the Indian Round Table Conference, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his efforts rewarded in 1932, when the Province came into the new constitution under a Governor with himself as first Minister. With the advent of provincial autonomy the General Election held this year gave him the opportunity of forming the first Ministry, but its period of office was brief, and after a few months it fell, a victim of that fatal complaint of the North-West Frontier—faction feuds and personal jealousies.

"A career such as has been obtained could not fail to have made Sir Abdul Qaiyum many enemies, and ever since his entry into politics he had been closely identified with the *Intelligenza* in active opposition to the Khans. Though peace-loving by nature, he had all the fighting spirit of the Pathan when roused, as proved by his relentless pursuit of the notorious raider Multan in his younger days and by his political encounters in his later years. To his intimate friends, however, he was simple and at times almost touchingly diffident. He was possessed of public spirit in a Province where that quality is inclined to be sadly dimmed by faction feeling, and he spared neither his time nor his private means in furthering the welfare of the Islamia College.

"For his sake one may regret, perhaps, that he did not die in office instead of seeing the reins pass into the hands of the party so strangely allied to the Hindu Congress. But he lies now in his village romantically situated where the Indus first breaks through the mountains into the plains of India, and it is a fitting resting-place."



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PART II

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NOTICES

ON April 6 there will be a reception in honour of H.H. the Sultan of Muscat and 'Oman. Sir Philip and Lady Chetwode will receive the guests and a lecture on the Persian Gulf will follow, given by Lieut.-Colonel G. Dalyell of the Binns, formerly Lieut.-Colonel G. Loch. His Highness succeeded his father Sultan Saiyid Taimur bin Faisal bin Turki, K.C.I.E., in 1932. He is twenty-seven years of age, shrewd and energetic, and speaks excellent English. He received part of his education at the Chiefs' College, Ajmer.

* * * * *

The Annual Dinner of the Society will be held on July 14. The Marquess and Marchioness of Willingdon will be guests of the Society.

* * * * *

The Council has decided that it will be for the benefit of members if certain of the lectures and discussions can be considered as confidential. It is not possible for lecturers and others to speak freely on the thorny questions of the modern political world if their words can be quoted without restraint. These lectures will be clearly indicated, and members who attend must undertake that they and any friend they may introduce will comply with this ruling. As it is so obviously to the members' advantage and that of the Society, the Council feels it need have no hesitation in giving this undertaking.

* * * * *

Two colour films have been shown to the Society lately which are of great present interest and which must have historical value in the years to come, when the less accessible corners of the earth have been opened, when all men wear the same clothes and old customs and traditional dances and games are forgotten. The one of Afghanistan was taken by Madame J. R. Hackin and was shown on March 23 at a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the India Society; a longer notice will be in the next number of the Journal. The other, shown on February 5, was taken by Mr. John Davey in Bhutan, when he was fortunate enough to accompany Sir John Anderson as A.D.C. on his official visit to that forgotten fairyland. Only forty Europeans have visited Bhutan; the entry to it is still very strictly guarded, but those who have been there have been transported into the Middle Ages, to a feudal country where men are clad in armour, or the bright-coloured clothes such as our ancestors wore in the days when we, as they now, hunted or fought with bows and arrows. The pictures of the procession in which Sir John Anderson was escorted to Paro, riding on a much garlanded white horse, were full of colour, and even more interesting were the dances and games. On their third day they came to one of the

most wonderful buildings in the world, the Tak Tsang Monastery, or the Tiger's Nest. This they could see from the bottom of the valley towering above them, perched on a ledge of rock cut into the face of a perpendicular cliff some 2,000 feet high, the Shangri La. "According to local tradition the founder of the lamaistic religion in Bhutan, who was called Guru Rimpoche, first visited the country riding on a tiger, and round the cave in which he dwelt this monastery was constructed." The labour of building must have been immense, for after a three-hour climb up from the valley the only approach for the last half-mile is along a narrow ledge little more than a yard wide running along the face of the cliff; the little shrines are fitted into the recesses of the rocks. The country is fertile, in contrast to Tibet, and so far has been able to hold its independence and to keep its isolationist policy, although in the south the Nepalese, more industrious than the Bhutanese, have made settlements and contribute largely to the State revenue. Bhutan is fertile, trees grow up to 13,000 feet and rice at 9,000 feet; and in this small country one finds, as the lecturer said, "such beauty and romance as exist nowhere else in the world to-day." One of the most useful and most delightful inventions of the last years is the small ciné-kodak, which enables amateurs to take coloured films of the countries they visit.

* * * * *

Among the books published lately purporting to give the inner history of the Near Eastern Mandates is one which has caused some concern to members in Transjordan. It would seem obvious that the names of officials still serving should not be used without their consent or knowledge, more especially when incidents and conversations are given which did not take place, and it is difficult for men in Government service to answer. These books need not be taken too seriously—perhaps they are not meant to be taken seriously—and it may be natural that journalists should try to raise a thrill by their stories of travel in a country until the last few years none too safe, but where now, owing to these same officials, the internal security is excellent. Transjordan is rapidly becoming a tourists' paradise.

* * * * *

Members coming home on leave are asked to send a postcard to the Office giving their address before they arrive rather than a postcard to say that they "are just returning and regret that they had no cards while they have been at home." The staff are not able to know by intuition when members are coming home and should have their cards. Nor do they know by intuition when members change their addresses—they regret this fact, but ask members to note it.

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Two International Congresses of interest to the Society are to be held this summer. One is the 2nd International Congress of Anthropology and Ethnology, to be held in Copenhagen early in August, and the other the International Oriental Congress, which meets in Brussels on September 5.

IN THE MONGOL ENCAMPMENTS, 1937

By HENNING HASLUND-CHRISTENSEN

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 19, 1938, Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

(Translated by Elspeth Grant.)

WHEN first I went to Central Asia—fourteen years ago almost to the day—the whole of Mongolia, with its sparse nomad population, lay like an undimmed, living memory of a distant past.

By day one saw great herds of cattle and horses—thousands in number—followed by care-free, singing herdsmen, wandering in search of fresh pastures, and up in the mountains one met grinning hunters with their falcons and primitive weapons.

Gradually, as one came in contact with this wandering people and was admitted to an intimate place in the circle around the camp-fire, one slipped back into the past. They spoke of the World War—but the World War to them was that historic period when their forefathers conquered and remoulded the world of the thirteenth century. Their songs were of the deeds of ancient heroes, legendary realms, and all-powerful Nature's timeless beauty.

It was strange to reflect, in one's contemplative moments, that here persisted a mode of life that was described by Marco Polo; but the untouched quality of this brave old world seemed so essentially right and harmonious that one felt it would endure for ever.

In reality I was then experiencing the last of Mongolia's century-long inertia, and I was soon to observe her awakening and to see that once so uniform nomads' land divided into districts between which raged fanatical rivalry.

To give you some idea of how large and how thinly populated Mongolia is, I may say that in size it equals the total areas of Scandinavia, Great Britain, Germany, France, Spain, and Italy, and that its native population is only approximately two million nomads.

Inner Mongolia is that portion of Mongolia lying between "the Great Wall of China" and the Gobi Desert. As long as the Manchu Dynasty was in power in China, Chinese women were forbidden to venture outside the wall, the effect of this being that the Chinese merchants, who travelled the Mongolian wastes, sooner or later returned

to the Chinese home-town from which they came—without having set their mark in any way on the nomads' land.

But after the fall of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912 the policy of the new republic as regards Mongolia aimed at the conversion of the Mongolian pastures into Chinese agricultural land, and Chinese emigration to Mongolia was encouraged in every way. Inner Mongolia's native population amounts, at most, to 600,000 Mongols. On their pasture-land the Chinese Government now planned to establish farms for 26,000,000 Chinese peasants.

A couple of years ago Chinese colonization had extended beyond Pangkiang, which lies 250 miles north of the Wall of China, and all that was left for the South Mongolian nomads was the meagre strip of steppe which borders the southern side of the Gobi Desert.

The result of this colonization policy of China's was catastrophic for the Mongols and for their ancient nomad culture. Their once-numerous herds of cattle and horses were quickly decimated, since the available pasturage was too poor and too limited, and the nomads were forced to sell their family jewels and other valuables to keep body and soul together.

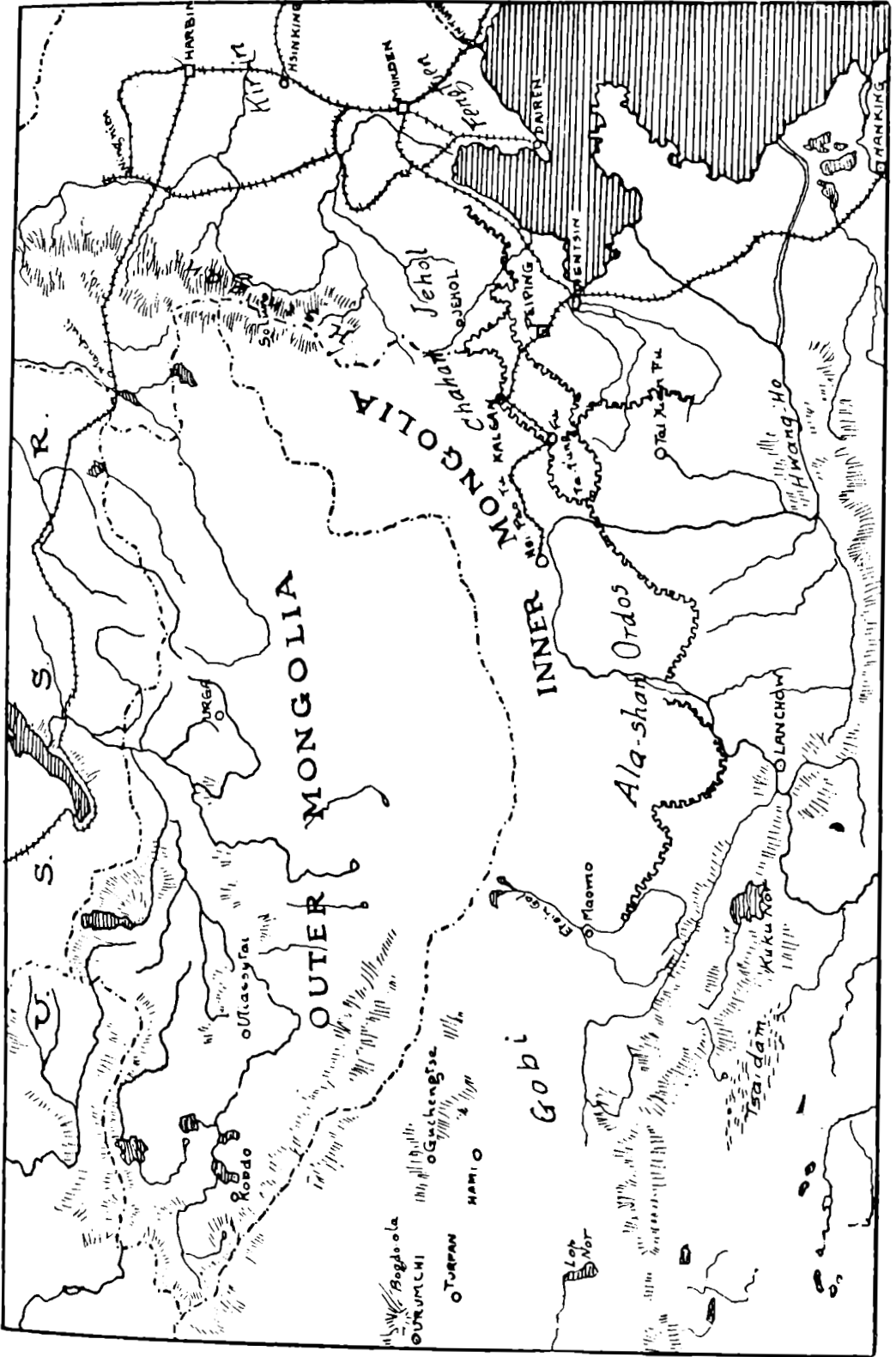
In *Outer Mongolia*, which lies between the Gobi Desert and Siberia, fierce fighting went on at the beginning of the last decade between the fugitive members of the Russian White Guard and the pursuing troops of the Reds. And when this Russian civil war was fought to a finish in Asia the victorious Reds stayed on in Urga, and the whole of Outer Mongolia was converted into a Soviet state.

In 1931, as you know, Japan occupied that portion of the Far East described geographically as Manchuria. The western part of Manchuria is old Mongol country and is populated by rather over a million Mongols. These Manchurian Mongols are now divided into four provinces, which are collectively named *Hsingan-Mongolia*, after the dominating mountain range which runs north and south like an axle through the country.

In those parts of Mongolia occupied by the Soviet and Japan feverish efforts towards modernization are in progress to-day, and they are so effective that one can safely say the last five years have brought about greater social and cultural changes than the preceding five centuries.

* * * * *

When, by reason of an accident in the Himalayas, I was compelled to leave Asia in 1931, I was busy collecting the old legends and folk-songs of Mongolia—a work very dear to my heart and one which I was



anxious to complete. On my previous travels, which with only three months' interruption had lasted for eight years, I had ridden more than 19,000 miles through Mongolia, Tibet, and Turkestan, and had lived among many of the tribes who dwell in these far-flung districts.

When Jenghiz Khan, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, united all Central Asia's nomads under those yak-tail-hung banners of his, to lead them on long-drawn expeditions of war in distant places, many of the ethnically different tribes, which had hitherto formed separate and independent "nations," melted together. And when the heyday of Mongolian power was over and the great bands of warriors returned to Central Asia's pasture-lands, many of The Horde's "nations" split up into groups, each of which sought out new districts for themselves, where they settled and have since lived without any contact one with another and often under quite new tribal names.

Many attempts, in many different ways, have been made to trace the histories of these tribes and their relationships, and for a number of years I made blood tests and took anthropometrical measurements, which were later worked upon by the Peking Rockefeller Institute. But neither these nor any other methods have given particularly illuminating results as regards these matters.

I had not been long in Mongolia before it began to astonish me that in one tribe I heard legends, melodies, and song-themes which were unknown or awakened no response in the neighbouring tribes, but were complete parallels to those I had heard around the camp-fire of a remote tribe.

And in the border districts—both towards China and towards Russia—I observed how the Mongols' own legends, poetry-themes, and old folk-music lingered in their consciousness even after they had adopted the encroaching neighbour's style of clothes, mode of living, and language and had apparently become completely absorbed by the foreign element.

The Mongolian folk-songs and old legends fascinated me from the moment I began to understand them, but it was the hope that by this means I might determine the relationship one to another of the various Mongol groups that caused me to begin a systematic recording of what I heard.

My time this evening does not permit me to describe the peculiarities of Mongolian music, but I may say that many of its intervals are so extraordinary that it is difficult to express them accurately by our means of notation.

To overcome this difficulty I took with me on my previous journeys a little phonograph, with the help of which on the Sven Hedin Expedition I was able to record the characteristic songs of the Western Mongols.

If this material was to give results, however, it would have to be as comprehensive as possible, and the long period of my invalidity came as a most unwelcome interruption in my work.

In April, 1936, news came to me from Mongolia which hinted that Central Asia would soon be closed to foreigners. As my doctors had declared that I could not be well enough to travel before 1938, I was not prepared for an immediate departure, but I was simply forced to attempt one more journey by the fear that otherwise it might be too late.

My programme for the new expedition comprised the recording of folk-music and folk-lore among tribes I had not previously visited, and the gathering together of a representative ethnographic collection for the Danish National Museum.

In order to be able to record as accurately as possible the Mongolian folk-songs and other music, I approached the Stockholm Radio, who had previously taken an interest in this part of my work, and, thanks to their technical department, I was able on this expedition to record Mongolia's music with first-class modern equipment.

* * * * *

When I arrived in Shanghai a year ago last August the tribes of Inner Mongolia had raised the flag of revolution in an effort to drive out the Chinese from their land, and the Chinese Government forbade all foreigners to approach the border districts.

But there were two ways I might try: I could attempt to enter Mongolia at some point far west of the war zone, but that would mean crossing districts swarming with bandits, and on this journey I was not seeking adventure, but peaceful working conditions in which I could achieve quick results.

The alternative was to take an easterly route up among the Mongols of Hsingan-Mongolia. I had never visited these Eastern Mongols, and for some incomprehensible reason very few investigations regarding them had ever been made.

But these Eastern Mongols were now under Japanese control, and an American expedition which had recently applied for permission to enter their country had been refused.

Nevertheless, I decided to attempt the eastern route. Having placed my application before the Japanese authorities and emphasized that I would go where they directed me, provided the country I passed through was pure Mongolian, I received an official invitation to visit the authorities at Hsinking, the new Manchoukuo capital.

* * * * *

On my arrival at Hsinking I came in contact with the many young Mongols and Japanese who, in Hsinking's impressive Administration Offices for Mongolian Affairs, planned and directed Mongolia's new future, and it would be ungrateful of me to omit to mention the friendly helpfulness and understanding of my plans which I encountered on all sides.

In a week's time my papers were in order, and I was given permission to travel where I liked within the districts in which peaceful conditions had been established by Japan. On September 18, 1936, I went by train to Wang'in Sume, which means "The King's Cloister," and is the old chieftain's seat of one of the Mongolian Khorchin tribes.

The Khorchin chieftains belong to a proud line, which descends from Habto Hazar, the famous archer, who was Jenghiz Khan's eldest brother. Habto Hazar, who was so broad in the shoulder and narrow in the waist that a dog could crawl under him when he slept on his side, still lives in many of the Khorchin Mongols' legends, and his praises are sung in innumerable of their folk-songs.

In the years between the fall of the Manchu Dynasty in 1912 and the Japanese occupation in 1931 three-quarters of the Khorchin folk's pasture-land had been confiscated by Marshal Chang Tso Lin and his Chinese generals. It was this circumstance more than anything else that was responsible for the fact that the advancing Japanese in 1931 were received by the Mongols as welcome liberators.

When I came to the Khorchin country the Mongols had regained most of their land, and there is much to indicate that they are now progressing towards a new period of prosperity. But most of the old nomad culture and all the richness and pomp of their heyday of power have completely disappeared.

For a long time I wandered about the country, seeking in vain the costumes and jewellery of the old times, but everywhere I was told that all their valuable heirlooms had either been stolen or destroyed during the bad years.

The only work I could do for the time being was the recording and

writing down of the old folk-songs and legends, which still persisted among the older generation. It was this interest of mine which won for me the confidence of old Sangerup.

Sangerup had been troubadour to the last of the independent Khorchin chieftains, in whose service he had travelled to all the out-of-the-way corners of the Khorchin country, and he now escorted me on a journey the objective of which was Manchu Ail, the only place in the land where the past still survived.

The journey took us over Solun, a little trading-place in the wilderness, and thence we followed that strange relic of the past which the natives call *Jenghiz Khan's Rampart*, towards the south-west.

At Jehol this rampart joins another and similar rampart system, which runs parallel to, but about 100 miles north of, the Great Wall of China. On the Sven Hedin Expedition we observed it at several points in Inner Mongolia, and Sir Aurel Stein has seen similar ramparts even further westward. But this system of ramparts is only partially charted and has never been followed the whole of its length by any explorer.

The explorers whose routes have crossed the remains of such ramparts have formed widely differing opinions as to their age and significance, and the Manchurian section of the ramparts has been noted by very few and only at certain points.

One of the most important questions arising in connection with these ramparts is whether they constituted a Chinese protection against the barbarians of Central Asia or were a protection raised by one of the old Inner Asiatic nations against China. At many points there are small square bastions built out from the rampart itself, and, as these are always on the side facing towards China, it would seem they were garrisons for warriors defending the ramparts against aggression from Central Asia.

Down on the steppes, the position of the ramparts in the terrain gives no indication in this direction, as the land is uniformly flat on either side. But when I came upon this ancient work of man up here in the Hsingan Mountains, it seemed to me that by following the twistings of the ramparts through this broken country one should be able to determine whether they served an Eastern or Western power to strategic advantage.

Here, as down on the steppes, the rampart had subsided to an average height of about two metres, and the clay mass, warped by wind and weather, had spread at the base to a width of approximately twelve metres. Here, too, the square-built ruins which once were fortresses for

the garrison lay on that side of the rampart away from Central Asia. But the manner in which the rampart was built through that jagged country gave one nothing to go by; whichever side had built it, it followed no strategic principle.

I found that the rampart often followed a watercourse, and that it was always built on the side of this which lay towards Central Asia, which might certainly confirm the theory that it served as a defence against a Central Asiatic foe.

But very often it lay right at the foot of steep fells, from which those same foes could with ease and without exposing themselves to danger have mown down the eastern defenders.

I tried everywhere among the natives living in the neighbourhood of the ramparts to get hold of some legend that would give a hint as to who had built and found useful this gigantic work of human hands, but nobody knew anything, though there was a vague rumour that it had been an imperial road, built by a North Manchurian chieftain after he had become Emperor in Peking, to facilitate contact with his hometown.

Presumably these ramparts were erected at a time when this part of the country was inhabited by totally different tribes. None of the many herdsmen I questioned, who daily graze their sheep on the ruins of the old ramparts, had ever found anything to throw any light on the matter, but doubtless a careful archæological excavation, at a place where such vast numbers of people must have been employed, would give results. And that they would be results which would add new and interesting pages to the ancient history of Asia is no less certain.

* * * * *

Manchu Ail was a large encampment comprising eighteen tents protected by a primitive palisade. The camp lay at the foot of the southern slope of a fell, looking out over a great stretch of grassy steppe bisected by a clear blue fell stream. The whole steppe was an idyll of peace and fruitfulness, framed by mountains against the green of which the multitudinous herds of cattle and sheep made a patchwork pattern.

Between the encampment and the river ran Jenghiz Khan's Rampart, and the folds for the young cattle and the bleating lambs lay in one of the square, ruined forts where bloodthirsty warriors had once raged and caroused.

Smaller camps and isolated tents lay along the river bank, but nowhere could one find any of those depressing-looking grey clay huts which mark a nomad community in decay.

My sojourn at Manchu Ail was long—and rich in results, as it was there I accumulated the greater part of my ethnographic collection. In the long evenings, when we sat around the fire in Manchu Ail's chieftain's tent, I heard old songs and legends and learned this little community's strange history, the details of which I was later able to confirm and illuminate from other sources.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, when the Manchus—under their chieftain Huan Taiki—fought against the Chinese Ming Dynasty, they were allied with the Khorchin Mongols, and Huan Taiki chose a daughter of the Korchin chieftain Sesang to be his queen. Their son, who became the Emperor Shun Chi—China's first Emperor of the Manchu Dynasty—likewise married a Khorchin princess. And *their* son became the Emperor K'an Hsi. He who must be acknowledged as one of China's greatest emperors was thus, of origin, three-quarters Khorchin.

In that period of more than a hundred years, when Khorchin princesses sat as rulers on the mightiest imperial throne in Asia, the Khorchin people must have enjoyed halcyon days comparable with those when Habto Hazar, Jenghiz Khan's brother, was their great leader.

But it was not only that Khorchin princesses married into the Manchurian imperial house, for in the middle of the seventeenth century the Emperor Shun Chi despatched his daughter to the tent of the Korchin chieftain.

When the young Manchu princess was sent from the refined world of Peking to the Mongolian steppes, she took with her twelve Manchurian artists and craftsmen to ameliorate her life in that rude wilderness. Only two of these men survived the princess, and after her death the Khorchin chieftain gave them their freedom, land, and what constituted riches up in the mountains—on condition that twelve of their descendants should, for ever, watch the grave of their dead mistress.

These two Manchus had married Khorchin women, and twelve of their descendants—who to-day number something like 700—have for nearly three centuries held unbroken watch by the grave of the woman who ruled over their ancestors—long after the memorials to her great relatives down there in China's land of culture have crumbled away in dust and forgetfulness, and Chinese bandits have plundered the sarcophagi of the mighty Manchu emperors.

It is strange to think that this little community at Manchu Ail, which was founded by two Manchus, was, in 1936, the one which most strongly

respected the ancient Khorchin traditions, and that their part of the country was the only place where the old Khorchin costumes still survived.

There was a time when I read with the utmost respect the advice of the book-learned to ethnologists in the field on how best to come into satisfactory contact with the people to be "investigated," but I have long since come to the conclusion that the methods of procedure are legion and must depend in every case on the situation of the moment, and that the great charm of the good situations is their complete unexpectedness.

My own experience is that association with the Mongols is most simple and natural if one employs with them the tone one used as a fifteen-year-old to a respected school friend. And then patience; rather patience that has the appearance of laziness than a too obvious display of energy. But most important of all is the ability to pursue any "lead" that offers to a happy ending.

* * * * *

Two years before my arrival at Manchu Ail the community's once-famous medicine-man had suffered a violent death. An evil spirit had possessed him, it was hinted. I never inquired for further details of his death, for it is better not to speak of that sort of thing to the Mongolian nomads.

The medicine-man's tent had lain there in a nearby hollow, untouched and deserted, since the spirits took its occupant. Some months before I arrived a wandering Shaman had passed that way, and he had been asked to exorcize the evil spirits which still hung about the tent. This he had done by "binding" the spirits to the deceased medicine-man's tent and chattels.

When I expressed an interest in the tent, this interest was strongly encouraged by a number of the inhabitants of the district, who were overjoyed at the prospect of having the tent and its evil spirits transported thence, and at length we made what was for me—and, I hope, for everyone else—a satisfactory arrangement.

I undertook to remove the tent with all its contents, against payment to the heirs of the deceased medicine-man of what it would cost them to replace it. In return everybody at Manchu Ail was to help me in my dangerous task by selling to me a number of "good things," which would counteract all the "evil ones."

In this way the tent of the deceased medicine-man formed the kernel

of my ethnographic collection, which I was able to extend by the acquisition of a great many things it would otherwise have been extremely difficult to persuade their owners to part with.

That is how Purop's cradle came into my possession.

It is easy to make that primitive wooden construction which constitutes a Mongolian cradle, but a good cradle's qualities depend upon the virtues of the man who makes it, and it is harder to find a good man than a piece of wood without knots.

One of Purop's forefathers had possessed the virtues of a saint, and his thoughts had been all of the will of the gods when he made this cradle. The cradle had since been the centre-point for three fruitful generations, whose babies had all grown up into healthy, happy, and good men and women. And one does not readily part with a cradle like that in sentimentally superstitious Mongolia, where there is a dearth of children.

* * * * *

The news that a *Shaman* had passed through Manchu Ail so short a time before my arrival was of the greatest interest to me and hastened my departure. For the next three months my journeyings took the form of a hunt for this Shaman, whom the natives called "Ba the Five-bearded," and the chase led me right up through Barg to the district of the Solon and Daghur, east of Hailar.

When first I went to Mongolia the noisy ecstasy of the Shamans could often be heard at night, but even ten years ago these sorcerers of Central Asia had begun to disappear.

A good deal of Shamanism has melted into the Lamaism introduced from Tibet, but Lamaism has always strongly opposed the unreformed belief in spirits, which was the primeval religion of the Mongols. Shamanism, therefore, was relegated to those parts of Asia lying farthest from the Tibetan centres of Lamaism—to Siberia, Manchuria, and the almost inaccessible mountains and forests of North Mongolia. And when Siberia and, later, North Mongolia came under Soviet control, Shamanism, like all other forms of religion, was wiped out in these its most important sanctuaries.

Of the old Shaman centres, only Manchuria, which was not completely controlled by the Soviet, remained, but even here new ideas have of late made great progress among the young, and Shamanism has become a religion for the very old and has now almost disappeared.

There are some lamaseries in the Solon country, but they are of

comparatively recent date, and their priests and monks are Buriats or Tibetans. I have never met or heard of a lama who was by birth a Solon or a Daghur. It is among these tribes and the pure Tunguses even further to the north that Shamanism has lasted longest, and it is my opinion that when the few old Shamans still to be found there are dead this age-old cult will have disappeared entirely from Inner Asia. There is a danger that this will happen before Shamanism's many mysteries have been investigated to the full.

It was through a series of lucky chances that I came in contact with "Ba the Five-bearded," Chief Shaman of the Solon, and with Dölgöra Buga, a Buriat Shaman, who, during the revolution in Siberia, had fled from Baikal to Manchuria.

It is extremely unusual for a Shaman to part with his costume and the trappings which invest him with the power of his calling and at the same time constitute a domicile for the spirits which help and serve him. And a circumstance which made it the more difficult for me to acquire a Shaman costume was the fantastic story I was told on all sides every time I made a tentative move. It was said that twenty years ago a Russian professor had come to this district to buy a Shaman costume, which, of course, no one could sell him.

At that time, however, there lived a Chinese merchant in Hailar to whom a poor Shaman living in the Hsingan Mountains was deeply in debt. This merchant forced the Shaman to part with his holy robes, after he had made sure that the amount the Russian professor would pay for them exceeded the amount the Shaman owed him.

But, the story goes, in less than three months after the Shaman had parted with his costume the merchant who took it from him, and the Russian professor who had gone off with it, had both come to a horrible end!

I was never able to confirm the truth of this story, but I soon saw that all the natives believe it—and therein lay my difficulty.

A year ago the two Shamans I have mentioned practised in the district between Mōhörtai and Nantung, and I followed in their wake for so long that I was given harsh words for my pains. But if one can only get into conversation with folk—even sorcerers—there is a chance that it may lead to something, and gradually their anger changed to curiosity, for I, too, possessed strange powers.

One evening I sauntered over to the tent whence proceeded the cries and noise of drums, which indicated that the Shamans were working up to an ecstatic state. Under my fur coat I carried a microphone,

which was connected with the sound-recording equipment in my own tent by means of a cable 100 metres long.

I was quickly turned away by the Shamans' assistants, but not before the man in my tent had taken two sides of a record. The next evening a double guard was posted by the Shamans' tent, warily on the lookout for trespassers.

But that evening I did not intend to leave my tent. Instead, I had posted a sentry of my own outside to guard *my* secrets.

In a little while the initial beating of the drum sounded from the Shamans' tent, but when a pause came—to emphasize the stillness which makes an effective background for the Shamans' subsequent transports—I let loose a positively hellish din in my little tent. I only played half a record, but I had the loud speaker full on, and the effect was devastating.

A death-like quiet fell on both tents and over the whole of the steppe. The experiment was repeated, the sounds from the Shamans' tent growing more and more timid every time, and before midnight I had reduced those two famous sorcerers to complete silence.

That night it was I who held sway over the Shamans' powerful spirits.

The next morning we rose early to pack up the sound-recording equipment, and the sun was still low in the sky when the occupants of the neighbouring tent put in an appearance at my hearth. The tone between us was quite a new one; the Shamans treated me as a sort of colleague, and their assistants showed me the greatest respect.

The two Shamans and their followers spent most of the day in my tent, and the Asiatic slow but intelligent and purposeful manner in which they tried to get to the bottom of my secret gave me a great deal of enjoyment. Towards evening we consumed an inspiring meal, after which it was suggested that we three—the two Shamans and I, who, of course, each coveted the wisdom of the other party—should spend the evening alone together.

That evening, and during the days that followed, we exchanged secrets, and by the end of the week my two friends had obtained a very mysterious explanation of all the complicated details of the sound-recording equipment—one which perfectly suited their powers of comprehension.

Before the time came for us to part we had become quite good friends and I had won their confidence to a very fair extent.

Bayin Belik, called "Ba-Saman" and "Ba the Five-bearded," had

travelled much in Central Asia and had once been well known in Peking under the name "Pu-Bau." He was born on the thirteenth day of the third month of the year of the White Horse, when the sun stood in the south, and was thus sixty-seven years old when I met him.

He was twenty-five when he received the call to become a Shaman, and "Ba-Gun," who was once a very famous Shaman at the Manchu court in Peking, had been his inspiration, and "Naahroi Shaman" had been his teacher. He was himself of the Solon tribe, and his hometown was Mökhörtai, a little village south-west of Hailar.

His colleague, *Dölgöra Buga*, was sixty years old in 1936, and he had been a Shaman for thirty-seven years. His father had been a Shaman before him, and from him he had inherited the ritual dress and learned a great many of his accomplishments. He came from Songgol, near Kiachta.

The costumes of these two Shamans varied in many details. For instance, the Buriat's was hung with a number of bells that bore Russian inscriptions, whilst that of the Solon Shaman was covered with Chinese bronze mirrors. The helmet-like head-dresses of both were bedecked with antlers, though of different types. These branched horns represent the Shaman's distinctions, and are used in fighting against the evil spirits. The antlers borne by the young and untried Shaman have five branches on each antler. Gradually, as he achieves fame, new branches appear. The new branches invariably spring forth in the fifth month, at the time when the steppe grows green again. The invincible Shaman bears eight branches on each of the antlers on his helmet.

Common to both costumes were the three *dögi* (birds), of which one was placed between the horns, whilst the others perched one on each of the Shaman's shoulders. The first bird is on the lookout, during the Shaman's "flight" through the universe, for the powers of good and evil, and the other two, like Odin's two ravens, fly off to seek information, which they whisper to him later when they are sitting on his shoulders.

Every one of the many bronze mirrors on the Solon's costume has its own particular mystic significance. For instance, every mirror can counteract its own special illness when the sufferer looks at himself in it. These bronze plates also symbolize the scales of fish and of serpents, and make it possible for the Shaman to travel through sea and earth on his spiritual flights.

The drum, in conjunction with the rattling noise that comes from

all the pieces of metal attached to the Shaman's costume, scares away the powers of evil, and the drumsticks are used as oars when the Shaman travels on the ocean. I could go on describing the details of the Shaman costume far longer than time permits this evening, for every single one of its many parts has several mystic meanings.

During the week I spent with these two Shamans I was given the opportunity to make these and a number of other observations, but I continued on my journey in the conviction that it would be absolutely hopeless to attempt to acquire the costumes themselves and the regalia which symbolized so much and were so infinitely precious to the Shamans.

The fact that both Shamans died whilst I was still in that part of the world made it possible for me later to acquire these two costumes, but otherwise I deeply regretted their tragic passing, for with their exhilarating, incredibly lively imaginations and genuine friendliness they were two of the jolliest people I have ever lived with.

A month or so after we had parted I heard that the Buriat Shaman, Dölgöra Buga, was dying, and I went immediately to the place to see whether I could be of any possible service to him. Necrosis had set in on face and body, and it was plain to me that neither I nor any of his attendant spirits could help him, and he knew himself that he was doomed to die.

His Shaman's robe lay rolled up by his pillow, and to entertain him and to pass the time I began to talk to him of its many symbols, and this conversation led to my asking whether he would sell the costume to me now.

These words occasioned anxious looks from his assistants, and Dölgöra Buga explained to me that even if he were willing to let me have the costume he could not do so. Every one of its emblems was the domicile of a spirit which only he could master, and they would be able, when he was dead, to bring about terrible misfortunes. Unless another Shaman who could take over the control of these spirits appeared before he died, the costume would therefore have to be completely destroyed.

Sitting there and fingering the many appendages to the robe, I found a couple of padlocks, the significance of which had not been explained to me. Dölgöra Buga willingly enlightened me. When his father, Damding Buga, died he had foreseen that his son would one day be a Shaman, and he had decided that the old costume with all its mystic powers should be preserved for him. So that the spirits should not

break loose and wreak havoc before the son was powerful enough to control them, he had, before his death, conjured them into these two padlocks, which he had locked, the keys being given to the son.

After this explanation it was obvious the means I should use to possess myself of the ancient costume without running any risks. To-day Dölgöra Buga's robe hangs in the Danish National Museum. It is absolutely harmless, for all its spirits are imprisoned in an old padlock far away in East Asia, and they will not be released before a man who can handle them comes along.

Some little time later I received news that Ba-Saman, too, had died, but that his body lay at some place within the new Japanese fortification area, whence nobody dared to fetch it.

After obtaining permission from the military authorities, I went up there myself, and Ba-Saman now lies buried in a neat suit of European clothes, whilst his Shaman costume, with its odd trappings, has gone to Copenhagen—and all its spirits along with it.

* * * * *

During my eight months' sojourn in Hsingan Mongolia I travelled through three of the four provinces of the new Mongol State, and I obtained an interesting insight into the colossal changes that are now taking place in this part of Mongolia.

Those who accompanied me on my travels were all local people. Some of them belonged to the old and conservative generation which had known the good old days under the Manchu Dynasty, and had vivid memories of the subsequent reign of horror under the Chinese Republic's sway. For them the advent of the Japanese meant the salvation of the Mongols from complete annihilation, though it was often difficult for them to understand the mentality which had come to dominate in the course of the last five years.

Others of my party were so young that they personally had benefited by the new régime and were full of enthusiasm for the great tasks they saw before them. I acquired an excellent insight into the attitude of mind of the people as a whole during my work with my sound-recording apparatus, for I recorded songs in all camps, right from the age-old folk-songs in the last surviving tents of the old days to the modern and politically inspired songs of the schoolchildren. A number of ballads came into being in the years from 1912 to 1930, to the glory of Grada Merin, Göba Sangbo, and Takhtak Taidji and the many other heroic fighters for freedom who gathered the Mongols together in a desperate effort to resist the encroaching Chinese.

Most of the monasteries in Hsingan Mongolia were plundered and left in ruins by the soldiers of the Chinese Republic, and the old temples are practically the only things the new régime takes no interest in rebuilding. In November, 1936, 314 new Mongolian schools had already been established in the land, and compulsory education was enforced, which cut off the supply of lama disciples to the monasteries, and the monasteries were quickly becoming depopulated. Through conversation with various Mongols regarding their religion, I got the impression that the general opinion was that the gods were high and unassailable, but that the church—its form and its servants—must be renewed.

In several monasteries I met Japanese Buddhist priests who spoke excellent Mongolian and who dressed as lama-priests. These Japanese clerics were busily engaged in revising the lamaistic liturgy to make it accord with the purer teachings of Hinayana Buddhism. The clean, neat cells of these Hinayana monks were like oases in the dilapidated and dirty surroundings of the rest of the monastery. I was told that the old church was to be left to die of itself, and that when this happened, as it soon must, everything would be in readiness for what was to succeed it.

For the sake of the Mongolian people it is to be hoped that this does happen soon, for the old church, despite all its poetry and fantasy, has degenerated to such an extent that it has become the people's bitterest scourge.

The new church in Mongolia will undoubtedly seek its inspiration in, and direct its pilgrimages towards, the East, and the recent deaths of the Dalai Lama and Panchen Bogdo in rapid succession will make it possible to convince even the old and conservative that this is the will of the gods.

Colonel SMALLWOOD: May I ask the Lecturer whether, in his opinion, the considerably increased poverty of the Mongols, in recent years, is due to increased Russian influence in that country?

The LECTURER: I do not think the poverty of the Mongols is due so much to Russian influence as to other factors. There is a very great difference between Lamaism and the old religion of the Mongols in the days of their power: Shamanism. Shamanism, the Black Faith, was at one time the religion of all northern Asia, and, it seems, of Europe also. It survived in Europe among the Lapps in Sweden as lately as one hundred years ago. Lamaism was introduced into Mon-

golia about three hundred years ago. It—that is to say, Buddhism, of which it is a form—came really from India via Tibet. The strongest support of the Lamaist church in Mongolia came from the Emperors of China, because they thought the adoption of Lamaism would make the Mongols bad fighters. The Emperors had always been afraid of the Mongols beyond the Wall. The lamas found they could not make the Mongols turn from their Shamans. But finally they told them that their old gods were being converted to Buddhism also; and then the Mongols agreed to be converted along with their gods. This loyalty of theirs was a fine thing. Thus the poverty of the Mongols is not only on account of the Russians, but largely due to the degradation of the Lamaist church. Sixty per cent. of the men becoming lamas leaves only 40 per cent free to work for the community, to hunt, or to look after the cattle. On my last expedition I saw signs which seem to indicate that the Mongols may once more enjoy prosperity, and the general opinion among them is that the bad years are past.

In answer to another question the Lecturer added: The Japanese in Hsingan-Mongolia have tried to get the Mongols to take to farming. In those parts of the country where the inhabitants are strongly interbred with Chinese I think they will succeed; but further to the west, where the nomads are of purer Mongolian stock, I understand the authorities are changing their farming policy in favour of live stock.

H.E. the DANISH MINISTER: It has been a great pleasure to listen to my fellow-countryman's lecture, and to sit in an audience that has followed with so intelligent an interest what he has had to say. May I extend the thanks of myself, and I am sure of my countryman, Mr. Haslund, to the Royal Central Asian Society, our hosts on this occasion. (Applause.)

SIR PERCY SYKES: We thank Mr. Haslund most heartily for his lecture, and hope he may lead yet another expedition to his chosen field of study.

NORTHERN IRAQ

By CAPTAIN C. H. GOWAN, M.C.

Notes on an informal address given on January 27, 1938, Major-General C. J. Bruce Hay, C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., in the Chair.

I THINK the simplest way to deal with an informal lecture of this sort will be to take it in the form of a motor run round the country, and then to deal with any matters that arise as we happen to see them.

I will take it that you have arrived at Mosul, travelling first by the Orient and then the Taurus Express, which will have taken you some three hours, weather conditions being all right, from railhead at Tel Kuchuk.

On the way to Mosul you will have seen occasional dumps of pipes and clouds of smoke, the outward and visible signs of the British Oil Development Company, which has done a certain amount of prospecting, but is now at a place called Qaiyarah, where they are trying to get some decent oil. What they have is said to be thick and pretty well immovable. The optimistic geologists hope that they will get something which they will be able to move reasonably cheaply if they work from the upper strata to the lower. The Company was originally formed by British, Italian, and German capital. It is now controlled by the Iraq Petroleum Company, whose headquarters are at Kirkuk, and they run the Mosul part as well as their own.

Also on the way you will have seen lengths of earth work. These are the partly built track of the old German-Baghdad Railway, mostly built by our prisoners of war; possibly some of it will be used for the new railway which is in process of construction now. It is being taken on standard gauge to Mosul and will connect with the Turkish-Syrian and European lines. Rolling stock is being built now in England, and amongst other luxuries an air-conditioned train is actually in course of construction in London.

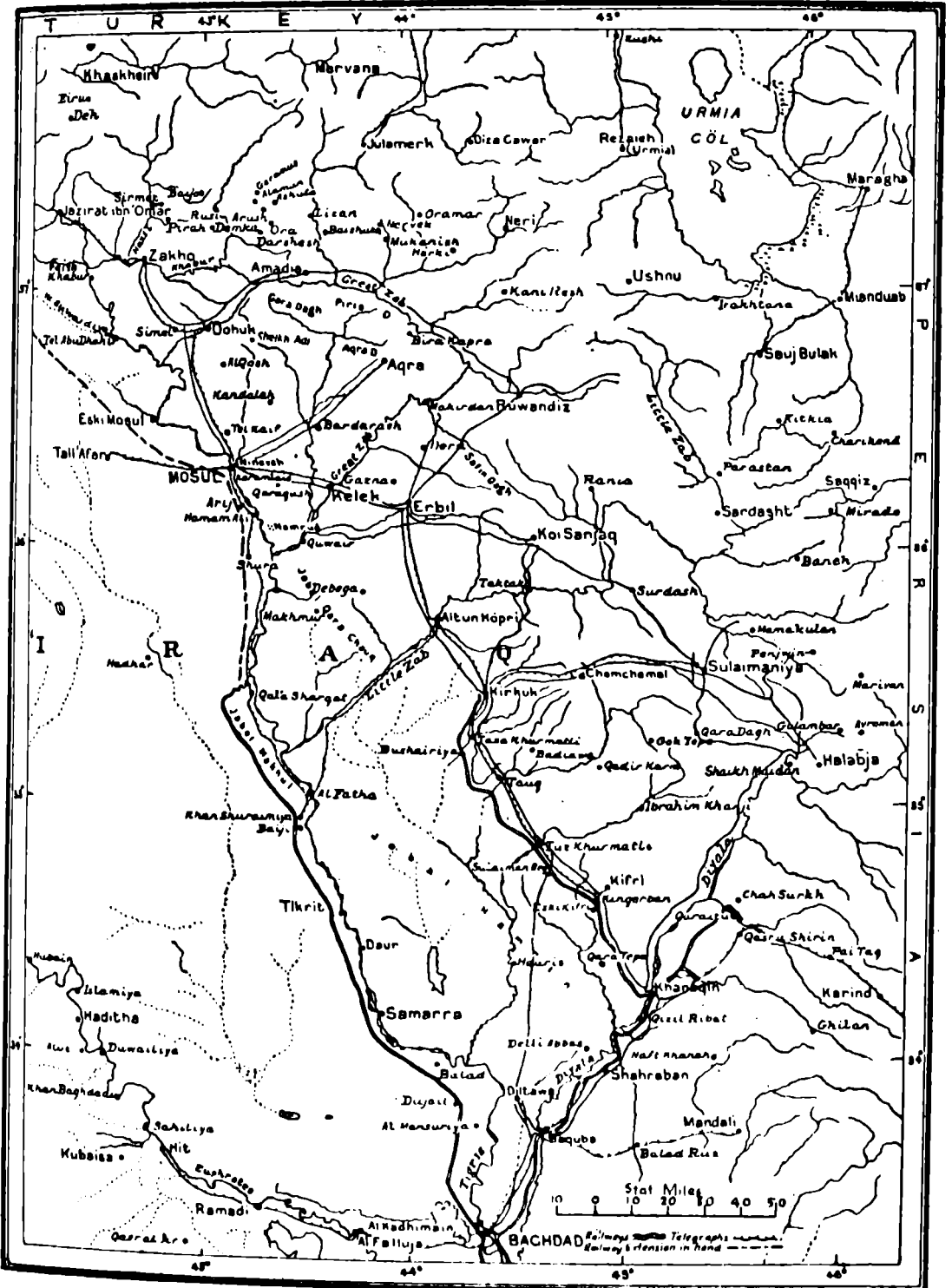
There are a good many doubts as to whether that railway policy is right. Some people say that it is rather fantastic to sink all this money on railways when one can have a large 20-seater, air-conditioned bus, get into it at five o'clock in the evening of a summer's day and get out of it at Damascus at seven next morning, as clean as one got in, perfectly

fresh, and having had a remarkably comfortable journey. At times the service does break down, but normally speaking it is very good.

From Mosul we have roads out to Zakkho and up to Amadia in the hills, near which has been for a good many years now a Royal Air Force summer station. On the way you pass Simel, of tragic memories for the Assyrians.

Last year well over five thousand Iraqis left the country to spend their summer abroad; the richer ones came to Europe, but a great many others went to the Lebanon and parts of Syria. Projects for an Iraqi hill station all come up against the fact that all their best country is along a narrow stretch near the Iranian and Turkish frontiers. Iraq has many beautiful places in the mountain country, with good water supplies and a reasonably good climate, but by very bad luck they are all just on the frontier, and no Government can possibly face the expense of starting summer stations there. The Baghdadi, who will be the man who wants a summer station, is accustomed now to cinemas and ice and fans, and certainly is not going to sit under a little shelter and just do nothing all day at a frontier station. So starting summer stations means a very large expenditure, and at present the question is quite insoluble. The last Cabinet but three or four began to investigate the question seriously during the year before the *coup d'état*, but before they had even started the whole thing had become a political roundabout, and by the time they came to see the places recommended in the hills near Sulaimani it was too late.

One noticeable thing about the Mosul area is that, politically speaking, the Kurdish question does not exist there. The trouble really began when a tribe called the Goyan, who lived just across the frontier, murdered and clipped the ears of an officer and sent them round as a fiery cross, and in 1919 fairly long-drawn operations were carried out in that part of the country. Since then there has been no Kurdish question there. The Kurdish question starts with Arbil and comes to a head in Sulaimani, but in Mosul, apart from the Turkish frontier question, the chief difficulty is the Assyrian question. That has been thrashed out often, and I do not think this is the time or the place to go into it. There still are a great number of Assyrians scattered about in the Mosul area, apart from the people up in the Khabur, and there are some few in the Arbil area and larger numbers in Kirkuk and Sulaimani. Not all of them are by any means in the condition of which their protagonists speak, and this came out very clearly during the enquiry as to whether they wanted to be settled on the Ghab, in



Syria—that badly thought out scheme which crashed before it started. The investigating officer found that when he asked people whether they wanted to go, he was not infrequently met with the counter-question, "Shall I be able to send my Kurd shepherd with my two hundred sheep?" The Assyrian can be extremely thrifty. The very small strip of mountain country in the Ghab area, so essential to grazing, was quite insufficient for the number of animals.

While we are on this question it should not be overlooked that the Assyrians are very clearly divided into categories of fighting men and non-fighting men, the latter including the Jelu and the Baz tribes. The Jelus were the tinsmiths and the ironsmiths of this country. They used to come down in the autumn and go back again to their highlands for the warmer weather. Similarly the Baz tribe did all the best of the building, excellent stone buildings, and so were craftsmen. They have been employed largely by the Iraq Petroleum Company and the Iraq Railways, and also—as the Armenians have done in other parts of the Near East—they have taken to the business of taxi and lorry driving; lorry driving demands a very careful man, who is prepared to work long hours and stay out for three days with a broken-down lorry with no food, which the Assyrian, like the Armenian, seems rather to specialize in.

From Mosul then we have a road up to Amadia and the Greater Zab. There is an inner road called the North Trunk Road from Mosul downwards. That is tarred practically right through from Arbil to Kirkuk. It links up with the Arbil-Rowanduz-Tabriz road, about which Mr. Hamilton has written. Commercially that road has turned out a very great disappointment. It was hoped that all the trade from that part of Iran would come pouring down it and on westwards to the sea. It has not done so, and it was unfortunate that Riza Shah Pahlevi took the other policy, of railways to the Black Sea, which has practically killed the Rowanduz-Tabriz road.

Arbil is a very quiet, peace-loving area, where the Kurd is showing his best form by settling down amongst the Arabs as an agriculturist. The Arbil plain is inhabited almost entirely by one tribe, the Dizai. Their country is quite marvellously cultivated, and, except for very small strips, it is all rain cultivation. Their organization is good, and they are exceedingly prosperous; it is from there that the great bulk of the northern grain comes down.

Up till last year thousands of tons of grain were moved by rafts, but the raft trade has been killed by the railways and by the improved

standard of building in Baghdad. As a result last year all this grain came by lorry, and every station all the way down the Euphrates, along which the railway runs, was jammed, choked, and glutted with grain. There had been a very considerable rise in price. Germany, Japan, and England were buying, and naturally the railways could not have foreseen that. They could not keep their very small amount of rolling stock up to the standard wanted, and every station was crowded out with grain waiting to be taken down.

Passing Arbil across the Lesser Zab and from there onwards to Kirkuk, a distance of about forty-five miles, we begin to see the pillars of smoke by day and fire by night which betoken the activity of the Iraq Petroleum Company. The oil is collected here and taken across the desert to Hadithah, where the line bifurcates to Haifa and to Tripoli. The field is about sixty miles long, and dotted about are the wells, which seem to produce their oil perfectly happily. There is a certain amount of development going on to the north. The Iraq Petroleum Company has during the past two years spent a great deal of money on new plant, which takes out the sulphur-bearing gases from the oil. The lighter gases are burnt off in enormous flares just near the stabilization plant. Those and other flares had rather an odd effect on the air race to Australia two years ago. We were in Kirkuk at the time, and about 9.30 at night we heard the roar of very powerful aeroplanes. Some of them came straight over; others went round and round, and finally one of them landed. Obviously those flares were visible from a very great distance on a clear night; what they thought they were I cannot imagine, but certainly something quite important, and they all came to look at them. The actual winners, Black and Scott, landed in Kirkuk at the aerodrome, then maintained by one or two men of the Royal Air Force. They landed, asked where they were, were told, asked the distance to Baghdad, and then asked for petrol. The N.C.O. in charge gave them a few tins, and with a wave of the hand they were away, leaving the N.C.O. with no receipt. They arrived in Baghdad, and the first thing that met them was the demand for their signature for the petrol! Without that petrol I do not think they could possibly have won.

At Kirkuk there is the "burning fiery furnace," the tomb of Daniel, and a piece of carpet definitely authenticated as having been given to the ancestor of the present owner by the Prophet himself. It is not very much to look at, but it is of enormous traditional value: so much so that a Turkish Vali got it into his hands shortly before the

war and tried to ship it out by sea, but a direct order from the Yildiz Kiosk was sent, ordering him to return it.

The oil-field run their own road, and to cross the river they have a Blondin ferry able to take an armoured car, which is slung up in the air about forty or fifty feet and then travels across the river. They have a similar ferry across the Euphrates.

From Kirkuk we go into Sulaimani, where we run up against the Kurdish problem. This Kurdish problem is tangled up with the language problem and the rights of small nations and so forth, things that are so much talked about and so firmly disregarded in most places. Actually there is very little foundation for it, in my opinion. It was chiefly run by the Sheikhs of Barzinja, people who are in a different position to the Sheikhs elsewhere in Islam. Their history is interesting. Their great-great-great-ancestors were two brothers from Hamadan, who were making the pilgrimage to Medina and Mecca. The night before they got to Medina they were having their last sleep before going on, sharing the traditional Oriental pillow, a stone. During the night the Archangel Gabriel came and said, "That stone I am going to throw, and where it lands you will start a shrine and a cult." In due course they followed, and the stone landed at the village of Barzinja, near Sulaimani. The proof of it is that the stone is there. It is about a foot across, built into the wall of the Mosque. It is highly polished by the hands and lips of the devout, so that is sufficient proof of the story being perfectly true. From there this cult spread all over the southern part of Kurdistan. These people were of little importance until just after the Crimean War, when the Turks had collected a large army to defend themselves against the Russians—an army which, owing to British action, was not used, so they thought, "This is just our chance. Let us smite all these little Kurdish independent peoples."

There was the Bedr Khan in Bohtan. There was the Blind Pasha of Amadia and the Baban of Sulaimani, and so on. They were the temporal lords of Kurdistan, and the Turks brought their army down and smashed them up one after another. As far as Sulaimani was concerned, the Barzinja Sheikhs took their place.

Kurdistan comes in a sort of sausage-shaped bend, from Damascus through Kharput down to Luristan. It is quite impossible to expect that any collection of tribes with no sort of natural economic or sociological centre should combine. Your Kurd from one end can barely understand your Kurd from the other. So the Kurdish question is dying

away very fast, and practically speaking now there is nothing to it. There is a dear old man up in Rowanduz who makes his own woodcuts and prints little books and cards very successfully, and he remains a product of Kurdish culture, a Kurdish Caxton; but more and more, as the influence of Baghdad or urban culture comes out, so the Kurdish movement is bound to die.

For the past few years the Kurds outside Iraq have been hardly treated. The Turks have had frequent military operations against them, and you will have noticed how heavily guarded the stations were throughout the Eastern part of Turkey.

The Iranians are more cunning. They pick a quarrel with each tribal group in turn and usually strike in midwinter, when the tribes are immobilized, taking advantage of the resentment felt at the tyranny often exercised by the dominant families.

The language law was devised in the interest of the Kurds, but it has worked very much to their disadvantage, for you now get official correspondence coming up from Baghdad in an Arabic which is getting more and more developed into a sort of official journalese. It has to be translated, and this makes it very difficult for the Kurd who only knows Kurdish and stops promotion. It also accentuates the jealousy between the urban man and the agricultural man.

We have some queer troubles at times. Four or five years ago there was a little set of people of the Nakshbandi cult, who suddenly started a craze for nudism. It came out when a policeman went with an ordinary judgment summons to a little village. The Mosque is the meeting-place and common ground to everybody. The policeman was sitting down in the Mosque when all the young men and women of the village stripped and dived into the Mosque tank. As he was an old-fashioned policeman, he protested violently at this very anti-social, anti-Islamic conduct. They told him to clear out, and, as he was alone, he did, and reported it. He was laughed at, but the next day in came to Sulaimani a party of wandering butchers. They, too, had protested and had been violently beaten up by the nudists! The Sheikh who started this was called Haji Sheikh Arif. He formed a sort of secret society; the entrance fee was paid in kind, rice or sugar, and then you were made free of the society. You went for mixed "hiking" over the mountains, and, of course, no work. The no-work slogan very soon became exceedingly unpopular with the landlords, and it was not difficult to squash the movement. The landlords cut themselves a thicker cudgel than usual and it soon ended. We sent some of them

into the Baghdad lunatic asylum, and by the time they got there they were extremely sane and everything went much more happily.

In this part of the country the commercial life-blood is tobacco. It is a brand of tobacco that is never seen abroad, because it is very mild and the whole world now smokes the coarser Virginian. The old way was just to let it grow, and as soon as it ripened pull the leaf and let it dry in the sun, resulting in uneven colour and taste. The Government got an expert to spend the best part of eighteen months investigating it and trying to improve it, and he put up a long report, which politically was damned from the start because he strongly recommended against Government control and Government interference. Of course, Government interference might have meant large numbers of jobs for the cousins and relatives of ministers, so his proposals did not go through.

Just one word about link roads. From Kirkuk the Administration is running a road to Koi Sanjak, which will link on with the Mosul-Arbil-Sulaimani road. Much more important is the carrying on of the Kirkuk road down from Sulaimani to Halebja and Baghdad. That is going to be a road of very great importance to the southern end of the Sulaimani valley, where some years ago experiments in cotton growing were made. The only thing that has stopped cotton growing on a large scale has been the distance to ginning factories.

We have another rather interesting road at Penjwin, which was pushed through under protest during rather rowdy times and simply as a military road. That road, if you could estimate it, must have paid for itself many hundreds of times.

As part of their very nationalist spirit, and one of the symptoms of it, the merchant in Iran has to get a trading licence to export before he can import, and he has to export a corresponding amount of goods. There is an old story of the hide merchant of Tehran, who had £8,000 worth of hides to export to Russia. He got a licence on condition he accepted Russian goods. He took his hides up to Enzeli, and the Russians showed him £8,000 worth of grand pianos for his take-over! That is a fair sort of sample of what used to go on.

Sugar and tea come into Basrah by sea. If declared for re-export to Iran they pay only 1 per cent. transit duty, but actually a great deal is declared for Iraq, pays the normal 100 per cent. import duty, and then after meeting transport costs by rail and lorry is smuggled out of the country, presumably at a profit. This trade is decreasing, but the old-clothes trade of Khaniqin is as flourishing as ever. Street after street of the bazaar is chock-full of old European uniforms and overcoats.

As the Iranian control of their frontier areas increases, this trade will decrease. The Government is making great advances, but the frontier is a long way from the capital, and the control of communications is poor. In the long run, the firmer Iranian frontier control is, the firmer will be the Iraqi.

Major-General H. ROWAN-ROBINSON: First of all I must say how very much I have enjoyed being taken again round the country I knew so well. Naturally the chief points I want to make are points of query. I would very much like to know how far the Kurds are entering into the government of the country; and are they sending their representatives to Parliament; and are these representatives taking an active part? They seem to be content practically everywhere, content at Barzan and equally content in the southern part round Sulaimani. Also what has happened to Sheikh Mahmud and the old Sheikh of Barzan?

You mentioned the road up at Rowanduz; just beyond the gorge there was a road that turned north into the Barzan up to the Ruh Kuchuk—how is that going? Is there a good Iranian road beyond Penjwin?

To go to a different part. Is there any possibility of developing the oil supply more than it is developed at present? I believe we get about 4,000,000 tons that way, and it might be possible to double the pipeline and double the supply.

Captain GOWAN: About the Kurdish active participation in the government of the country: well, after all, we have elections and there is Parliament. But they really have not improved. They are just exactly the same. I am speaking under correction as to the last election, but I very much doubt if there is any change at all. There is a lively sense of services to be rendered by the member. For the Kurdish element to take an active part in elections can be ruled out. He is actually just a dummy. There are one or two people who, by virtue of their having a little more intelligence than the others, are taking an interest, but they have not made their weight felt yet. All the political excitement has been in Iraq proper.

As regards taking part in the administration, there is a steadily increasing number of Kurds who are doing so, but again they have this great obstacle of language to overcome. We are trying to get a secondary school for them in Kurdish territory or very near it, so that they get up to the fairly high standard required nowadays for the senior administrative positions.

As regards the tribal leaders, Barzan is at last out of it and all his friends with him. There is only one place for them, and that is down on the sea. Sheikh Mahmud and his little clique are in Baghdad. Every now and then somebody screams, "May we have our Sheikh back?" and fortunately the answer is No. The longer he stays there, the less chance of his ever going back. I do not think there is any fear of him going back.

As to roads, the Rowanduz-Amadia road is steadily moving up and is in process of being joined by the Mosul road. There again money was wasted, not only on military operations, but on the financing of people who made the military operations necessary. The money was simply thrown away on people in all sorts of ways. The Penjwin road only goes as far as Penjwin. We deliberately stopped at the little village. If we had taken it on there would have been a possibility for the Sennah road being brought on to meet it.

As regards the oil-field and its development, new drilling is going on constantly both by the Iraq Petroleum Company and by the British Oil Development Company. Just above the Fathah Gorge on the Tigris the geologists have selected almost the most inaccessible place for the heaviest of drilling operations. Technically it is a very serious problem. You have to get through at about 3,000 feet, one layer. You have to stop off the oil and the gas, and then get through into a lower layer. It is being done, but it is a ticklish operation.

As regards doubling the pipeline, that is all provided for, but the price of steel is too high and the price of oil a shade too low to make it worth while.

A lady MEMBER: Could we know a little about the education?

Captain GOWAN: In the primary schools—which are steadily growing in number—in the Kurdish areas the language of instruction is Kurdish, and in the Turkish areas round Kirkuk it is Turkish. In the mixed areas you have Arabic, Turkish, and Kurdish all being taught side by side, with the most appalling confusion, especially as we had two years ago the south-country schoolmasters who were up to the neck in politics.

The progress in English is quite phenomenal among the boys of fourteen or fifteen; their accent is queer, but it is amazing what a lot of English they do know.

Also in health there is improvement. There is a dispensary at almost every administrative headquarters. At all police stations there is a small supply of drugs.

Also veterinary services are going on very well. We are at last conquering the aversion of the Kurdish shepherd to getting his sheep dipped because he has found that it really has paid. The trouble is to get them dipped in spring and autumn on account of the limited amount of water available.

Lieut.-Colonel C. R. BARKE: As regards the Assyrians: are the Assyrians whom you have told us about, who are settling down, mixing with other people? Are they working side by side with the Arabs, other Christians and the Jews in the same way as in the old days? Are they mixing in that way and not in any way as outcasts or feeling themselves superior to the others, so that they have a real future there as citizens?

Captain GOWAN: I would say myself that that is so. Some of the Assyrians are very difficult people, but generally speaking they are settling down. I am speaking more of the part I know best. In Mosul and Sulaimani they definitely are settling down to a great extent, but all the time they have unrest caused by the schemes which are put up, people talking about British Guiana and Northern Australia and so on, and it makes it very difficult for them to consider themselves as permanent residents of Iraq. They do not realize what an enormous business it would be to move them.

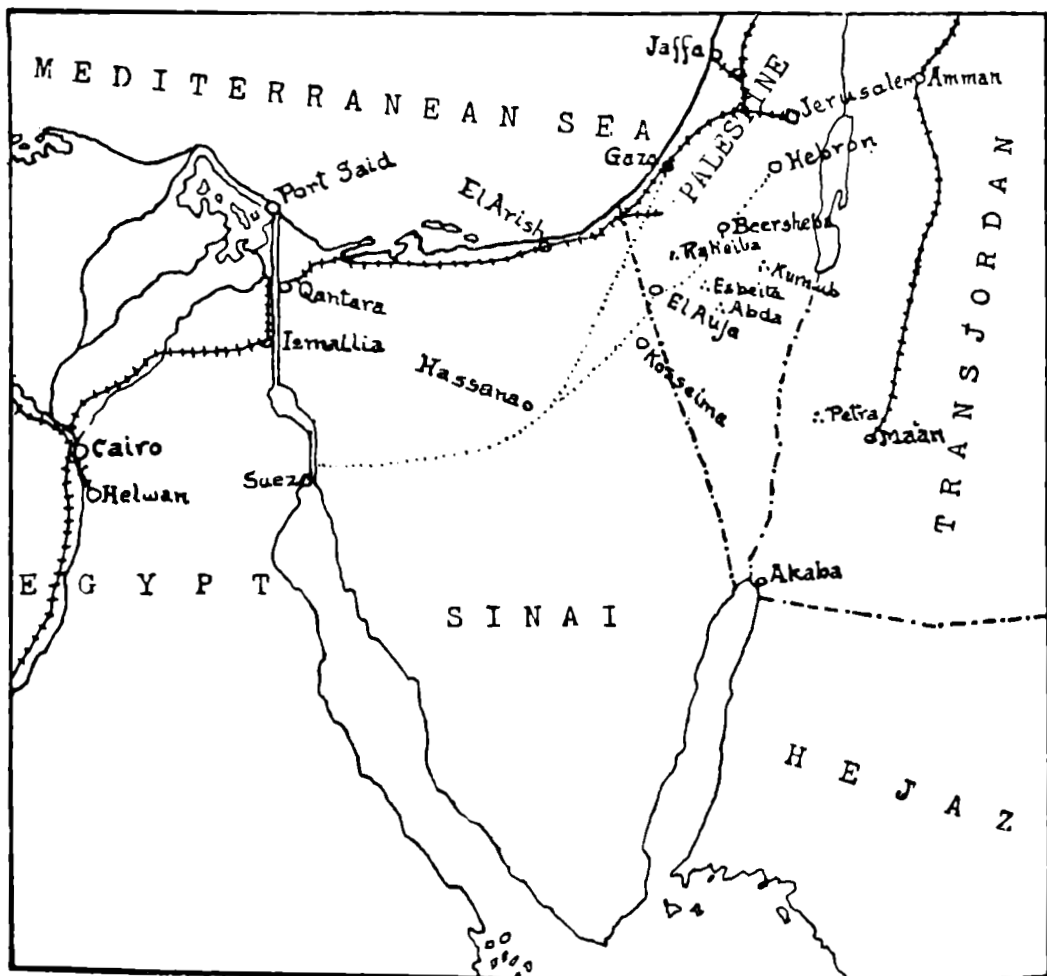
Sir NIGEL DAVIDSON: Is an Assyrian allowed to own any lands?

Captain GOWAN: If he has Iraqi nationality; some have and some have not. There again, as soon as the settlement-abroad question came up, I think definite orders against granting nationality were given.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to Captain Gowan for his extremely interesting lecture, which was carried with acclamation.

SOUTHERN PALESTINE AND ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR SETTLEMENT

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



Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on Wednesday, February 23, 1938, Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty to introduce to you your lecturer for this evening, Major Jarvis, who is going to speak on the southern portion of Palestine.

Eight months ago there was a meeting here for a discussion on the Report of the Royal Commission on Palestine, when there were somewhat sharply divided views put forward by protagonists on the Jew and the Arab sides. That debate was reported in the Journal for October, and to that report there was appended an article by Major Jarvis on this area of Southern Palestine. Since then Major Jarvis has been lecturing to Members of Parliament and other interested sections of the British public to give them further information regarding this very important, interesting, and much sought after area of Palestine. I will now ask him to read his paper.

THE proposed partition of Palestine has brought to the fore the question of the future of the southern portion, which is known as the Negeb. I believe the Jewish idea is, as this is almost entirely depopulated and not opened up in any way, that it might very easily be added to the proposed Jewish State. I may say there is another school of thought that thinks it might possibly remain as a British mandate with a view to opening it up to Jewish colonists. And there is a third school of thought, quite a small one, that considers the southern portion of it, that abutting on the Gulf of Akaba, might be retained as a small British Crown Colony. I am not advocating any of these views; I am only telling you what is being discussed.

The first thing is to decide exactly what constitutes this Negeb. I have seen one suggestion which gives the following boundaries: North, thirty miles of the Mediterranean coast from the Egyptian frontier up to the north of Gaza, then in a straight line across to Beersheba down to the Dead Sea; east, the Transjordan frontier, which runs from the south end of the dead Sea down to the Gulf of Akaba; south, the Gulf of Akaba; west, the Sinai frontier.

The population of this part of the Negeb is rather difficult to get at because they have never actually counted up that particular area, but I believe it is something like 50,000. Of that 50,000, 29,000 are settled inhabitants living in the villages of Gaza, Rafa, Deir el Belah, and also at Beersheba; the remainder are real Arabs or Bedouin.

The people living on this coast are not Arabs at all. They are very probably descended from the Philistines or the Jebusites. There is a very strong strain of Roman and Greek blood in them, and also a strong mixture of Turkish blood, owing to Turkish soldiers, discharged when they were time-expired, not being expatriated. I have enquired into the history of the families in El Arish, who are one and all related to those at Gaza, and so far as I could discover none was descended from the nomad Bedouins. Now that the Arabs have come into the limelight, however, being an Arab has become very popular, and I know several people in El Arish who are claiming Arab descent. One family, called Shurufa, say that they are descended direct from the Prophet, though, as a matter of fact, I know they are descended from an Albanian cobbler. One of the most amusing episodes of this "Arab-birth complex" is a Palestine official I knew. He was born, bred, and educated in a small suburb of Jerusalem and had never worn anything else but European clothes. The last time I saw him he was wearing a most enormous Arab cloak with the Arab shawl and headdress, a

belt full of daggers and a great curved sword, and was one of the most savage-looking Arabs of the desert I have ever seen.

That deals with the villagers, of whom there are 29,000. Though not true Arabs, they are really a very fine type of people, very hard-working, and to a certain extent they have initiative and enterprise.

East of Gaza and Deir el Belah is the Terabin tribe, who are nomads, but a certain number of these have become settled on the land and are now building gardens and houses, and those who admire and enthuse about the nomad will think it very regrettable.

South of them at Rafa is another tribe called the Remelat. They have quite ceased to be nomads and are definitely settled on the land.

East again, in the direction of Beersheba, you have the Teaha, a nomad tribe, and east and south of them, spreading down to the Dead Sea, you have the Azazma, who are well-known nomads in the correct sense of the word. They are mostly camel breeders.

The point I want to make clear is that in the northern portion of this Negeb area, which the Jewish State think it might take in, you have already a very large and virile population who are cultivating the land to the best of their Arab ability, and the handing of this over to a Jewish State would only lead to increased bitterness. I should certainly bracket Gaza with Hebron and Nablus as the three most fanatical towns in Palestine.

Of course, up to date the Bedouins have not greatly interested themselves in this struggle between the Jews and the Arabs further north, for they have not really come into close contact with the Jews. There are a certain number of the young men of the tribes who have gone up to have some excitement, but the sober, level-headed men of the tribes are not vastly interested. Arab propagandists would have us believe that the Bedouin is burning to march to the assistance of his brothers, the cultivators, but the fact of the matter is that the Bedouin does not regard the cultivator as his brother at all. He looks upon the cultivator as his milch cow, and the cultivator dislikes him and is frightened of him. This is a factor that exists in Sinai and in Transjordan and Arabia, but in Palestine at the present time one has rather lost sight of it owing to the Jewish controversy. Personally, I would not take these manifestos signed by Arabs from all over the world too seriously. I am referring to those that have come from the Yemen and from Southern Arabia, from Northern Syria, and also from Italian Libya. It is my experience that once an Arab is satisfied that he is not putting his name to a promissory note or an I.O.U. he will put his name to anything,

and I would guarantee to get a manifesto signed by all the Sheikhs and Arabs of Southern Palestine and Sinai as a protest against the demolition of the fishermen's cottages at Newlyn or for better lighting arrangements in the Tate Gallery.

A few words about the land and its possibilities. The coastal belt from Rafa to Gaza is very light sandy loam, and water can be found at depths of from six to one hundred feet. There is a certain amount of citrus fruit grown, but it is not quite up to the quality of that produced further north. However, olives do quite well there, and apricots, and there is a large amount of tomatoes and water-melons grown during the winter and spring.

In the main I should say it is fairly well exploited, and there are quite a number of gardens springing up, gardens of the same kind as the Jewish gardens further north, and evidently inspired by those gardens. East of that again you get a vast clay loam plain, on which the Arabs grow their rain-crop barley. This is not a very great success. The average is in five years one bumper crop of about eight to ten bushels an acre, one very poor crop, where the cultivators just get their seed back, and three moderate crops. I do not think that you can really do much more than the Arab is doing there at present unless you bore for wells. The subsoil water would be anything from one hundred to three hundred feet, and boring for water at that depth is not always an economic factor. There is also the risk that if you get your water it may be too saline.

South again of this stretch of clay loam land you get wilder country. Here you have a gravel clay plateau or else dune country intersected by wadis. Here again I do not think that one can do very much more than the Arab is doing to-day. The anti-scouring dams in the wadis might be in better order, and that is all.

It is when you get south of this area that you come to a very interesting situation. South of this line on the map from Auja to Beersheba you come to remains of an intensive Roman settlement in which there were six large towns that accommodated from five to ten thousand people each—namely, Auja and Esbeita, north of that Khalasa, then Rahieba, and southwards Abda and Kurnub.

The people who lived in those towns did not rely on the wells because they were few and on the whole unsatisfactory. The water is rather saline. They relied almost entirely on the rainfall and collected it by a variety of cisterns. Every house had a cistern in the basement, as they have in Jerusalem. In every town also there were enormous

cement reservoirs in which the whole of the rain was collected, and dotted all over the mountain-side were these underground cisterns or harabas carved out of the living rock. It is very difficult to say how many there are. In Sinai I knew of the presence of six or seven, but when I started to clean these out and plant olive trees in the vicinity the Arabs pointed out very many more. They are entirely filled with silt, and there is nothing to show where they are beyond the cut-stone in a heap on the surface, and this is now so weathered as to be difficult to detect. I should say there are at least a hundred of these harabas in this area. When I tell you that most of these harabas are about the size of a large room and the same depth, and they have all been carved out by small hand-tools, you will realize that there must have been a very great necessity for them and the fullest use was made of them.

The story of this late Roman civilization is told in that very interesting book by Sir Leonard Woolley and Colonel Lawrence called *The Wilderness of Zin*. This was published many years ago by the Palestine Exploration Fund, and more recently by Jonathan Cape. It is a most fascinating book; it is written entirely for archæologists or those specially interested in this area, but there is very great charm in the writing, much of Lawrence's famous touch, and I may say that Sir Leonard Woolley writes every bit as well, in my opinion. The story of this is that Lawrence and Woolley went out in the early part of 1914 to make an examination of all the archæological remains in this part of Palestine, and were under the direction of Colonel Newcombe. I may say that the topographical work Colonel Newcombe did in the vicinity of Akaba in early 1914 was very useful in late 1914, when we went to war with Turkey.



The Roman civilization and the prosperity it brought began somewhere about the second century and reached its height during the sixth century. It was due to the fact that when Rome took over Palestine and Syria the general improvement in public security had a great effect on trade and caused an enormous increase in the population. The population increased to such an extent that the people had to go out and search for new land, and ultimately they took up this area which is in the south of Palestine. It was on the main trade routes, an important point to consider. There were three main trade routes in the East that united on Akaba. There was one that went from Akaba up the Wadi Araba into Petra, and thence north through Amman to

Jerash. There was another route that went straight up from Akaba through these old Roman towns to Esbeita and bifurcated there, with one going on to Beersheba and Hebron, whilst the other led to Gaza, where goods were shipped to Europe. There was another route that came from Suez along the Darb el Shur and went straight across to Esbeita and then on to Hebron. A good bit of this prosperity might have been due to these trade routes, which cannot be reconstructed: that trade is gone for ever.

There is no very interesting theory as to why this civilization suddenly died out in this Roman area. One theory is that it is due to the rainfall which deteriorated. Against that is the considered opinion of both Lawrence and Woolley that it had not altered to any great degree in two thousand years, and it is also the opinion of various geologists who have been studying that part of the world. They one and all say it has not changed to any great extent. I personally think it has deteriorated slightly, say by one rainstorm less a year, and one rainstorm at the right time is a very important matter. But you cannot say fourteen years' experience of an age-old desert is much to go on.

The Arabs say there are cycles of thirty years, thirty dry and thirty wet, and that we are just coming to the end of a thirty dry period. This is borne out by a monk at the Monastery of St. Catherine's who is over a hundred years old. He agrees with the thirty-year theory. He has seen two thirty years and is just finishing his third, and looks as if he were likely to go on and see two or three more. After all, there is nothing much to worry one up at that monastery; the monks do not have to deal with income tax returns.

There is another theory that the humus of the soil is blown away. This is a thing that is worrying the authorities in the Middle West of America and certain parts of Canada. I do not agree here, because I do not believe there ever was much natural humus in that desert. It was all collected by terracing and dams. That humus which has been blown away could very easily be collected again. I got in Sinai eight inches to a foot in two years on some of my new terracing.

The most probable reason, I think, for the decline of this Roman civilization and cultivation was the fall of the Roman Empire and the Arab invasion. When Rome went, public security went. There were no police and no central authority, and these towns out in the desert were cut off from civilization. They were subjected to Bedouin raids. There was no initiative, no urge to work, and general stagnation set in, as is always the case when the Bedouin nomad gets the upper hand.

They probably hung on for one to three hundred years, and then I suppose gradually the people died out or left these towns and went to some more suitable spot. After this the Arabs' camels broke through the fencing and started to eat the trees, and the whole area went back to desert very rapidly.

My view is that if this Roman area accommodated from 50,000 to 100,000 people—this is the figure that most of the experts who have studied it put it at—I do not think it is unreasonable to suppose that some 25,000 might ultimately make a living there now; and if the Jews think they could make something of it, there is no objection to them trying. There are only about one thousand people existing in this area to-day, and they are living in extreme want and on the verge of starvation. There are a few of the Azazma and Teaha tribe, and in the south there are one or two of the Sinai Leheiwat and Transjordan Howutat, eternally squabbling over charcoal and grazing rights.

I do not want you to run away with the idea that I am advocating some "wild-cat" desert reclamation scheme, because I am fully alive to the difficulties that exist from encroaching sand, from dry years, from high winds, and the pests that may attack the plants, but I think it is worth trying if there are people who want to try. The policy I deplore is that of the defeatist, who says, "Nobody has done anything there for a thousand years, so why try?" I should like them to have a look at the Libyan desert and see what has happened there with that 350 miles of desert land which was once a thriving Roman province. In 1918 there was not a single olive tree in the whole of the coastal belt. Since then, thanks to the energy and initiative of the Governor, Captain Green, and Mr. Wilfred Jennings-Bramley, there are now over a quarter of a million olive trees bearing in that country, and more being planted every year.

Lawrence and Woolley said in their book, "We believe that to-day with ordinary methods of farming the Negeb could be made to be as fertile as ever it was. Only with so many parts of the world's surface waiting to be reclaimed it is not worth while." When Lawrence and Woolley wrote this in 1914 they could not, of course, foresee the situation that exists to-day, with thousands of land-starved Jews, denied the right to live elsewhere, clamouring to get into Palestine, and the Arabs saying that the country is already over-populated, that there is general unemployment, and they do not want any more Jews. With regard to this unemployment and misery in Palestine, I have no statistics from which to quote. I cannot say that I know the northern part very intimately,

but I do know that during the whole of the fourteen years I was in Sinai there were never less than two thousand of my own people from El Arish permanently in Palestine illegally and without permits or passports. I sent my police up and brought them back again and again. They were punished and imprisoned, and back they went to Palestine once more. I think it is rather difficult to make out a case for misery and want and unemployment in Palestine when two thousand of their compatriots come in from adjoining countries of their own free will to share in that misery and want.

Of course, as regards this Roman area, there is no question of a land flowing with milk and honey. The whole scheme requires capital, and, above all, very hardy and resolute settlers who would be willing to work in the face of every conceivable disappointment and setback; but settlers of that sort do exist in the world. You cannot reconstruct the havoc that has been created in thirteen hundred years at once, it all takes time.

I am not advocating Jewish settlement any more than Arab. If the Arabs like to open up this area and populate it, they have first claim to it; there is no argument about that. But if they do not want it, they may as well let the Jews have it. If there is any question of finding fresh land for the Arabs, it could more suitably be found in Transjordan, which is a very much richer country. In fact, if one reconstructed only one-half of the old Roman irrigation system, there would be found room for another 100,000 inhabitants with ease.

I have not any particular axe to grind. After all, I never served in Palestine. I was an Egyptian official. My only interest in the scheme is that I have spent eighteen years of my life fighting the desert. When I went first into the Egyptian Government I was in the Libyan desert, and here I was constantly fighting encroaching sand-dunes that threatened villages and corn-land. When I left it and went to Sinai, I found myself still fighting the desert and trying to keep it back from roads, railways and gardens. I regard the desert as an enemy that has to be defeated, and one of the best ways of defeating an enemy is to attack him. In my view a desert that has been something else is definitely a reproach, if not "against Israel," at least against the man responsible for it, and if the Romans managed to make something of this area thirteen hundred years ago, surely we, with all our modern improvements, can do something with it.

One great advantage we have over the Romans is the internal combustion engine. I admit it has brought a lot of misery in its train as

well, but in the desert it is of very great value because it enables one to defeat distance. You can also bore to very great depths for artesian water by means of it, and you can pump water to great heights with the greatest ease. In this area there has been no attempt so far to bore for artesian water. I believe there has been one attempt to bore in the vicinity of Beersheba. It was a failure, but, after all, in such a large area one bore is a very trifling thing. Artesian water in this area would make all the difference between a doubtful scheme and a certainty.

The plan on page 204 shows Darb el Shur across Sinai to the Roman area. The faint white lines are old camel tracks. You cannot call that a modern by-pass exactly because Abraham and Isaac travelled on it in those days. There is the modern road, running across Sinai to Suez, with cars going on it. There is one of the old Roman towns, Esbeita, standing in a completely waterless plain. The people there were prosperous enough to have three churches and a monastery built of stone, and the population was about ten thousand. There is one Arab tent in it now and about three people only. Under every house in this small town there was a rain-water cistern as well as the large reservoirs.

We come across to Akaba, right in the south of the Negeb. The peculiarity about Akaba is that it looks very much as you expect it to be from the map. There is a quay and a Customs House. Akaba would make a first-class aeroplane base, and if anything went wrong with the Suez Canal in time of war this port, a sort of gateway to the East, might be of very great value to us.

One more point: the question of fish. The Palestine coast is very poor in every way from the point of view of fish, and nearly all Palestine's requirements are brought in from either Port Said or Sinai. The Gulf of Akaba simply teems with fish. There is the grey mullet, which may be pickled or salted, and the red mullet, the sea bream, a species of herring, various types of mackerel, small oysters, and, last but not least, the langouste or crayfish. My view is that if you ever opened up this Roman area to the north, you might also exploit the fisheries there. Arab fishermen would welcome anything in the nature of opening up the fisheries in the Gulf, because they cannot market their catches at the present time.

With regard to this reclamation I have been talking about, I am in a position to say that it can actually be done, for during my stay in Sinai I opened up one of these old Roman settlements and restored their irrigation system. It is the Wadi Gedierat and is just over the border

in Sinai, but is very similar in every respect to the places of which I have been talking. I settled the local Bedouin on it, and this was not a particularly easy task. The Arabs before the war used to cultivate about five or six acres by putting in a small mud dam. I first discovered the possibilities of it when I was partridge shooting one day up on the hillside, and when I picked up the position of the old Roman dam and the old Roman reservoir and the lines of the channels, I decided to open it up. I had not any money to do it with, but I had £700 left over from my anti-malaria grant, and I managed to stifle my conscience and use my anti-malaria money for opening up this valley, because it was infested with anopheles mosquito, and I convinced myself the best way to deal with the situation was to dam the stream and use the surplus water for cultivation. As a matter of fact, water is a very difficult thing to play with when you are not an expert, and the dam I made was not quite as watertight as I hoped. I consoled myself with the thought that even on the Assouan dam there is a certain amount of seepage, but the Assouan dam did not lose one-sixth of the water and mine did! We made another dam just below it to counteract the leak, and managed to carry off the whole of the water to the Roman reservoir. The Roman reservoir when I first saw it was filled completely to the brim with silt, and it was very difficult to tell it was a reservoir at all. From it one is able to irrigate all the land round. An immense amount of ploughing had to be done, but the whole of it is now ploughed and turned into gardens and is being worked extensively.

There is a not a very inspiring-looking little Arab, no Mussolini, as he is only about 4 feet 10 inches, but he is a very great friend of mine, because when I first started this scheme there was no great enthusiasm on the part of the Bedouin, and this little fellow saw the possibility of it from the start. After I had been working for some time he came up and asked whether iron pipes would be any good. I said they would. He said he knew where there were a lot. He told me that during the war the Turks piped this spring and carried the water fifteen miles. At the end of the war the Government sold the pipeline to a Jewish contractor, and the Jewish contractor made a contract with the Arabs to transport these water-pipes to El Arish. The Jewish contractor was a hard man and the work very heavy and the pay poor, so when they had had enough they said they had transported all the pipes, got their money and walked off, but they had left three miles of piping under the ground. As I had already appropriated £700, my conscience was becoming dulled, so I dug up those three miles of piping, which put

the whole thing on a sound financial basis. As a reward to the little Arab, I put twenty prisoners on his land and built up the walls of his garden and levelled it. I then planted it with trees—olives, nectarines, peaches, apricots, and figs. I heard him arguing with another Arab once about the respective merits of various kinds of apricots, nectarines, and peaches; prior to that he had never heard of such fruits. I saw he had put some oleanders in and asked him why he had done this. An Arab never likes to tell the truth, and the whole truth, in answer to a direct question. He said, "I put them in because they have a sweet scent and look very beautiful." This amazed me, because I never heard of an Arab having a sense of beauty. After this I used to introduce him to everyone as the only Arab in the world with a sense of beauty. One day Spinks Pasha, the Inspector-General of the Egyptian Army, came up and I told him about it. He said, "I don't believe a word of it." He called the little Arab up and shouted in Arabic, "What do you grow those oleanders for?" and the little man lost his head and said, "I grow them because I sell them as pipe-stems and get half a piastre each for them," and crash went Sinai's one touch of romance!

There is some Australian wheat grown in that valley. The people who say there is no humus or anything else left in the soil ought to see it. In the valley we discovered that the olive grew exceptionally well. I had sent to me by the Ministry of Agriculture in Egypt olives from every country—from Tunis, Cyprus, Spain, Italy, Palestine—and they all did equally well. They grew to an enormous size and very quickly, and were all bearing within four or five years. When I left there were over four thousand trees coming into bearing and new trees were being added every year. The apricots also grow extremely well, and these can be dried and are easily transported. The vines were a very great success. The orange and the grapefruit were not very good. That is because that high desert lacks the humidity which is necessary for them. There were also other fruits, such as figs and the date palm. Asparagus grows exceptionally well there. There is a very big future for asparagus there, because people in Jerusalem, Cairo, and Alexandria consume great quantities of it.

We had an agricultural show every year, which we ran like an English village show. The Arabs all turned up with their various exhibits of vegetables and fruits, and their wives with needlework and knitting, and we even had a Baby Class.

One of the criticisms I have heard is that this scheme of reopening up the old Roman cultivation system may be all right for the Bedouin,

because his standard of living is low and he can get enough out of it to just exist, but that it will not do for Europeans. There may possibly be something in this, and the new settler will certainly have to work very hard and make the most of everything, as his standard is rather higher than that of the Bedouins. On the other hand, you must remember that a settler of another race would make a better show of it than the Bedouin, because the Bedouin does not take kindly to cultivation. Even when they get the water flowing to the land, they only cultivate the easiest and flattest bits and make no attempt to level it or to clear away stones or scrub.

Moreover, I always had the feeling at the back of my mind that the whole experiment was rather in the nature of a child's watch—*i.e.*, so long as you kept turning the little spring at the top, the hands went round merrily, but if you took your hand away the watch would stop. Unless there is some incentive to keep them to it, I am afraid the Bedouin will let things go: the dam will break, the channels silt up, the animals will break in again, and the gardens will go back to the desert it was before.

Colonel S. F. NEWCOMBE: I do not know which to admire the more—the extraordinarily interesting way in which Major Jarvis has given his lecture, or the proof he gave that something can be done to grow things in that desert: he has done something with it himself, or rather made other fellows do it. He has certainly proved his point that it is possible to produce something.

When I saw it 25 years ago, I must say it looked rather hopeless, and wondered how so many people could have been maintained there in past times. Before lecturing on this area five years ago, I asked Lawrence how to explain this fairly large population. While the excavations at Tel Ajjul indicated a certain civilization there in pre-Philistine times, and before 1400 B.C., it did not account for the land further south. The gold ornaments found at Tel Ajjul may have been connected with the gold mines in Midian, and there was probably transport even in those days to the Gulf of Akaba. But later, trade was brought from the East, via the Red Sea, to Akaba, and thence along the Wadi Araba to Tel Ajjul (practically Gaza) in transit for the Mediterranean, whenever the road from Suez to Pelusium was blocked, either by war or by heavy customs and insecurity. Thus, at times, the Akaba-Gaza route became a main highway between the East and the Mediterranean.

There were other routes through the Negeb from Palestine to Egypt, but these were of less commercial value.

The Nabatæans, who were prominent from about 400 to 300 B.C. until about A.D. 50, were the merchants of that carrying trade and lived at Petra, not because it was a trading centre, but they used it as a sort of Wiesbaden, a residential place with running streams: they built temples, and theatres, and spent their money there. Petra was not a trading centre, access for transport is too steep and difficult, and it is not on a main route. In Roman or Byzantine times, silk was brought from China already woven into silk, as the export of the cocoon was forbidden on pain of death. Since only the Imperial family were allowed to wear silk, other people wore cotton with silk interwoven, as is now the custom near Aleppo. Hence silk was brought to Akaba and at Khalasa were factories where it was picked to pieces and made up with cotton fibres. Hence Khalasa, and perhaps Esbeita, became a sort of Lancashire, with a cotton and silk trade, which was exported from the port of Gaza. This would account for the large population of 100,000, which could not have been supported in that area on agriculture. Then, too, it became a religious centre, and most of the ruins, except Khalasa, are monastic. Apparently these Christian Churches continued till perhaps the twelfth century, and mosques have been traced alongside them. The silk trade probably died down in the seventh century.

Now if the Jews develop that area, would the same thing happen? No, because trade from Akaba to Gaza would not pay. To begin with, it is very doubtful to whom Akaba belongs: Ibn Sa'ud has certain claims there which we must not ignore, if we are not in the right. It is a matter which requires settling before going further.

Then only agriculture would be left. It may be possible to grow enough by very hard work, and very little water, for those content with a low standard of comfort. It is conceivable that water be found, and if so the plains round Beersheba could be productive: but from present knowledge and from recent trials, the chances of finding ample water are remote.

There are so many other places in the world so much better worth developing that it seems to be a waste of effort and capital to spend time and money on so bare a country. Cannot we find places in the Empire which require development if Jews will turn their energy to them?

The Negeb may have a sentimental value to some people but little else, but it is not an area in which to sink capital.

Palestine is smaller than Wales, the Empire is somewhat bigger, and some parts are waiting for development. Cannot we help Jews somehow in this direction?

Politically, there would be little objection from the Arabs to Jewish settlement in the Negeb: the fundamental point in Palestine is that we cannot superimpose an alien race to dominate an existing people. This would not be the case in the Negeb, therefore no one would object strongly. Hence, if the Jews would really like to go there, let them do so.

The CHAIRMAN: We have had two very expert travellers who have known this country. I understand there is a lady here also who has been travelling over the same ground, and may be willing to give us some further information.

Madame JULLIEN: I would like to ask a question, if I may. What method of communication do you propose between Akaba and the Mediterranean? There is a very indifferent route. It is unsuitable for any form of lorries or transport of that kind.

Major JARVIS: I presume, if a settlement did start, a motor road would be begun. And there is always a possibility of running a branch line up the Wadi Araba. It would have to come when the prosperity of the place has progressed. In the first place you could make an ordinary motor road.

Madame JULLIEN: The idea occurred to me when you spoke of developing the fishing industry. I was told, when I was in Akaba, that a firm in Haifa tried to develop the fishing and had to give it up because they could not guarantee any regular delivery of fish in Jerusalem.

Major JARVIS: Fishing has been exploited in Akaba. They had no refrigerator, but I presume, if it is worth while, a motor road can be made running up into Beersheba and thence on to Jerusalem. The supplies could be run through in a day then. But, of course, that is all in the future.

A MEMBER: May I offer some answer to that? I went down to Akaba in 1931 or 1932 for a firm interested in the fish there to see how it could be brought up to Palestine to the market. It was really the question of the capital cost of the refrigerating and insulating vans that broke the scheme. But I do not think there is any doubt that it will come in the not far distant future.

Mr. W. MAINWARING BURTON: As a newly elected member, I am afraid I must begin by raising a protest against the ethics that have been

not only advocated but applauded here this evening. It reminds me of the time when I was in the army, when it was considered by some to be almost a duty to collect for the good of the cause any unconsidered trifles that were left unguarded for a moment. This misappropriation of malaria funds and of the forgotten pipe-line makes a very painful impression upon my mind, but I must confess that the results were extraordinarily good.

The only contribution I should like to make is that in 1904-5 I spent twelve months or so in the Roman area to which the Lecturer has referred, on the Libyan desert, and anything more arid it is quite impossible to conceive; I used to collect Roman potsherds, and I even found what appeared to be toe-rings. There was then a company called the Corporation of Western Egypt, which was trying to exploit the Oasis of Kharga. My job at the time was to locate the railway which now runs to that oasis; I have never travelled on it, because I was a mere prospector. It is most interesting to hear that some quarter of a million olive trees are now flourishing there.

I have also seen Roman remains on the eastern half of the Syrian desert, and I presume that Roman civilization was far more widespread than we in England are apt to realize. I can support the Lecturer in saying that only a few years ago these districts were so arid that it was almost inconceivable that anything could be grown there; it is marvellous to hear of what modern science has been able to accomplish.

The CHAIRMAN said it had been most valuable to get opinions from those who knew this region. There were few parts of Asia on which some member could not speak from experience, and he thought a great deal of the practical value of the Society lay in this. He thanked the Lecturer and those who had taken part in the discussion.

THE TRANS-IRANIAN RAILWAY*

By A. G. BONN

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 2, 1938, Sir E. Denison Ross in the Chair.

THE Trans-Iranian Railway extends from the port of Bender-Chah on the Caspian Sea, to Bender Chahpour, on the Persian Gulf, passing through Teheran.

The total length of the line is approximately 865 miles, 280 of which comprise the north section between Bender-Chah and Teheran and 575 miles the south section from Teheran to Bender-Chahpour.

The railway crosses the Iranian empire through regions of varied character, altitude and climate, a veritable geologist's paradise.

On the north section from Bender-Chah on the Caspian the railway passes through 95 miles of fertile but unhealthy country in the province of Mazanderan; thence it traverses the short and narrow valley of Talar to cross the famous and formidable Elborz mountain range. This section of the railway, both from the technical and tourist's point of view, is one of the most interesting and picturesque in the whole world. The beauty of its scenery and the boldness of its conception make it at least the equal of the famous St. Gothard line.

To clear the peak of 6,650 feet above sea level by using these narrow valleys, it was necessary to introduce a series of artificial developments, such as a number of partly spiralled tunnels, bridges over the rivers, and immense retaining and protective walls which are a necessary part of the construction of a railway through great mountains.

The distance between the two extreme points on the section is only 16 miles as the crow flies, whilst it measures 39 miles along the line. The gradient is continuous (1 in 28) rising to a height of 4,500 feet. From here the line passes through 75 tunnels and crosses innumerable

* The CHAIRMAN: You are going to-night to hear of an event of transcendent interest. At last there is a railway from end to end of Iran. There are few people, even well-read, intelligent people, who realize that Iran has had no railway until Reza Shah Pehlevi came, and said, "There shall be a railway from end to end of Iran." It is an almost incredible feat of engineering, for the greater part of Iran is perched on top of a plateau 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea level, and seems to have come into existence almost since yesterday. But that it has happened now is due entirely to the determined and earnest will of one man, the Shah.

bridges and viaducts in order to reach the Col de Gadouk mountain at an altitude of 6,500 feet. This barrier is cleared by a tunnel almost $1\frac{7}{8}$ miles in length, the longest on the railway.

The descent from the Elborz range through the picturesque valley of Hableroud, a distance of about 50 miles, is made in order to reach the central plateau of Iran. The line then proceeds to Teheran, capital of Iran, through desert country for 80 miles with the exception of the last 31 miles, which is sparsely populated but well cultivated.

The characteristics of the southern section are as follows :

From Bender-Chahpour on the Persian Gulf the railway crosses, almost in a straight line, 155 miles of the vast plain of Khouzistan. This province, previously rich and fertile, is now almost a desert as a result of the change in water courses and the ruin of old dams and other irrigation works. At Salehabad, close to the ancient city of Dizful, rise the Zagros Mountains, an almost impassable barrier against the railway.

The line passes along the narrow valley of the Rivers Ab-i-Diz and Ab-i-Cesar for 95 miles through a succession of long tunnels, and over numerous huge bridges. The construction of about 150 tunnels on this 38-mile section represents one of the greatest feats of engineering in the history of railway building.

At the extreme north of the Ab-i-Cesar the line leads on to the Central Iranian Plateau. It passes through the villages of Sultanabad and Koum, the latter being well known as one of the Holy Iranian towns, and eventually arrives at Teheran after passing through desert country and occasional well-populated fertile stretches.

The idea of constructing the Trans-Iranian Railway dates from before the Great War. The Great Powers presented many schemes, surveys were made, but practical realization of the project was made impossible by the differences of the interested parties.

In 1927, when Iran achieved independence under the control of His Imperial Majesty the Shah, Reza Pahlevi, this project was actually realized, and it has been paid for out of national resources, without any foreign financial help. I venture to say that this remarkable undertaking could never have been achieved but for the idealism, foresight, and indomitable courage of His Imperial Majesty.

The work was commenced at the two extremities, and at the end of six years—*i.e.*, 1927 to 1933—240 miles had been constructed by an International Syndicate.

In 1933 Consortium Kampsax, a Danish civil engineering com-



SKETCH MAP OF
IRAN
SHOWING TRANSIRANIAN RLY

pany, took control on behalf of the Government and guaranteed to complete the whole of the work on the railway by May, 1939; a really gigantic undertaking.

The Consortium Kampsax is under the control of Mr. Jorgen Saxild, acting as managing director, with his chief director, Mr. Kayser. This firm made its name as railway builders in Turkey from 1927 onwards. Their work in that country is now completed and is proof of their excellent engineering qualifications.

The Consortium Kampsax wasted no time in the preparation of plans and technical documents. The work was divided up into sections, called lots, which were let by tender to different foreign concerns. The engineering and construction work throughout is under the direct supervision of Consortium Kampsax.

A medical service, which was organized for sickness and casualties, has proved most effective. This service is comprised of central hospitals and dispensaries, equipped with modern conveniences and a staff of Iranian doctors, assistants and nurses.

Some idea of the importance of this immense undertaking can be obtained from the fact that at the peak period between 40,000 and 50,000 men were employed, of whom 10 per cent. were Europeans. The monthly consumption of cement used for bridges, culverts and tunnel linings, etc., amounted to approximately 10,000 tons. One hundred tons of explosives were used monthly in the work.

My firm, Richard Costain, Ltd., contracted to carry out the work on Lot 7 (the official name of our contract). Lot No. 7 is situated in the Zagros Mountains in a particularly inaccessible position. A service road had been built part of the way from Khoramabad to within about 20 miles of the site. You can imagine the feelings of our European staff, headed by our chief agent, Mr. H. M. Stewart, a Scottish engineer of great ability and energy, when they arrived at the road end and found that the only method of getting to the site of the work was to walk. It may be mentioned that the service road construction should have been much more advanced than was actually the case, but through the failure of a contractor to carry out his obligations the construction had been delayed.

Undaunted, the party forded rivers and plodded on, eventually arriving at Tangué Haft, the site of the first camp. In the words of our agent, "we finished with blistered feet, arms, legs, and backs, our tongues swollen and throats parched—I never want a similar experience—10 hours of walking through the burning heat."

It is worthy of mention that food supplies, tools, and all the equipment necessary for the construction of the service road on the lot had to be transported by pack animals and manhandled over obstacles.

The greater part of the work is situated in canyons Nos. 6 and 7, and the location of the railway is such that it swings from one side of the River Ab-i-Cesar to the other as the configuration demands. As the service road was sometimes on the opposite side of the river to the railway, temporary bridges were necessary to carry the roadway for the passage of plant and materials.

The building of the service road was a much larger proposition than was anticipated, and as the time factor in this contract was of major importance, immediate action had to be taken to get the work under way. Agents were sent out in all directions over the mountains to recruit labour, and eventually, with what contractors would call very green labour, a start was made. By the end of June, 1935, over 1,000 men were employed. This work, which cost £80,000, gave access only to the site of the major contract, and was driven through by sheer British determination in five months—an incredible feat of endurance in temperatures ranging up to 132 degrees in the shade. It was so hot at night that sleep was almost impossible.

The consulting engineers informed me during my first visit of inspection in 1936 that our agent had broken all the unwritten laws for Europeans in hot climates, but a great obstacle to the completion of our work by the contract date had been successfully overcome.

Lorry transport now being possible, plant and materials commenced to arrive from Salehabad, by way of Khoramabad, to the site. The rains had started and the service road from Khoramabad to the lot, which at times reached an elevation of 6,000 feet, became particularly dangerous, especially for heavy loads.

Personally, I think the drivers of lorries and light cars who traversed this road regularly, and who slipped round hairpin bends, with nothing to stop them from going over the side and dropping 1,000 feet to their deaths, as happened in many cases, deserved special medals for bravery and endurance.

The first time I traversed the service road I was literally terrified, and to add to my horror the car in which I was travelling skidded gently round a sharp corner and came to rest on the gear-box with the two front wheels actually swinging in the air over the edge of a precipice—another 18 inches and the whole party would have been in the River Ab-i-Cesar 400 feet below. I can assure you that all your

good and bad deeds in the past come up for review in a situation like this.

By the spring of 1936 the permanent camps, workshops, and erection of plant were well advanced and the tunnel work in many cases opened up. Our working strength, which was about 4,000 men, rising at the peak period to 5,000, necessitated the building of numerous barracks that in many centres amounted to small villages. Under our contract we were responsible for the feeding of these men, in some cases their families as well. This, together with the difficulty of transporting supplies, was always a bogey to the contractor, and provided one of the many worries which our chief agent had assumed.

Lot 7 generally is a series of seven tunnels along the River Ab-i-Cesar, the longest of which is $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles.

The railway passes twice over the River Ab-i-Cesar by two large bridges, the first in the south between tunnels 42 and 43 and the second in the north between tunnels 43 and 44. The north end of the lot is more open country, and for a short time one can see a little daylight and enjoy the unsurpassed beauty of the mountains which tower above the railway.

The elevation of the section is approximately 2,000 feet above sea level. The winter is moderate, except for periods of torrential rains, but in the summer time it is like a veritable oven, particularly in the canyons, where the heat is so great that one cannot touch the rocks and breathing is difficult. The mortality during these periods was very considerable both for Europeans and natives.

The health of the personnel on the job was really marvellous throughout, with the exception of a fairish amount of malaria. I feel that a great tribute is due to the Iranian doctors and their staff for the way in which they carried out their duties under very difficult circumstances.

Throughout the balance of 1936 and 1937 colossal strides were made in the tunnels, bridges, and earthworks, and perhaps it would interest you to hear something about the methods and difficulties experienced in burrowing through the mountains.

First of all accurate and minute calculations are made for the line and level of the railway. To give one instance of this: in regard to the long tunnel No. 43, our chief engineer, Mr. P. R. S. Berridge, climbed up on to a spur in the mountains 3,000 feet above the railway to lay his lines and establish his trig stations. This long tunnel, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles in length, was approached from both its extremities, and when

the last shot was fired in the pilot tunnel, approximately half way through the mountain, the calculations proved to be so accurate that the difference in line was only $\frac{1}{2}$ inch and the level was dead right. One cannot pay too high a tribute to this engineer for his splendid workmanship.

The rock of which these mountains consist is in many cases of poor quality, and the stratification is often steeply inclined. Weird folding of volcanic origin adds to the complications, making the work of the miners difficult and dangerous.

Careful timbering was necessary to prevent falls of rock, and we are proud to say that we had very few accidents of a serious nature.

I would like to convey to you a picture of the work in the tunnels, which was carried on by shifts of men day and night seven days a week.

Hundreds of men toiling in very confined spaces, squad after squad drilling holes in the rock with pneumatic drills for blasting, Diesel locomotives with trains of small wagons being quickly filled with the excavated rock to be transported to the spoil banks. On the return journey these trains take back cement, sand, and stone for lining the tunnel as the excavation is completed.

At the commencement, as fresh men were employed, each had to be schooled to his job. A humorous incident occurred in the early stages of the work when a greenhorn labourer was being shown how to operate a pneumatic drill. He pressed the trigger and immediately came to the conclusion that it was possessed of a thousand devils; so far he has not reported for his back wages.

After the tunnel construction our major problems were the large bridges which spanned the River Ab-i-Cesar. These were designed by Messrs. Kampsax and have great architectural beauty. Some idea of the size may be gleaned from the fact that one has cost £60,000, and the other, which is approximately 700 feet over all and the longest on the whole railway, I am told, cost about £80,000.

The main span over the river channel in each bridge is 130 feet, and the height from the mean water level to the parapet is about 100 feet. The timber for the centring of the main spans was brought from England and cost £2,000. The fabrication, erection, and dismantling of these centres is a contract in itself, especially when one takes into consideration the fact that the river is liable to flood at short notice, rising sometimes nearly 20 feet in two hours, causing grave anxiety till all is made fast and loaded with masonry.

The railway has a single track with passing tracks at various intervals. On Lot 7 we have a passing track with station and building for the accommodation of the operating staff. Water supplies for the engines are also catered for here, from a reservoir on the mountain side.

Our work, which has cost approximately £1,000,000, is now completed, and was taken over by the Iranian Government on February 18, 1938.

In conclusion, I would predict that the Trans-Iranian Railway will play a great part in the development and prosperity of Iran. All honour is due to His Imperial Majesty the Shah for achieving his objective in bringing this £30,000,000 scheme to a successful conclusion.

Colonel H. E. MEDLICOTT said that the construction of sections of the railway had been undertaken by groups representing Great Britain, Italy, Austria, Greece, France, Germany, Sweden, Russia, Iran, Belgium, U.S.A., and Denmark. Material and rolling stock was obtained from Russia, Sweden, Australia, Germany, U.S.A., and Great Britain. These groups represented an ideal League of Nations, but however satisfactory the results they obtained, the combined result could not be satisfactorily concluded without the central domination of H.I.M. the Shah, who was not only the sole instigator of the project, but to whom alone the credit of financing, progress, and completion was entirely due. Tribute must also be paid to the Iranian workmen, who had borne both the heat and labour of the day and had done most of the spade work. The motto of the railway should be *Res non verba*, for this railway has been finished before very much has been said about it. Critics have discussed the economic aspect of the railway and also its direction. Foreigners who, in the years to come, might wish to travel from Paris to Peking would have liked it to be built from east to west, but this railway was a great national venture. It opened up great export possibilities for the merchandise from the north and centre as well as from the south. This would result in foreign credits being obtained, and foreign credits are apt to lead to an improvement in the standard of living.

LORD LAMINGTON: I warmly endorse the praise so justly and ably given to Mr. Bonn for his admirable address and for the pictures which so graphically reveal the nature of the country through which the railway had to be made. The trials and dangers in the building of the pyramids must have been equalled by those confronting the workers in these great operations. Many years ago I travelled through

the Baktiari country, but I never contemplated a railway passing through its tremendous gorges.

I imagine it may be the last great railway of a trans-continental character to be constructed, modern developments having devised other means of locomotion. The cost of building the line must have been great, but at all events the money spent has been for a definite beneficial purpose, unlike the vast sums that European countries are spending for destructive purposes. His Imperial Majesty is truly to be congratulated on his enterprise, and may this wonderful railway be productive of untold benefit to his kingdom of Iran.

The meeting closed with a vote of thanks to Mr. Bonn, who had so kindly lectured so soon after his arrival in England.

THE BEDOUIN OF TRANSJORDAN : THEIR SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

ABOUT half of the inhabitants of Transjordan are Bedouin, and permanent settlements are even now still few and far between in this nomadic land. For the lack of a reliable census it is impossible to determine the exact number of inhabitants, particularly the number of nomads, but according to official estimates* it reaches about 300 to 320 thousand. These sources do not specify the number of nomads or semi-nomads, but on the basis of personal research I estimate their number at about 150 to 170 thousand souls.†

Transjordan has remained to this day mainly a country of nomads, a fact which has determined the nature of its rural and urban life, the character of its people, their language and customs, and which generally affected social processes and economic relationships in the country. It is, therefore, essential to investigate the conditions of the Transjordan Bedouin in order to appreciate the problems of the country as a whole.

The Conditions of the Bedouin in the Post-War Period

Complicated problems have arisen among the Bedouin in general, and the Transjordan Bedouin in particular, during the post-war period, problems which have undermined the very foundation upon which their social and economic existence has rested for generations. With the disappearance of the wandering shepherd's primitive economy, the age-old traditions of the desert civilization, which were created to suit the needs of the tribes, gradually vanish and pass away. The nomads' economy, which was based chiefly on camel and horse breeding, cannot hold its ground in the face of competition with the motor-car and the aeroplane, whereas sheep-raising is much more secure and profitable in a permanent settlement, which need not fear the *ghazu* (raiding) perpetrated by ruthless fellow-Bedouin. The economy of the Bedouin, which has always been independent of the state and the needs of the city, has

* *Report on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the Year 1935*, p. 274.

† The figure of 170 thousand nomads and semi-nomads for Transjordan is quoted from the *Annual Government Report for 1929*, p. 138.

deteriorated through the vicissitudes of contemporary political events. At present they are faced with the dilemma of impoverishment and degeneration, or gradual and constructive transition from nomadism to agriculture, a problem which is very urgent, but difficult to solve. It is to be remembered that abundance of rain is just as vital to the Bedouin as to the fellah. A dry winter produces a scarcity of pasturage in the spring, and, when the cisterns and wadis do not fill with water, the Bedouin is bound all the year round to those few grazing-grounds which remain near the wells, and whose sparse grass is devoured in very little time. The Bedouin, therefore, often has to make a choice between pasture and water, two things that are indispensable to him, for, lacking either, he is exposed to suffering and death. The lot of the fellah is difficult in years of drought, but that of the Bedouin is seven times worse, for the fellah always has something left over from previous years, and in any case cherishes the hope that the sterile soil will eventually yield a plentiful harvest. He then returns to his field and ploughshare and continues his normal way of living. But the wandering Bedu, when his beasts perish for lack of water or pasture, forfeits his whole property; he is condemned to remain a pauper for the rest of his life, and no rains or good harvests can save him.

In the pre-war days, when the Syrian Desert was not yet divided between Syria, Transjordan, Saudi-Arabia, and 'Iraq, the Bedouin could migrate, in years of drought, from the severely stricken areas to more fertile places. Thus they would save their camels and sheep and preserve their means of livelihood. But even then each tribe had its allotted area in the desert—*dirah*—to which it was expected to confine its movements. And in times of drought the stricken tribe would move temporarily either as guest or conqueror into another tribe's domain, for both mutual aid and inter-tribal wars were common phenomena in the life of the Bedouin when they still possessed their freedom and independence.

After the war the situation changed completely. The Bedouin are no longer free nomads. They have become naturalized citizens in the new states which have arisen in the Middle East, and are subjected to a régime of laws and boundaries which greatly hampers their freedom of mobility. The existing agreements between the states, allowing a certain degree of nomad mobility across the respective borders, fail to solve the problems which ensue from the restrictions involved in the new order. Thus a number of large Transjordan tribes which were accustomed to leave every winter the cold Moab and Edom plains and

migrate with their livestock to Wadi Sirhan, now a part of Saudi-Arabia, are forced at present either to remain in their own area or to seek the hospitality of their neighbours, who spend the winter in the Jordan Valley.

An Agricultural Colonization Movement

In recent years there has developed among the Bedouin in the Middle East, and particularly in Transjordan, a strong colonization movement. This movement did not originate with the nomads themselves, for the Bedu, by his very nature, despises a settled life, and the word "fellah" serves in his dialect as a term of abuse and symbol of cowardice. Nor is it probable that, once agricultural settlement is proposed to them, all Bedouin would accept it with enthusiasm. Many of them continue, even after settlement, to long for the old times; they would not give up the desert life completely, even though their situation may at times be very desperate. But dire necessity as well as the subsidies and forceful measures of Governments who are interested in a speedy solution of the problems of their nomadic population are strong factors in the advancement of their cause.

This transition is not an easy one, either for the nomads themselves or for their Governments. Agricultural settlement requires vast financial resources, which are, as yet, not within the means of the new Oriental states, although fertile land sufficient for thousands of families can be found in Syria, 'Iraq, and even in Transjordan. But to effect this change the Bedouin would have to be psychologically prepared and technically trained for a new mode of life; they must be adjusted to viewpoints and traditions which differ greatly from those which prevail in the desert. Indeed, in countries like 'Iraq, where the nomads constitute about half of the population, and Transjordan, where their number is even greater, the settlement of the Bedouin is one of the most urgent problems, and upon whose solution in the near future depends to a very large extent the normal development of the country. In 'Iraq, Syria, and Transjordan many Bedouin who refuse to accept this fate, or who are not sufficiently subsidized by the Government, leave the desert and flock to the cities. This migration increases the number of unemployed in the cities and reduces the standard of living of the city labourers, and some, who have no other alternative, take to all kinds of criminal activities and become a source of constant worry to those responsible for the security of the neighbouring civilized communities.

The Governments of the Middle Eastern states, therefore, view the solution of this problem as a twofold task. Their objective is to ameliorate the conditions of the Bedouin who are still capable of existing on the desert, as well as to help those who wish to take to agriculture,* especially some who, either before the war or afterwards, have begun to settle on the land of their own initiative. As a matter of fact, many tribes who wandered in the vicinity of civilized communities and fertile lands had already taken to agriculture as a "side show," while still carrying on their nomadic life.

Bedouin Colonization in Transjordan

The Bedouin of Transjordan can be characterized either as nomads or semi-nomads.† The further one proceeds south and east, the more often one comes across tribes who have preserved their authentic Bedouin character: mobility and camel breeding; any other work they do not know and would not understand. In the north and west, however, we find tribes who are constantly limiting the scope of their movements and are always adding new occupations to their economy, with the ultimate aim of settling on the land. Many of them have completely given up the life of the nomad and shepherd, and their customs, their tent dwellings, and communal organization—tribe, family, sheikh, etc.—are the sole indications of their Bedu origin. Until now the constant wandering, the hand-to-mouth existence from pasturage to pasturage, from well to well, without ever striking strong root in the soil, precluded any civilized activity on their part. Tradition provided the only philosophy of life; tradition prescribed good and evil and determined relationships between a man and his neighbour. But the new situation, especially in those countries where political reforms preceded social and economic changes, brought about a good deal of confusion in the Bedouin community, for it did not develop naturally and organically.

Even before the war there were many tribes in Transjordan who took to the so-called "mixed agricultural economy." But this gradual settling on the land did not turn them immediately into fellaheen. The basis of their economy still remained camel-raising, and agriculture at this stage only sufficed to supply the needs of the farmer and his family.

One must also bear in mind that the Bedouin as a whole always

* In 'Iraq an attempt is being made at present to settle 800 Bedouin families on the fertile land of Abu-Ghureib, west of Baghdad.

† The above-mentioned Report estimates the number of nomads at 50,000 and semi-nomads at about 120,000.

consisted of strong tribes and weak tribes, of ruling communities and subjected ones. The powerful tribes would seize the choicest pastures and the richest sources of water; they would attack the weaker tribes, rob them of their property, and levy taxes upon them (*ḵhawah*). The stronger tribe would thus develop a warlike spirit and a consciousness of its own power and influence. Its youth would be raised to the sound of the *qassaid* (songs) which lauded the victories and deeds of bravery of the tribe, and aroused among them the striving for war and victory. In this form of education the spirit of the desert found its fullest expression, for it penetrated to every cell of Bedu life and tradition. But the weaker tribes were not free to wander in wide areas; they were perforce restricted to their own limited territory, and at times they would retreat to the frontiers of civilization to seek the protection of some nearby Government. In these inter-tribal wars the weak tribes would also forfeit most of their livestock, especially the camels. Hence we can say that wandering in cramped territories, the degeneration of livestock, and the influence of civilization gave these Bedouin the impetus to colonization.

The history of the 'Ajarmeh, 'Abbād, and Beni-Hasan tribes is very characteristic in respect to this process of settlement, which is a result of external circumstances. The Czech explorer A. Musil, who studied the life of the Transjordan Bedouin in 1901, and the French scholar Père Jaussen, who was engaged in a similar study in 1908, reported that small tribes of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa, and Northern Moab, which are the most fertile places in Transjordan, were to some extent engaged in agriculture even at that time. One of the most important tribes, the 'Adwān, which wanders in the hills of Gilead and the Belqa plain, had already begun to settle on land before the war. The sheikhs of 'Adwān acquired large tracts of fertile soil in the Jordan Valley and in the Belqa hills and employed fellaheen and tenants to work their huge estates, and the feudal régime which they established there is in existence to this very day.

But most interesting for the purposes of our study is the evolution of the purely nomad tribes, who subsist either on camels only or partly also on sheep, and not those who had already taken to farming before the war. As illustration we may cite the case of the Beni-Sakhr and the Huwaitat, the two largest and most important of the Transjordan tribes.

The Beni-Sakhr count about 1,140 tents and are scattered over the lands from Amman to Madabah and from the hills of Belqa to Wadi Sirhan. This tribe is believed to have come from Al-'Ala district in the

Hejaz about 150 to 200 years ago, approximately at the same time that Ruwalla and Dhana Muslim of the 'Aneza emigrated from Kheibar to the Damascus area. Upon coming to their new territory the Beni-Sakhr found the 'Adwān there, and the wars between them comprise the whole history of Transjordan in the nineteenth century.

As a result of the war, all the lands of Eastern Belqa were captured by the Beni-Sakhr, and the 'Adwān were gradually forced back westwards towards the Jordan Valley. The Beni-Sakhr left the expropriated fellaheen on their estates, but regularly collected tribute from them. But the tribe as such continued to lead a nomadic life in the desert, raising camels and sheep and migrating from pasturage to pasturage.

The first Beni-Sakhr sheikh to become interested in agriculture was Sattam ibn-Faiz, the father of Mithqal ibn-Faiz, the present sheikh of the tribe. He personally supervised the management of his estates at Umm-el-'Amad, north-east of Madabah, although he remained a nomad like the rest of his tribe. Only after the war there started a movement to make use of the cultivable land which lies in the domain of the tribe. In addition to that a number of sheikhs hastened to buy cheaply and on favourable terms some of the Giftlik land, which previously belonged to the Turkish Sultan. The Beni-Sakhr possess about twenty-four villages, whose land is tilled by fellaheen and tenants. The sheikhs assume more and more the character of landlords, and to-day some of them prefer to spend most of their time in their villages rather than to wander with the rest of the tribe through the desert. It is very significant for this stage of Bedouin transition to agriculture that the rank and file still continue to preserve their nomadic character, while the sheikhs are leaving the old traditions of shepherds, for the labourers on these estates are recruited from the small Belqa tribes, and no member of the Beni-Sakhr proper is to be found among them.

But the impoverishment of the Bedouin who subsist mainly on camel and sheep-raising is progressing at a very rapid rate, and the problem of their settlement on the land will soon arise in all its urgency. Their opportunities in this field are wide. The Beni-Sakhr possess about 426,000 dunams of cultivable land, but cannot possibly raise the financial means necessary for their development. Their economic situation is growing worse from year to year, and many of them are beginning to understand that they cannot escape utter annihilation unless they take to farming; yet they cannot afford it. The subsidy which the Transjordan Government gave them for that purpose in 1935 was £250, a negligible sum for such a large tribe.

A different situation is to be found among the *Huwaitat*, which is also one of the large Transjordan tribes. The *Huwaitat*, who number about 1,000 tents, dwell in the Ma'an and 'Aqaba region, in the neighbourhood of Tafleh, and in the wide, fertile plain of Esh-Sher'ah in Edom. The *Huwaitat*, unlike other Transjordan tribes, are not of Hejaz or Nejd descent, but have been allegedly connected with their present territory from time immemorial. Some assert that they are descendants of the ancient Nabatæans, others maintain that they are the offspring of fellaheen, who in the course of time became Bedouin. At any rate, some of their traditions and customs differ from those of other desert tribes.

The attitude of the *Huwaitat* to agriculture always differed from the accepted view of other desert tribes, for they never showed any contempt for farming, and made use of all the fertile lands in their territory. Their preoccupation with agriculture increased considerably about 170 years ago, when they conquered the Sher'ah plain from Nu'aimat tribe. On this plain, and in the areas which belonged to the *Huwaitat* previously, they established a "mixed economy"—sheep-raising, goats, and a few camels, in addition to cultivating the soil.

But a vast change, which completely revolutionized the tribe's way of living within a period of twenty-five years, occurred at the beginning of the present century. Two warlike, courageous, and tyrannical sheikhs, Abtan ibn-Jazi and Audah abu-Tayy, of Lawrence fame, arose among them at one time. These rulers found more interest, both for themselves and for the tribe as a whole, in raiding and fighting than in peaceful agricultural pursuits, and in a short time the *Huwaitat* became one of the most warlike tribes in Northern Arabia and the Syrian Desert. By means of raiding they acquired a large number of camels, which further revived their nomadic character. Finally, many tribesmen altogether neglected their farms and rented them out to fellaheen and tenants.

Only after the war, particularly within the last ten years, there started a back-to-the-soil movement among them. They began to return to agriculture, and last year most of the land was cultivated by the tribesmen themselves without the help of outsiders.

The Government of Transjordan subsidized the agricultural endeavours of the *Huwaitat* in 1935 with a contribution of £900.

Thus we see that, although the transition or return of the *Huwaitat* to agriculture is socially and psychologically less difficult than that of the Beni-Sakhr, they, too, suffer from the scarcity of financial means.

The Bedouin at the Crossroads

The degeneration of the Bedouin tribes of Transjordan, who suffer from lack of financial and technical assistance in their efforts at agricultural settlement, can be observed in all its firm clearness in the northern part of the country. It is sufficient to cite the case of the Beni-Hasan, who number 860 tents and dwell in 'Ajlun, one of the most fertile territories of Transjordan, in order to see what Fate has in store for the Bedouin if their affairs should be left to take care of themselves in such changing and troublesome times without outside help and advice. The Beni-Hasan possess 372,000 dunams of land, on which they raised in 1921 128,000 camels and sheep. In 1934, as a result of shrinking markets and years of drought, the number of camels and sheep decreased to 27,000, a fact which completely undermined their existence. They applied numerous times to the Government, requesting assistance in the development of the fertile lands which are in their possession; for such help in due time could save them from the fate of starvation and economic obliteration to which they would otherwise be exposed. But the meagre treasury of the Government could do nothing substantial for the Beni-Hasan, or, for that matter, for any other tribes which are in similar circumstances. When the situation of the tribe became catastrophic—for they were actually reduced to starvation—a number of British officials of Transjordan set up a relief committee, which supplied bread and clothes to the starving families. The Government endeavours to employ the members of the disintegrated tribes in public works, but the scope of these sources of employment is by far too limited to be compatible with the needs of the country. And basically these halfway relief measures are incapable of solving the problem of Transjordan's needy Bedouin.

It would be erroneous to suppose that all the Bedouin can be settled on the land. There are places in Transjordan, especially in the desert, where agriculture cannot be developed, but where conditions are suitable for cattle raising. The Government could help a great deal, if it had sufficient funds, by digging wells, by extending credit for the development of these occupations, and by organizing the market. But the problems of Transjordan—a country which has become desolate not on account of its inherent shortcomings, but because it was neglected by its native inhabitants—can be solved only through the agricultural settlement of its nomadic population. This cannot be carried out mechanically and spontaneously. Even if the technical and financial resources at

the disposal of the settlers were sufficiently ample, the enterprise would not succeed unless the Bedouin were psychologically and technically prepared for the transition from their present way of living to a peaceful and settled existence. Yet the social and economic future of the country depends upon the constructive solution of this problem, for as long as it remains unsolved the state of affairs among the Bedouin in general and in the country as a whole will become increasingly confused and uncertain.

THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY*

By VICE-ADMIRAL A. E. F. BEDFORD, C.B., C.S.I.

ALTHOUGH the youngest of the Empire's navies, the Royal Indian Navy has the oldest tradition next to the Royal Navy. It dates from 1612, when it was known as the Honourable East India Company's Marine.

In the seventeenth century the Company had sixteen ships of between 700 and 1,300 tons, capable of mounting sixty to eighty guns. Very early in its history Captain Best, with the Honourable East India Company's ships *Red Dragon* and *Hoseander*, defeated a greatly superior Portuguese Fleet near Surat. This started the decline of Portuguese power in the East.

In 1686 the name of the service was changed to the Bombay Marine. In the eighteenth century the Bombay Marine was principally employed in the protection of trade against Country Powers and pirates, leaving the Royal Navy to deal with the regular forces of enemy countries. The Marine consisted of two cruisers, three second rates, and a number of smaller craft. In addition the East India Company contributed to the cost of the Royal Navy by giving free freight for its stores, giving money allowances to ships' companies in Indian waters, and maintaining a dockyard at Bombay. Admiral Hughes, Commander-in-Chief, considered Bombay of the greatest importance as a refitting port and emphasized the necessity of it being strongly defended.

The Company was responsible for "local defence"—*i.e.*, the defence of harbours against raiding attacks—as well as the protection of coastal trade. The Governments of Bengal and Madras maintained no sea-going forces, and losses were consequently more frequent on the east than on the west coast.

In 1767 all Royal Navy ships were withdrawn from East India, and the defence of trade devolved entirely on the Bombay Marine for two years, when another small force was sent out. Bombay Marine ships worked under Commander-in-Chief, East India, when wanted. Ships were manned by Europeans and natives, the former being the bigger percentage.

In 1830 the name was again changed, this time to Indian Navy, and

* An illustrated lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 6, 1938, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., in the Chair.

in 1863 it reverted to the Bombay Marine. In 1877 it was called the Royal Indian Marine, and retained this title until 1934, when it became the Royal Indian Navy.

Under these various names the ships of the Service took part in practically every war in which the Empire was involved.

In 1914 the Royal Indian Marine consisted of three troopships of about 7,000 tons, twenty knots speed, and armed with six to eight 4·7-inch guns. They were capable of carrying 1,000 troops. These ships were unpopular as troopships, as the combination of Navy and Army routines was always clashing. One can imagine the captain's indignation when, on going round his ship, he found that one of the soldier's wives had rigged a clothes line between two guns on which to dry the baby's clothes.

The remaining ships—four so-called station-ships, and employed at Rangoon, Port Blair (Andamans), Aden, and in the Persian Gulf—were used principally for conveying Governors about and for tending on various lighthouses. There were, in addition, two surveying vessels which did a great deal of admirable work in charting Indian waters. All these ships were earmarked to be taken on by the Admiralty in cases of emergency, and were so constructed as to be capable of being converted into auxiliaries in time of war. This was part of India's contribution towards Imperial defence.

On the outbreak of war all the ships were taken over by the Admiralty, and R.N. officers were appointed in command. Key ratings were also provided from the R.N., but the Indian ratings were retained on board, and this involved, owing to the language question, the bearing of a R.I.M. officer as an additional first-lieutenant, which was not a very satisfactory arrangement. The R.I.M. ships then all flew the White Ensign, and about 60 per cent. of the officers and all the crews served under this ensign during the war. The remaining 40 per cent. of the officers were employed in Mesopotamia, at Indian ports, etc., supervising the fitting out of transports, routeing, and port administration generally. A number of officers served in gunboats up the Tigris and Euphrates, and some of them went into the ships operating in the Caspian Sea. There were R.I.M. officers serving in every theatre of war except North Russia, West Africa, and North China.

When the German cruiser *Emden* carried out a raid on Madras in 1914 and shelled the oil tanks, there were no local defence forces to act as any form of deterrent, and this raid caused all trade to be held up in the Bay of Bengal for some weeks. In 1917 the German raider *Wolf*

laid mines off Bombay, which resulted in the loss of a number of merchant vessels—India had no mine-sweepers—and eight trawlers were ordered. These were not completed till the end of the war, and then were used for towing various river craft from Mesopotamia to Calcutta and Rangoon, from which they had been borrowed. For various reasons these trawlers were found to be unsatisfactory, and only two now remain—one used for towing targets, training divers, etc., and the other as a water-boat at Bombay.

After the war the R.I.M. reverted to its previous peacetime duties until 1920, when a Rear-Admiral was appointed Director with a view to reorganizing the Service so that it could be to some extent responsible for the local naval defence of India.

In 1923 the Inchcape Committee recommended the abolition of the R.I.M. troopships on the grounds that trooping could be done far better by ships taken up under contract from the Merchant Service. This was approved, and the Service was then left with nothing but station and surveying-ships.

In 1925 another Committee was convened to draw up a scheme for the reconstruction of the R.I.M. as a combatant force to enable India to commence undertaking her own naval defence. The Committee drew up a scheme, which was approved. The principal features were that the Indian Navy should consist of four sloops, two patrol boats, eight mine-sweeping trawlers, and two surveying-ships. The Service was to be commanded by a flag officer lent from the R.N., and its chief functions were to be that of a training squadron in gunnery, mine-sweeping, harbour defence, etc.

The Committee recommended that the Service should be called the Royal Indian Navy and that ships should fly the White Ensign.

The peacetime functions were to be :

- (a) Training of personnel for service in war.
- (b) Services required by the Government of India in Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf.
- (c) Organization of naval defences at Indian ports.
- (d) Surveying.
- (e) Sea transport work for the Government of India.

In 1926 all station-ship duties were taken over by local governments and ships were concentrated at Bombay. Two officers were lent from the R.N. as instructors, and the militarization of the ships was started. They were armed with 4-inch guns and fitted for mine-sweeping

in Bombay Dockyard. With the exception of a few officers who had served during the war, and the younger ones who had had a certain amount of naval training in the R.N., the Service was untrained for war.

By 1928, when Rear-Admiral Walwyn was sent out, a definite start had been made, and with the reorganization the Naval Discipline Act was introduced into the Legislative Assembly, its aim being to change the designation from Royal Indian Marine to Royal Indian Navy. This Bill was defeated in the Assembly by one vote, but on re-introduction again in 1934 it was passed by a good majority, and the Service became the Royal Indian Navy on October 2, 1934.

Prior to 1928 the uniform worn by the ratings consisted of blue jean tunic and baggy trousers, with a stocking cap similar to that which many of you have probably seen worn by the lascars in P. and O.'s. Admiral Walwyn obtained permission for the men to be dressed as in the R.N., which was greatly appreciated. The men take a great pride in their appearance and always turn out looking very smart.

In 1930, thanks to the efforts of Admiral Walwyn and Sir Philip Chetwode, a very fine officers' mess was built in Bombay Dockyard. This was badly needed for the accommodation of officers on the staff and from ships refitting.

In 1930, also, a new ship, the *Hindustan*, was built in England. She was a thoroughly up-to-date sloop, similar to those building for the R.N., but slightly larger to allow for extra accommodation for officers and men living continually in the tropics.

Following the *Hindustan*, a new surveying-ship was purchased. This ship, *Investigator*, had been a cable-ship, and was converted for her new duties in the dockyard at Bombay.

In 1935 another new sloop, the *Indus*, was completed in time to take part in the Silver Jubilee Review. She is an improvement on the *Hindustan*, though fairly similar in design. She was at home last year for the Coronation.

The squadron to-day consists of the *Clive* (flagship), *Indus*, *Hindustan*, *Lawrence*, and *Cornwallis* (now all classed as escort vessels), the *Pathan* (patrol boat, used principally for training boys at sea and for carrying out practical gunnery training for older men), *Dalhousie* (boys' training-ship), *Investigator* (surveying-ship), and the *Madras* (trawler).

I have mentioned that in the seventeenth century the ships of the Bombay Marine were manned by Europeans and Indians, with a larger percentage of the former. Now there is not a single white rating in

the Royal Indian Navy—all ratings from boys to chief petty officers are Indian.

The officers are mostly European at present, but the new entries are being taken in in the proportion of two European to one Indian. A number of warrant officers are Indian.

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The budget for all the fighting services in India is under the heading of defence, and up to date the amount set aside for the naval defences has been very small. Progress has, therefore, been slow, and the essential expansion of the Service is still in embryo, but I have great hopes that a very material advance will be made in the near future.

Apart from the active service squadron and the training of its personnel on sound, up-to-date naval lines, it is of paramount importance to introduce and train reserves to man the auxiliary vessels—mine-sweepers, anti-submarine and patrol vessels—which will be taken up in wartime. This has been postponed, principally for financial reasons, far too long. The machinery, instructions, etc., are all in being, and it is not anticipated that there will be any difficulty in enrolling the officers, European and Indian, in the proposed R.I.N.R. and R.I.N.V.R.

With regard to the ratings, a small Fleet Reserve is being started from men discharged from the active Service, but a large number of naval and volunteer reserves is required, and their recruitment is a matter of some difficulty. Although there is a large fishing population round the coasts of India, many of these people, through lack of education, knowledge of deep-sea work, large ships, etc., are unsuitable. There are, however, Indians from certain districts who should make good recruits. These come principally from the coast areas between Bombay and Karachi, Ratnagiri, south of Bombay, Calcutta, and Chittagong. Most of the men who now man ships trading to India and round the India seas come from these districts. They are good seamen and could soon be trained in naval duties. A number of them are descendants of the old pirates who gave us so much trouble in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The personnel of the R.I.N. is recruited from the Punjab and Konkan, south of Bombay, the greatest percentage coming from the Punjab.

They are recruited three times a year. An officer with a doctor, warrant writer, a petty officer, and generally an A.B. as “mannequin”

are sent to the various districts, the local army recruiting officers having been advised beforehand.

Boys between fifteen and sixteen are collected in villages, where they are vetted by the recruiting staff. A very large number of volunteers appear, and, owing to the small numbers required, a very high standard is obtained.

The procedure is sometimes rather amusing. The boys are fallen in in a long line, the recruiting and medical officers walk down the line, rejecting about 50 per cent. out of hand.

On one occasion the officer thought the line was rather long and found that as boys were rejected and told to fall out they crept along to the other end of the line and fell in again. To get over this difficulty the medical officer stamped the "eligibles" on their backs with a rubber stamp; but even this was no good, as the boys managed to transfer the still wet ink from one back to another with the palms of their hands!

At present only about 140 boys are being taken each year, owing to the size of the training establishment at Bombay. A new training establishment is now being built at Karachi, and will be capable of receiving and training 250 boys to start with, and it is hoped that this number will be increased to 500 later.

As soon as the boys have been accepted they are sent down to Bombay. Many of them from the Punjab have never before seen a train, tram, or the sea. On arrival at Bombay they are sent out to the end of the breakwater, where they have to strip, are given a thorough good wash down, and then given their first naval uniform, consisting of a singlet, pair of shorts, stockings, boots, and cap. Their civilian clothes are disinfected and returned to them later, for use when they go on leave.

The naval uniform is, of course, strange to start with, and the boys are not sure at first how to wear it. One boy, the day after he joined, was seen going over the gangway of the training-ship limping. An officer who saw him and wondered what was the matter found that he was wearing his boots on the wrong feet. The boy had never worn boots before. It is astounding to see how quickly these boys pick up naval routine and discipline. Many of them have been poorly fed before joining, and it is extraordinary how quickly they fill out and develop and understand orders.

All boys, for whatever branch recruited, do six months' common training on entry. They are taught discipline, physical training, sea-

manship, etc., and all do school under qualified schoolmasters who teach in English and Urdu. After six months the boys are separated into classes for the Communications branch (signal and W.T.), E.R. branch, writers, ordnance and electrical artificers, S.B. and shipwright ratings, and, while they all continue to live together on the training-ship, undergo special instructions to fit them for their various branches of the Service. At the end of two years (this is now being reduced to twenty-two months to get boys to sea earlier to fill vacancies) the boys go to sea for six months before becoming ordinary seamen or the equivalent in other branches. As soon as the ordinary seamen are sufficiently trained to take their part in the ships' companies of the seagoing squadron they relieve older men, who are then sent to the schools in Bombay to qualify for higher rank in seamanship, gunnery, communications, engineering, etc.

The schools at Bombay are very small and do not now and will not for some time meet requirements. However, I am glad to say they are being enlarged as far as the very confined area of the dockyard admits. By careful rearrangement of stores, reallocation of buildings, etc., I was able to see, when I left the Service in November, a Gunnery School about five times the size of what it was when I went out in 1934, a Mechanical Training Establishment several times bigger and still expanding, an enlarged Signal School, a coal-shed converted into a very good barracks and gymnasium, enabling all the men who had previously been accommodated in the training-ship and all those from ships refitting to be properly housed. In addition a new Signal Station has been built, which accommodates all the Communications ratings employed at Bombay.

The available space is still far too small, and there is no parade ground and no recreation ground except one hockey field situated at a considerable distance from the dockyard. The men turned out of these establishments are smart, intelligent, quick to learn, give practically no trouble, and show up very well when in company with their fellows of the Royal Navy.

I would particularly like to mention the Communications ratings. These young men and boys maintain wireless telegraphic communication day and night with the Admiralty and all parts of the world, ships at sea, etc., under the supervision of two signal officers and about four wireless telegraph officers, who, in addition to this, have to carry out instruction of ratings and boys. A large number of applications to join are continually being received, and some of these are very amusing.

Executive officers are normally entered through the public school entry system and are also taken from the training establishments at Pangbourne, the *Conway*, and *Worcester*. Entrance examinations are held in India and England simultaneously. Having passed the educational and medical examinations, cadets are sent to the R.N. cadets training-ship, where they spend a year. This is followed by a year as midshipmen, undergoing training in destroyers, gunnery, mine-sweeping, etc. They then go out to India as acting sub-lieutenants. Owing to the shortage of officers, it has been necessary during the last two years to have a direct entry in addition to the cadets. Direct entry officers are obtained from the Royal Naval Reserve, in which they have already carried out naval training. They join the Service as sub-lieutenants and then come under exactly the same regulations as cadet entries.

Candidates for engineer officers are sent to royal or mercantile dockyards to undergo a five years' course. On completion of this they go before a selection board, and successful candidates are given further courses in discipline and electrical work, after which they go out to India as engineer sub-lieutenants. Gunners, signal boatswains, and warrant telegraphists are obtained on loan from the R.N. in the first instance, and a proportion of these are, if volunteers, transferred permanently to the R.I.N. Boatswains are similarly obtained, in some cases, from the R.N., but in this branch a number of warrant officers are promoted from Indian chief and petty officers. Warrant writers are promoted from Indian chief and petty officer writers. This branch is entirely Indianized. Medical officers, except for the head of the branch, who is a major loaned from the R.A.M.C., are lent for various periods from the Indian Medical Department.

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In a normal year seagoing ships carry out independent cruises in Indian waters, being concentrated at certain periods for combined training in gunnery, mine-sweeping, etc. Competitions take place annually in gunnery, musketry, and general efficiency. Great keenness is shown in these competitions, for which challenge cups and shields are held for a year by the winner. Pulling and sailing regattas, athletic sports, and hockey competitions are also held annually. Ships take part frequently in combined exercises with the Army and Air Force. They also carry out exercises with the ships of the East Indies Squadron. Three of them have recently taken part in the large exercises at Singapore.

The Service, small as it is at present, is efficient. Officers and men are keen and anxious to keep up to date so as to be fit in all respects to take their full share with the Royal Navy in the defence of the Empire; but it is not fair to send these officers and men to sea in war or emergency in obsolete, slow, and underarmed ships. Their replacement by modern vessels with the latest armament and equipment is essential to maintain that prestige and esprit de corps without which no fighting force can hope to remain efficient.

In addition to the replacement of obsolete ships, it is most necessary for the local naval defence of India to recruit at once the officers and men required to man the auxiliary vessels which will be taken up in wartime for mine-sweeping, anti-submarine and patrol work outside the major ports. If these ports cannot be kept open it will be impossible to move troops in and out of India, keep trade going, and maintain adequate communications with the rest of the Empire.

In 1936 His Majesty the King-Emperor was graciously pleased to grant to the Royal Indian Navy the privilege of carrying a King's Colour similar to those carried in the Royal Navy. The colour was presented in December, 1936, by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. It was received and carried for the first time, most suitably, by the senior Indian executive officer.

Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY: I would like to say how very much the Navy appreciates the work done by Admiral Walwyn and Admiral Bedford, who had largely to make bricks without straw. I had, during some three years, a good deal to do with the old Indian Marine. They used to do all the trooping, and I know that all our officers were on the very best of terms with theirs.

I would like, if I may, to ask two or three questions. Are all these enlisted Mussulmans, and if so, do they not object to wearing a cap? How do the rates of pay for officers compare with those of the Royal Navy?

The LECTURER: The Indian ratings are all Mussulmans, except the stewards, who are mostly Goanese. They do not mind the uniform cap at all. It is difficult to report on the officers' rates of pay. The scales do not correspond to, but one may certainly say that they are approximately equal to those in the Royal Navy. They draw overseas allowances, and rank pay, and in one respect they are more fortunate than the officers of the Royal Navy, in that after the age of 30 they are entitled to allowances on marriage.

Admiral KELLY: Under what engagements do they enrol?

The LECTURER: They are liable to service in any part of the world.

Another MEMBER: Can you tell me what colour the ensign was in about the year 1820?

The LECTURER: It was the White Ensign, with red and white horizontal stripes. (In answer to another question) The East India Squadron get tropical pay when serving in the Persian Gulf. Some time ago it was put before the Commander-in-Chief whether officers and men should get the tropical allowance. The Commander-in-Chief decided that they should not, but that the Commander-in-Chief's allowance should be increased. And a very good allowance it was!

Another MEMBER: What is the future of the Indian Navy? Will it increase?

The LECTURER: Oh, definitely! There is no question but that the idea is that the service should be increased both in personnel and in ships.

Admiral KELLY: Has everything been now turned over to the Government of India, including the pensioners of the Royal Indian Marine?

The LECTURER: Yes.

Sir PHILIP CHETWODE: I will make two or three remarks before calling on you for a vote of thanks to our Lecturer. I felt very hot and bothered when the Admiral fixed me with a ferocious eye and said he could get very little money out of me. (Laughter.) But you have to remember that the Commander-in-Chief in India is also the Minister of Defence, and as such he has powers which many people would like to see in the hands of one minister in this country: he has in his charge not only the Navy, but also the Army and the Air Force, and he has to budget for all three. In 1931 it was a very difficult year, during the depression, and I had to cut down my estimates from 55 crores of rupees to 45 crores—that is, nearly £7,000,000 of money a year less. To find how to save that £7,000,000 was a tremendous task.

You will allow, Admiral, that I found you two new sloops.

Strictly speaking, the Royal Navy undertakes the protection of India in time of war. In return India pays £100,000 a year to the English Treasury as some slight compensation for their undertaking the protection of India, which is a very costly thing.

I am very glad you have heard Admiral Bedford describe how the Royal Indian Navy is emerging, because I regard it as one of the most

important links in our Imperial chain of defence. The coast defence of India depends on the Royal Indian Navy: it is up to them to keep the channels of the great ports swept, to see food ships get in and goods out of Karachi, Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. I am perfectly certain that the Royal Indian Navy has got to expand in a short time from now. Expenditure on the navy is perhaps the most popular part of the Indian budget. I had to stand in the Imperial Parliament of India and ask for the money for the naval and military estimates, and they voted for naval expenditure without hesitation. If you look at the map, as you have been doing this evening, and see those 4,000 miles of coastline, and consider that England goes easily into the State of Hyderabad alone, you will realize that here is one of the most important points in the defences of the British Empire. So the Admiral need not fear that work he has just left was not of great importance. I will now ask you to join in thanking him for telling us something of what I think most of you knew very little about, and for telling it in a most interesting way. (Applause.)

BRITISH OPERATIONS IN THE RED SEA, 1799-1801

By C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON

Lecture before the Royal Central Asian Society on March 9, 1938, Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Chair.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—In thanking you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to lecture before this Society, I am hampered by a base fear that the next hour may see me shown up as the impostor I really am. To lessen the shock of this impending exposure, to enable members to leave now instead of having to stalk out indignantly later on, I had best throw off my disguise at once by announcing that I am a Maritime historian, not an Oriental scholar. I have not visited Arabia or Tibet; nor have I, after a fortnight in Bengal, written my views on Indian self-government. My travels have been confined to Europe, and I probably know less about the Red Sea than anyone here. Considerable as my audacity may be, it does not extend to lecturing this audience on the peoples and problems of Asia. What I do propose to talk about is naval history and, in particular, a certain episode of Nelson's time—an episode of no great importance, which may nevertheless prove interesting. I do not offer my story as a narrative of world-shaking events. The most I can say for it is that it has seldom been told before, and never, perhaps, told fully.

THE period of the Napoleonic Wars, as most of us studied it in youth, presented a series of highly dramatic scenes. One passed on lightly from the death of Nelson to the burial of Sir John Moore. There was hardly a dull moment. Any reading we may have done in nineteenth-century fiction went to strengthen this impression. Did any novel contain a sailor, he was sure to have fought at the Battle of the Nile, and very likely lost a leg in consequence. This was due, of course, to the novelist's habit of dining from time to time at Greenwich. Attracted by a fine afternoon and the prospect of whitebait, people of Dickens' generation would repeatedly find themselves near Greenwich Hospital. With what patience they could muster, they put in the time before dinner, and invariably ended up in the clutches of an ancient mariner. These mendacious old men, tottering up and down the terrace, would proceed to tell the unwary all about Trafalgar. They had all been there. They had all, moreover, served in the *Victory*. It was in the arms of most of them that Nelson died. Thinking wistfully of the whitebait, the landsmen would resign themselves to a recital which was only terminable, it became apparent, by bribery. So the Trafalgar legend grew. And

with it grew the conviction that the seamen of Nelson's time spent their days in fighting pitched battles.

Now, it is perfectly clear that the average sailor of that period never saw a pitched battle. Let us look at the facts. Take, for example, the autumn of 1810. We had then, actually at sea, about 600 men-of-war. Of these 500 can be dismissed at once, for frigates and sloops rarely took part in a general engagement. And, of the ships of the line, how many appeared in battle? For the various engagements of those days, no fleet ever mustered more than about thirty sail—more often it was twenty or less. There were fourteen, for example, at the Battle of the Nile. Counting ships in harbour and under repair, there were in 1810 between 150 and 200 sail of the line. Had a battle taken place, perhaps twenty of them might have taken part. The chances, therefore, were heavily against any individual being present in battle. He was more likely to serve in a frigate or a sloop; and, even in a ship of the line, the chances were eight or ten to one. Battles did not occur every year, for that matter, so that we must visualize the seamen of the day as chiefly engaged in other duties. It is the story of these other activities that has been neglected. This evening I wish to describe a minor campaign of the sort which, for lack of bloodshed, has scarcely found mention in history books. Not altogether dull in itself, it may serve to show the sort of naval operations which were going on all the time, all over the world.

Then, as now, men-of-war had to be distributed about the globe, chiefly with a view to commerce protection. There were definite "stations"—the North Sea, the Jamaica station, the Newfoundland station, and so on. Each was a definite area, for which an Admiral was responsible. Of these stations, the East Indies was easily the most extensive. The Admiral commanding in India had to watch over a little area including practically the whole of the Indian Ocean, from the Cape to the Persian Gulf, from Calcutta to Australia, and the whole of the East Indies and China Seas as far as Canton and the Philippines. He was not debarred from the Pacific, supposing he found his style rather cramped for lack of room. In practice, however, he rarely had occasion to go so far. He found himself sufficiently occupied as it was. His task would have been even more difficult than it was found to be had not the merchant shipping kept to a few fairly definite "lanes." The regularity of the merchantmen in this respect was partly due to the fact that all the ships under British colours trading between Europe and the East were in the service of

a single merchant—the East India Company. Less regular were the ships owned by private merchants in India, which traded with the East Indies and with China. To police the trade routes, the Admiral on the East Indies station had, early in the wars, about a dozen ships, mostly frigates; which number gradually rose to as many as forty as the struggle went on. The squadron was based on Madras, Bombay, and Penang. Bombay was the only port with a real dockyard and facilities for extensive repairs. Madras, situated more centrally, and well placed for guarding the Bay of Bengal, had no harbour at all but only an open roadstead. The strength of the squadron moved between Madras and Bombay, according to the Monsoon. A detachment from it was usually to be found at Penang, chiefly to protect trade in the Straits of Malacca, and there were cruisers (as a rule) near the Sandheads of Bengal and off Ceylon. Other duties were assigned as occasion arose, men-of-war accompanying the convoys to China and sometimes escorting the Indiamen on their way to the Cape. The Navy rarely had anything to do with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. For the patrolling of that part of the world the East India Company had its own fleet, based on Bombay. This was composed of small craft, largely manned by lascars, and had, as its most important function, the carrying of the Overland Mail. It also protected trade and dealt with pirates.

After repeated mention of the necessity to protect trade, the question naturally arises as to why protection was needed. The answer is that the French had made Mauritius a base for commerce raiding. This island, difficult to blockade, impossible to bombard, sent forth frigates and privateers to prey on the British shipping and intrigue with the native powers in India. It was a hornets' nest, lying almost in the path of the India Trade. After the taking of the Cape from the Dutch in 1796, the task of attempting to blockade Mauritius fell to the squadron based on the Cape; but it was in the Bay of Bengal that the French corsairs made their prizes, and it fell to ships of the East Indies Squadron to go in unavailing pursuit.

If the chief characteristic of the East Indies station was its enormous area, another peculiar feature was its remoteness. It was too far away for effective control. The Admiralty was perpetually attempting to assert some kind of control over the East Indies squadron, and perpetually finding itself thwarted. The Admiral would announce his immediate intentions, and a year would pass before their Lordships' order could arrive to forbid him—by which time the deed had been

done. The Admiralty would send out an officer to command a particular vessel. The reply would come that the ship in question had been wrecked some months before, so that there was no vacancy. Orders would come to appoint a certain firm as naval agents. To this the retort would be that the firm was bankrupt. Instructions would arrive that an officer was to be promoted—and the Admiral would remark that the officer was dead.

From the flag-officer's point of view, this freedom from effective control was a principal attraction of the East Indies. It was the means of promoting friends and relations. The son of one of the Admirals rose from midshipman to post-captain in less than a year. The son of his successor was commanding a man-of-war at the age of seventeen. In matters of strategy the Admiral was less despotic, for he was bound by standing orders to consult the Governor-General of India. It was only by assuming a great responsibility that he could wholly reject the advice officially tendered from that quarter. His consolation for this infringement of his rule lay in the fact that he could make large sums of money by plundering the Dutch and Spanish whenever opportunity offered. In this way Admirals were apt to return to England as rich men. Two commanders-in-chief in the East Indies made fortunes of two or three hundred thousand pounds. They paid for their wealth by the ruin, sometimes, of their digestions, and by the inroads of the liver complaint. It may be remarked that Admirals spent much of their time ashore amidst the convivial society of Madras and Bombay.

After this general sketch of the East India station, we must now review briefly the circumstances of the French invasion of Egypt. Allow me to quote, first of all, a few lines from the Annual Register for 1798.

Buonaparte who, to a mind naturally lofty, and fertile in expedients, had added all the advantages of a learned and liberal, as well as a military education, viewed things on a grand scale, and under a vast variety of relations, and was animated by the contemplation of ancient times to a love of glory. He had often expressed in conversation, even for several years before, his opinion, that there could not be a nobler enterprise, or one more conducive to the interests of the human race, than to relieve India from the domination of the English. . . . His plans, therefore, of exalting France on the ruins of England, were tinged with ideas somewhat sublime and generous, and what might be expected to conciliate the grateful affection as well as the admiration of the world.

Debarred, by lack of naval strength, from sailing to India round the Cape, Buonaparte decided to go, like Alexander, overland. And,

towards this enterprise, the taking of Egypt was the first step. An expedition was fitted out, consisting of thirteen sail of the line and a fleet of transports carrying 36,000 troops. This armada sailed from Toulon on May 19, 1798, took Malta on the way, and began the landing at Alexandria on July 1. A month later the French squadron was destroyed at the Battle of the Nile, leaving Bonaparte stranded in Egypt without means of return by sea and without likelihood of reinforcement. Any immediate advance on India was prevented by the resistance of the Mamelukes in Egypt and by the threatened intervention of the Turks. Nevertheless, Bonaparte had not forgotten the original object of the expedition. He talked of making a permanent establishment in Egypt, of building a flotilla on the Red Sea, and even of digging a canal across the isthmus.

It may be supposed that anxiety was felt both in England and India—anxiety not much lessened by the news of the Battle of the Nile. The trouble was that Tippoo Sultan was threatening war in India. It was known that he was in touch with the French at Mauritius, who were promising him reinforcements and supplies. And there were French frigates lurking in the Indian Ocean, which might easily provide means of communication, not only between Tippoo and the Mauritius, but also between Tippoo and the Red Sea. The immediate object became to crush Tippoo as soon as possible, and, in the meanwhile, interrupt his communications with the French. Lord Mornington, the Governor-General, made arrangements for dealing with Tippoo, and a campaign began in February, 1799, and ended with the taking of Seringapatam in May. At the same time the naval Commander-in-chief, Admiral Rainier, blockaded Tippoo's ports and generally appeared in force on the Malabar Coast. Long before this, however, in June, 1798, the Admiralty had decided to send a small squadron to the Red Sea direct from England—partly to save time, partly to avoid weakening Rainier's already overworked forces. The officer chosen to command this expedition was Commodore J. Blankett. We should know little about him were it not for Jeremy Bentham, who knew Blankett and took the trouble to record his dislike in a letter to a friend. According to Bentham, Blankett was "one of the most wrong-headed blockheads" he ever encountered—but, for all that, a friend of the leading politicians. "Blankett," he said on a later occasion, "was a retainer of Lord Shelburne, one of the numerous hangers-on who were tale-bearers to my lord, and was familiar with the Whigs. He was an ignorant,

confident, amusing fellow, an object of great aversion to the Bowood ladies from his coarse manners. But he was employed by Lord Shelburne to repeat to him what passed among the Whigs, and especially to report the conversations at the Admiralty. . . ." It may be added that, whatever his character in other respects, Blankett seems to have been a fairly capable seaman, and already acquainted with the East Indies, though not with the Red Sea. To have found an officer who knew the Red Sea would have been very difficult, for it was a region rarely visited, almost unsurveyed, and generally but little known. English Sailing Directories were vague on the subject, and navigators found themselves turning perforce to the old books of the Portuguese.

Blankett sailed from Spithead early in July, 1798, finding time at the last moment to tell the Secretary of the Admiralty that the Service was, in his opinion, going to the dogs. He added that he had to turn 200 women out of his ship on the eve of sailing. Blankett's squadron consisted of but three vessels, the *Leopard* (fifty guns), *Dædalus*, frigate (thirty-two guns), and *Orestes*, sloop (eighteen guns). Owing to bad weather in the Atlantic, Blankett did not round the Cape until October 1. He was then harassed by easterly gales, in which his two consorts parted company, only rejoining him at the Comoro Islands. It was then a bad time of year for his purpose, but he did his best and spent November and December in struggling against contrary winds and currents in an effort to reach the entrance to the Red Sea. In January, 1799, his supplies were running short and he had to send the *Dædalus* to the Cape to fetch provisions, ordering her to rejoin him at Aden. He pushed on doggedly, having heard from native vessels that the French were already at Cairo. Still delayed by gales in February, and running short not only of food and water, but of fuel and candles and everything else, he put into Zanzibar (which place, he believed, had never been visited by an English ship), and there obtained rice, beef, wood, and water sufficient for his two ships. So fortified, he was enabled to reach Mocha on April 13. Sent off in a frantic hurry to thwart the schemes of Bonaparte, the expedition had taken nearly ten months to reach the scene of operations. At Mocha there was an agent sent from Bombay, and from him Blankett learnt that Admiral Rainier had sent two ships up the Red Sea already, the *Centurion* (fifty guns) and *Albatross* (eighteen guns), and that these had actually sailed from Jidda for Suez a fortnight before. He also heard that the Government of Bombay intended to occupy

and garrison the island of Melun. Of the French he could learn nothing definite.

What had Bonaparte been doing all this time, when the *Leopard* and her consorts were struggling northward along the African coast? Two or three months had been spent in dealing with local resistance, and in consolidating his position in Egypt. It was not until November, 1798, that he ordered an advance on Suez. And, even then, because of the Turkish threat, the column sent was quite small. It was, in fact, little more than a reconnaissance in force. Some 600 men, with two guns, set off from Cairo on December 3, under the command of General Bon. With this officer went a naval man called Collot, with ten sailors. General Bon's first task was to see all the cisterns filled and arrange with the Arabs at Tor to keep up the supply of water. He was to erect a battery to face seawards and secure Suez from molestation. He was to prepare one or two local feluccas as cruisers, assure the merchants of Yambo and Jidda that their trade would not be interrupted, fortify Suez on the landward side, and obtain all possible information about Syria, Jidda, and Mecca.

General Bon reached Suez on December 7, occupied the town without difficulty, and found in the harbour four unarmed merchantmen and five or six small craft. He reported that the place was easy to defend against naval attack, being protected by sandbanks stretching seaward for miles, and approachable only by a narrow channel having about two and a half fathoms of water at most. No man-of-war could get within range. On the eleventh, hearing that all was well, Bonaparte sent off a supply column, with fifty more sailors, seven or eight shipwrights, thirty-five sappers, and another gun. A week later, Bonaparte wrote to thank Bon for his news about Tippoo Sultan, asking at the same time whether the frigates expected from Mauritius could be brought close enough inshore at Suez to be protected by the batteries. These frigates, it may be remarked, never appeared, having gone off to the eastward to try to intercept the China Fleet—in which attempt they failed. One frigate, indeed, arrived in the Bay of Bengal, and was promptly captured.

On December 24, Bonaparte set off to visit Suez in person, accompanied by a small escort, together with Rear-Admiral Ganteaume and an odd collection of archæologists, geologists, and surveyors. Arriving on December 27, he questioned such Arab seamen as could be found, inspected the town, and issued a number of Napoleonic orders. The Admiral was to equip three gunboats, the largest to be decked, re-

rigged, and named the *Duguay-Trouin*. These were to be used to reconnoitre Tor and other neighbouring ports. Leaving subordinates to carry out these orders as well as they might, Bonaparte hurried off again on January 3 to explore the traces of the canal dug by the ancients. He was back in Cairo on the evening of the sixth. At this period he was clearly contemplating the construction of a Red Sea squadron, and had even begun to draw up plans for naval operations in the near future. He might have been rather more justified in his optimism if help had come from the Mauritius. Admiral Sercey seems, however, to have been quite unaware of the situation; and presently, after the tardy arrival of Blankett, it was too late.

Blankett, as we have seen, arrived at Mocha in April, to find that the *Centurion* and *Albatross* had already gone up towards Suez. He did not follow, chiefly for lack of stores, which he expected would come from Bombay or in the *Dædalus*. So that it was left to the *Centurion* (Captain Rainier—son of the Admiral) to reconnoitre Suez. The *Centurion* and *Albatross* arrived in sight of Suez on April 27—probably the first men-of-war to be seen there. Finding it impossible to destroy the French gunboats or to bombard the town, Captain Rainier anchored in sight of the place and remained there placidly until the end of June. By that time, with the setting in of the northern monsoon, he knew that no ships could enter the Red Sea for the next three months; so that there was no risk of the French finding means to transport troops to India. And, after that, with the winds blowing the other way, ships might enter, but could not return. So Captain Rainier considered his task at an end and sailed back to Mocha, where he found Commodore Blankett on June 6. The *Albatross* he left to cruise off Tor and “watch the motions of the Enemy.”

Commodore Blankett, while guarding the Straits, had not been altogether idle. He had not been long at Mocha before a vessel arrived from India with the news that the Bombay Government was sending an expedition to occupy the island of Perim. Within a few days there arrived, with a long-needed storeship, an order from Admiral Rainier to co-operate in this undertaking. Going over to the island, early in May, Blankett found Lieut.-Colonel Murray and a number of transports with “all the apparatus for a large settlement.” The troops had been landed, and fortifications were being put in hand. If the island had a defect it was in the total lack of any water supply; so that the chief concern of the garrison was the digging of reservoirs and the fetching of water-casks from the Arabian coast or from

Abyssinia. Blankett looked on the whole business with the strongest disapproval. In the first place, Mocha was a port from which it was easy to block the Straits, as shipping always kept to that side. In the second place, he had not been consulted. And, in the third, he did not want to see his ships tied down to Perim by the necessity of fetching water for the garrison. In one of his letters written at this time, Blankett expressed his contempt.

. . . I soon found they were come on a great scale to build Batteries in the Sea, that should command the Straits, but that they were unprovided with Water, without Casks to procure it, without tools for their Carpenters, Caulkers or Coopers and even without Shovels or spades & without money to purchase any of those wants—in short so helpless an expedition *perhaps* never left India before. Whenever they wished the assistance of the Navy it was given them, but they would neither consult or allow an opinion from the Officers on the most practicable mode of proceeding. . . . From this persisting, their work has been ill done, their tanks are badly put together, and they have been doing and undoing ever since their arrival. . . .

With this expedition came the frigate *Fox*, a welcome reinforcement, of which Blankett soon made use. After the return of *Dædalus* and *Albatross*, his squadron was stronger than any force likely to come from Mauritius, and far stronger than any flotilla that could be built at Suez. Indeed, by the latest information, the French had nothing there but three gunboats and “a Brigantine” built with “the timber of two Dows.” Back at Mocha again after his visit to Perim, Blankett received in July the news that the French, after occupying Upper Egypt, had taken the port of Kosseir. This information was correct. The French General Desaix had been chasing the Mamelukes up the left bank of the Nile, and, towards the end of May, he sent a small force to garrison Kosseir and its semi-ruined fort. This port was thought useful as a means of intercepting any help which the Mamelukes might otherwise draw from Arabia; while, at the same time, facilitating negotiations with the Shereef of Mecca.

On hearing of the French seizure of Kosseir, Blankett sent the *Dædalus* and *Fox* to investigate and, if necessary, act. His chief motive in this was to impress the Arabs with an idea of the possibilities of sea power. As he wrote to Lord Spencer, “Your Lordship will naturally suppose it was not knocking down an old Arab castle I considered of consequence,” but rather the moral effect in Arabia. Accordingly, on August 14, the two frigates appeared off Kosseir, saw the republican colours flying, and opened fire. They continued the bombardment for the best part of three days, only varying it by

occasionally trying to land. The French managed to drive off the landing parties, but the town and fort were left in ruins, the French afterwards picking up some three thousand shot. The frigates, having expended all the ammunition they could spare, went off to rejoin Blankett.

An important factor in the situation at this time was the attitude of the Shereef of Mecca, who controlled Jidda and the shipping which might be used by the French. He was, on the whole, favourable to France; partly through being jealous of the Turkish power, partly because he had been heavily bribed by Tippoo. It seemed essential, therefore, to Blankett, that he should proceed to Jidda and attempt to bring the Shereef to reason. Otherwise, there was some risk of a definite alliance between Mecca and the French—the results of which might be serious. Fortunately, on the very eve of departing for Jidda, Blankett (who was, by this time, Rear-Admiral) received the important news of Tippoo having been defeated and killed. At much the same time, two other important events took place. One was the victory of Bonaparte over the Turks; and the second was the return of Bonaparte to France. The one did something to reassure the Shereef of Mecca, and the other did more to reassure English authorities in India. With Napoleon's escape from Egypt in August, 1799, the danger to India was virtually at an end. The French might hold Egypt, but there was no likelihood of their invading India now that Tippoo was dead.

Strengthened by the turn of events, Blankett proceeded with his squadron to Jidda, and had no difficulty in persuading the Shereef to forbid all intercourse between his ports and Suez. The bombardment of Kosseir had made an impression, and Blankett found that he was listened to "with every attention." On his return to Mocha, he found that Colonel Murray had transferred the bulk of his force from Perim to Aden. This was early in September. Murray had found Perim untenable, for lack of water, and had accepted an invitation from the Sultan of Aden, who was friendly and, indeed, anxious to surrender the town to the English as a dependency, with himself as a pensioner. Blankett went with most of his squadron to winter and refit at Bombay.

The campaign of 1800 began with Blankett's return to Mocha on March 30. He found that Colonel Murray had evacuated both Aden and Perim and gone up the Red Sea; at first, he could not imagine why. But then he received news of Sir Sidney Smith's negotiations

for the evacuation of Egypt—negotiations which ended in an agreement which the British Government afterwards refused to ratify. For the moment, however, it seemed that the war in Egypt was over, and that Suez would be evacuated in due course. Murray had accordingly proceeded there in order to take possession when the French withdrew. This he actually did, but was forced to return it when news came that the treaty was annulled. Blankett arrived on May 1 to find the French in possession again, and Murray withdrawn to Tor. After considering the possibility of attacking Suez, the Rear-Admiral reluctantly retired to Jidda and engaged in fresh discussions with the Shereef, who, however, hearing of fresh Turkish defeats, was now almost openly on the French side. Blankett contented himself with preventing any communication by sea with Suez. He left a frigate at Mocha and returned to Bombay in September.

Blankett's next attempt against the French in Egypt began at the end of December, 1800, immediately after he had refitted. On this occasion he took with him the *Leopard* and *Fox*, two bomb-vessels, and five cruisers belonging to the Bombay Marine. He had also a detachment of 250 troops, and some small craft to use as fireships. This expedition seems primarily to have been intended to overawe the Shereef of Mecca, but, while at Jidda in February, 1801, he received orders from the Secretary of State to seize Suez or Kosseir. This was because the reconquest of Egypt had been decided upon. Two expeditions were being sent, one to land at Aboukir and the other from India to go up the Red Sea; and it was important to seize a landing-place for the latter army. Blankett sailed from Jidda on March 9, struggled against northerly winds, and finally reached Suez on the twenty-second. The French, hurriedly concentrating as a result of the landing at Aboukir on March 8, had evacuated Suez a week before. Blankett landed, took possession, and hoisted the British flag. Then he waited for the expedition to arrive—waited and waited. April passed, and then May, and no troops came. He was just about to sail, as his stores were running short, when a message came from General Hutchinson, who was near Cairo, asking him to send Colonel Lloyd and his detachment to join the main army. This was done, the troops marching on June 6, and then Blankett left Suez and made his way back to Kosseir, which port he entered on the fifteenth to find the expedition from India already landed, under General Baird. He presently saw Baird and his army of 7,000 men disappear into the interior of the country, while he himself returned to Mocha, and so to

India, leaving Sir Home Popham to command in the Red Sea. He died soon afterwards, worn out by the climate and by his long services.

The story of Baird's march might well have an epic quality, had it ended differently. Baird crossed the desert of Thebes in ten days and so gained the banks of the Nile. Mainly by means of boats, his army covered the next 300 miles in nine days, arriving at Cairo just after the French army had capitulated to General Hutchinson.

So ended the campaign. It was essentially a story of lost endeavour. From the naval point of view, nothing happened. Scarcely a shot was fired, and Rear-Admiral Blankett has been as completely forgotten as if he had never left England. And yet, these forgotten and fruitless operations were the lot of the average seaman of the time. When we think of the seamen of Nelson's day we should not picture a man whose sole mission in life was to serve a gun at Trafalgar, leaving it only to carry Nelson to the cockpit. We should picture, rather, the long months spent in blockading the French seaports, the unending and thankless escorting of merchantmen, the burial parties in the fever-stricken West Indies, the weeks becalmed under the pitiless sun of the tropics, the expeditions cancelled at the last moment when all was ready to sail; only in such glimpses can we see how seamen then lived and died. Then, as now, war was not made with spectacular heroism, with colours nailed to the mast, so much as with discomfort, boredom, continual fatigue, recurring disease, and an abiding and increasing sense of futility.

MOUNTAINEERING IN THE HIMALAYA

Notes of an illustrated lecture given at the Young People's meeting by Mr. Eric Shipton on January 12, 1938, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode in the Chair. In opening the lecture, the Chairman said:

It gives me great pleasure to introduce Mr. Shipton, one of the most skilful of the young generation of climbers, and it is especially good of him to lecture to us to-day, for in a few days' time he will be away on the new attempt on Everest.

I should like as Chairman—and I am sure he would wish me to do so—to acknowledge publicly what an immense debt the climbers of to-day owe to the Nepal Government, which facilitate their arrangements by every means in its power.

THIS lecture is on climbing in the Himalaya, and I think what would probably interest you most would be for me to say something about the repeated attempts that have been made on Mount Everest.

The original expedition to Mount Everest was sent out in 1921, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society and the Alpine Club, led by Colonel Howard Bury. Mallory, that great climber and brilliant man, once described as one of the greatest antagonists Everest ever had, was one of this and of the three succeeding attempts to reach the summit of the mountain. This first expedition was concerned not so much with the ascent as the approach to Everest.

I would like you to imagine what must have been the fascination of setting out to try and find the highest mountain in the world; to my mind it must have been very much more thrilling than setting out to *climb* the highest mountain in the world, and this small party of men set out in 1921 to attempt that. They succeeded very well, as I shall tell you. They were a party of scientists, botanists, zoologists, and surveyors, and they were all mountaineering specialists too, so they could all take a hand in the question of finding a route to the mountain when they actually found it.

Their route led them through a large section of Southern Tibet; they had to march for about a month before they got anywhere near where Everest was supposed to lie. Tibet is a most interesting country. It is entirely cut off from the outside world, and at that time very few people were allowed to visit the interior. It is still not easy to get a permit to do so.

When Colonel Howard Bury and his party got near the mountain, they had the very difficult task of finding an approach. At last they

found what was known as the Rongbuk Valley, which gave them direct access to the north face of the mountain. In this valley is one of the most holy monasteries in Tibet. Nothing grows at that height, and all the food has to be brought up from below by the laymen, whose duty it is to keep the monks supplied. Everest is a holy mountain, and they built the monastery in this very barren and inhospitable place in order to be close to Everest and to be able to see it when they were worshipping it. The Abbot of the monastery who was there in 1921 is still alive. He is a great old man, and we have had many long conversations with him. He does not mind us trying to climb Mount Everest, because he says, quite reasonably, if the gods who live up there do not want us to come they will throw us down again. He maintains that the gods can quite easily look after themselves, and if they do not want us up there they will not have us. In fact, in this monastery they have a painting on one of the walls depicting the avalanche which occurred in 1922 and killed several of the members of the expedition. They have rather exaggerated it, of course; they depict it as the gods hurling the climbers down. But it is rather interesting to understand their point of view.

Having reached this valley, Mallory, who was in charge of the mountaineering side of the expedition, had the job of finding a way on to the mountain. He tried one way and another, and eventually, after many weeks of work and exploration, found a route by the east glacier and actually got on to the North Col. A col is simply a saddle between two high summits, in this case between Everest and the north peak.

That was the work of the 1921 expedition, and after that the subsequent expeditions—and there have been a great many—had the very much less interesting task of trying to climb the mountain. General Bruce led the next two expeditions, in 1922 and 1924, after which there was a considerable pause until 1933, when we set out to have another try at it under the charge of Mr. Rutledge.

I will try and describe some of the country we go through when we have left the monastery behind and go up the East Rongbuk glacier. The whole route is over a series of ice pinnacles about 300 feet high, through which one has to find a way.

Going to Everest the route is fairly easy, but when one is exploring the glaciers from side to side one gets involved in frightful difficulties. Very often one can only do two or three hundred yards in a day. No picture I can show you can give an adequate idea of the ice scenery; it is wonderful, some of it. You must imagine it to be all sorts of colours.

It is always changing colour. Sometimes it is a deep green, sometimes blue, and sometimes in the setting sun pink, and the whole effect is very lovely.

The great trouble about trying to climb Everest is that before the monsoon there is a perpetual wind which sweeps across the mountain with enormous force and is constantly blowing up blizzards. It is practically impossible to stand up, let alone climb. One is very liable to meet with these blizzards, and they make it impossible to climb. One has to curl up and get as much protection as one can, because one is not infrequently blown off one's feet.

Above the North Col the climbing is pretty easy, but the altitude begins to tell, and we have to go very, very slowly. Every few steps one has to stoop down and gasp for breath. On the highest ridges one cannot do more than one or two hundred feet in an hour, and unfortunately the last two thousand feet of Everest are really difficult. The last two thousand feet steepen up tremendously, and it is very difficult to find any place to sleep, and one is constantly liable to fall off. As one's brain is not working very well at that altitude, the danger is fairly great. Just to illustrate that fact about one's brain not functioning well, when O'Dell was up there in 1924—he was the last man who was said to have seen Mallory and Irvine when they were killed—he was going at about 26,000 feet, and—he was a very keen geologist—he found a couple of fossils. They were valuable, and he was as excited as one can be at that altitude at having found them. He put them in his pocket. An hour or so later he thought he would eat something, so he took the fossils out of his pocket and bit them, thought they were frozen bread, and threw them away. He did not remember until he got down that that was what had happened.

The only hope of reaching the summit is to get across a wide couloir on to another ridge and so up to the top, but it still remains to be proved that it is possible. It is certainly not possible except under exceptional conditions, for if the snow powders it is rather like Cerebos salt, and it is impossible to get any foothold on the rock at all. The powdered snow comes during the monsoon, and the only thing to clear it away is the wind; and it is impossible to climb in the wind. So there you have the problem of climbing Everest in a nutshell.

But to my mind Everest is not half as interesting or fascinating as exploring the many thousands of square miles in the Himalaya that still remain unmapped and unknown. That is the most fascinating job in the world, and I should like to show you some other parts

of the Himalaya which I have had the pleasure of exploring. I do not want you to go away with the idea that the Himalaya is simply one mountain chain culminating in Everest; the Himalaya is a colossal range and stretch over two thousand miles across Asia. If you could imagine that mountain range placed in Europe, Everest would probably fall somewhere in the Black Sea, and the next highest peak would fall about where London is. That gives you some idea of the enormous extent of the range, and I think it is not generally realized; I certainly never realized it until I started exploring in other parts of the range than Everest.

Tilman and I had a very interesting puzzle to clear up in 1934. The problem was to get into what was known as the Nanda Devi basin, about 600 miles to the west of Everest. It was a great basin of country surrounded by inaccessible peaks, and, although a great many people had tried to get into it, nobody had succeeded in doing so, and the problem that we were set was to get into this basin. Dr. Longstaff had tried various routes, and he assured me that by far the best way was to go up the gorge known as the Richigunga. Until then nobody had succeeded in getting up it in spite of repeated attempts. So we set out to try to get up this gorge into the Nanda Devi basin. We had great fun doing so and a good many difficulties. The last four miles were the most difficult. Those last four miles of gorge took us nine days to get up, which gives you some idea of the sort of difficulties we had to encounter. It was well worth it, because when we had got into it we found ourselves in the most lovely country, full of lakes and most marvellous mountain scenery. It was not at all as we expected, because we found a lot of wild animals there who had probably never seen human beings before, and flowers, grass, and beautiful lakes. The flowers of the Himalaya are one of the most lovely features. They come up in the spring when the winter snow is gone, and the earth is a carpet of all colours.

Besides the difficulties of getting over the mountains, the Himalayan explorer has a good many other things to contend with. One of the greatest is the immense forests. One has to hack one's way through them, but at the same time one has very beautiful views, which make it well worth while undergoing any difficulties. In this same year Tilman and I crossed an unknown pass and did not know where it would lead us—that is the great fascination of exploring—and we got down into one of these very thick Himalayan forests. The sides of the valley were so steep and the forest was so dense that we could not make more than a

mile a day. We ran out of food and had rather a thin time. We managed to find a lot of bamboo shoots and lived off those for nearly a week before we got down to any habitation.

* * * * *

Now I am taking you 1,500 miles to the west of Everest to describe another particular portion of the Himalaya which has no forests. I spent six months exploring up there with Tilman and two others in 1937. Each part of the Himalayas seems to have its own peculiar difficulty, and here it is the rivers. The rivers swell hugely in the early summer after the melting of the snows. The bridges are of the most primitive description when there are any—twisted creepers or a rope along which one has to pull oneself; where the rope bridges do not exist a sheepskin bladder is blown up and one man floats across with a rope, and if he arrives at the other side without being drowned he can then fix the rope across.

In order to get into our country this year we had to cross the main Himalayan range into a very interesting part of the world between Kashmir and Chinese Turkestan. We had to take sufficient food over to last us for about four months, and this meant we had to take a great number of coolies in order to carry the food across these high passes.

Our men were very sorry for themselves when they reached the high passes, and in the end they deserted us. We had to take 104 of these men, of whom 60 were carrying food which they ate themselves. This gives you some idea of the sort of problem one has to face when arranging these expeditions; not only have you got to feed yourself, but the coolies who are carrying the food you are eating, and the coolies who are carrying the food for the coolies, and so on, and in the end there is an enormous train of bearers. On this expedition our men deserted us near the summit of the pass, but we managed to carry the loads across and spend about four months surveying up there.

One of the most interesting things we had to do was to go up an unexplored glacier to the north side of the great mountain, the second highest in the world, and explore its northern face. It is the most incredible face I have ever seen. From the glacier to the top is 12,000 feet, practically sheer. I do not know if you can imagine St. Paul's Cathedral piled on itself thirty-six times, but if you can it gives you some idea of the height of that face. It is so big that I have actually watched ice avalanches which never reach the bottom because they were ground to powder long before they could reach the foot. It

was on this expedition that we found embedded in the ice all across these glaciers hundreds of birds about the size of ducks. One bird actually had a leg as long as my arm; that was probably some sort of crane. Most of the others were of the duck family. I imagine they were all engaged, when they perished, on migratory flights from Central Asia to India, but it is very extraordinary that they should choose these difficult routes when actually there are some fairly easy passes they could go over. They may have been caught in a storm, or possibly they were just exhausted. Some of the glaciers are immensely long—about forty miles—and when the birds have to fly up one side and down the other, and if there is any head wind, you can quite understand how they died. One suggestion for their going over these routes is that their ancestors started the routes long before the Himalaya was there. Geologically speaking, the Himalaya is a very young range and is still supposed to be rising. The suggestion is that the birds flew across that belt before the Himalaya was there, and now they are too conservative to want to alter their route. It sounds fantastic, but when it comes to Nature one is willing to believe almost anything.

I have not mentioned yet the Sherpa porters. The Sherpas come from a part of Northern Nepal which is situated just under Everest, and they help us very materially in our attempts on Mount Everest. They are wonderful people, I think some of the finest people in the world. They are never depressed, always cheerful and laughing. Our Sherpas are invaluable to us. They love coming out of their own part of the country and seeing the world.

In 1936 I took two of these men down to Bombay to see the sights. They had never seen a real big town before and were quite enthralled. They spent practically the whole day running up and down in the lift in the Army and Navy Stores. They simply loved the toy department and all the electric toys, and they shouted with glee at any of the trick toys.

They had never seen the sea before, and it was very difficult to explain to them how big it was. I tried to explain by saying that the ship went about as fast as a motor-car—because in Bombay about twenty miles an hour is the limit—and we went all day and night for three weeks and then reached England. That gave them some impression of the distance, and they were quite flabbergasted. They went for a cruise in Bombay Harbour and could not make out what made the ship go along. They are delightful people and most valuable to us. Sometimes they can carry as much as 130 lb. each. I think that is about 9 stone 7 lb.

Imagine carrying a person of 9 stone 7 lb. over very difficult mountain country day after day. Of course, they do not always, or often, carry such loads, but when we are in difficulties they will do everything to help us.

It is the most fascinating job in the world, this exploring. There are ranges on ranges of unexplored, unknown mountains in the Himalaya, where one may find lakes, or glaciers—anything. At the same time it is fairly hard work. One has to ration oneself to a great extent; one cannot take many suits of clothes, one may be left for a while to live on bamboo shoots, one is sure of unexpected difficulties. At the same time it is like nothing else on earth, and I can thoroughly recommend it as a form of amusement.

A MEMBER: Is there any game of any sort, big or small, something to eat?

Mr. SHIPTON: In the Nanda Devi basin we found wild sheep, goats, and marmots. Fortunately we did not have to shoot any then. But very unfortunately this year we had to shoot some of the animals we saw. I do not like shooting these wild animals—in unexplored ranges they are very tame—but one has to shoot them occasionally in order to get sufficient food to live. We found a lot of game birds too this year (snow cock and so on), and we also found hares, rabbits, and marmots, as well as one or two different kinds of sheep, but no snow pigeons.

A MEMBER: Did you see any signs of the abominable snow man?

Mr. SHIPTON: I think Mr. Smyth has tried to disprove the abominable snow man by saying he found some bear tracks this year. But Mr. Tilman very rightly points out that you may just as well say, because you have seen an elephant's tracks, that there is no such thing as a monkey. I feel that is a very sound point, because I think a good many of the tracks we have seen cannot be accounted for so simply.

Tilman last year at the head of a forty-mile glacier found some tracks which he followed for some hours until they disappeared up some inaccessible rocks. They were round tracks and did not seem in any way to those described by Mr. Smyth.

A MEMBER: About the dead birds you found—could they have been eaten?

Mr. SHIPTON: No, we never tried eating them. They were in too advanced a state of decay. Some had their feathers on, but mostly they were skeletons. Unfortunately we did not find anything we could eat. We often regretted that fact, as we would have been glad of roast duck up there.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecturer has described very vividly the enormous difficulties they had in carrying sufficient food. As anybody knows, the convoy eats itself out in a certain number of days. What do you actually take? Tea? Coffee? Bread?

Mr. SHIPTON: Going to Everest it is a fairly simple matter because transport is so easy. One just takes more or less what one likes. In last year's expedition we were four months without being able to get anywhere near a village, so had to be entirely self-supporting. That meant we could not have any superfluous food at all or any food that did not carry the maximum calorific value.

We take pemmican, which is a horrid sort of paste, very fatty and altogether

very unpleasant, but it is just edible when you cook it with rice. We also take a lot of rice and flour, and we take some of the new army emergency ration, which is a sort of chocolate and meat made up. That is very pleasant indeed and very efficacious. It contains a good amount of protein for its bulk. We drink tea. Sugar is the thing I want most. I allowed last year eight ounces of sugar a day per man, and found it was not anything like enough. I shall take more like a pound per man per day next time. One eats a tremendous amount of sugar. We also eat samba, a sort of parched barley flour or wheat flour, which you can eat straightaway if you wet it, and it is quite good to put in your tea and make a sort of paste of it.

The CHAIRMAN: Can you cook at the very highest altitudes? Are you able to heat up tea?

Mr. SHIPTON: I do not know what the boiling point near the top of Everest is, but it is very much lower than it is here. The boiling point is 212 degrees at sea level, and as you go up it gets less and less. Eventually you get so high that water will boil at freezing point. That sounds fantastic, but it is actually true.

At the top of Everest you can actually put your hand in boiling water without it scalding you. It is rather an extraordinary experience. Of course, the tea that you have is not very good in consequence. Also you cannot really cook anything like rice. All your food has to be ready cooked. It is very difficult to eat at that altitude. It is rather like trying to eat when one is ill or seasick. If you are a bad sailor, you know what it is like trying to eat a meal when you are feeling seasick. It is just like that on Everest. At the same time, of course, you have to eat to live. So the whole thing is to take what you can eat most easily, and I think sugar is the best thing.

The CHAIRMAN: Does an aerial photograph help you in choosing your route?

Mr. SHIPTON: I think aerial survey is certainly a thing of the future, but at present, as far as the Himalayas are concerned, you cannot get a plane to fly with a sufficiently high ceiling to take sufficient apparatus to be able to deal with the job. The photographs Lord Clydesdale took over Everest were excellent and are most useful to us. In the future I think most maps will be made from the air. The Danes are making aerial surveys in Greenland, but there there are not the immense heights. In Tibet one cannot land because most planes cannot take off at the altitude.

The CHAIRMAN: It may be of use in the future?

Mr. SHIPTON: I certainly think so.

A MEMBER: Can you light a fire at any height, and can you have food just warm but not thoroughly hot?

Mr. SHIPTON: At the extreme altitudes we use a Primus stove. In 1936 I did a certain amount of research on Primus stoves. We took them down to the R.A.F. station at Farnborough and tried to work out some stove which would function well at high altitudes. We managed to get one that would work at an altitude of about 35,000 feet. We tried burning petrol as well as paraffin, and found that the petrol always went out first. But you can cook things with the aid of a Primus stove and get them hot, but not boiling.

The CHAIRMAN: I might suggest to the lecturer that when he goes out again, he should first go to our Quartermaster-General's Department. He will find they have brought out a stove which burns oil and paraffin. Possibly it might be worth while having a look at it.

As there is nothing else, I will merely ask you to indicate in the usual manner a very hearty vote of thanks for one of the most interesting lectures we have ever had.

REVIEWS

Waziristan, 1936-37. By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Bruce. 8½" x 6". Pp. 66.
Map. Aldershot : Gale and Polden.

No one who has ever had anything to do with that unquiet but fascinating part of the Empire, the North-Western Frontier of India, can fail to be interested by the pamphlet on Waziristan by Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Bruce, C.S.I., C.I.E.

If anyone has a right to speak with authority on the subject, Colonel Bruce has. He and his father before him have spent between them nearly seventy years on the North-West Frontier, and from 1923-28 Colonel Bruce himself was on the border of Waziristan as Deputy-Commissioner of one of the neighbouring districts, and finally as Resident of Waziristan, with his summer headquarters at Razmak in the very centre of the district, and in winter at Dera Ismail Khan on the Indus. The more the reader knows about the problems confronting the civil and military powers on the North-West Frontier, the more he will agree with Colonel Bruce's main contentions. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that quite a number of political and military officers might not agree entirely with the reasons he gives for last year's outbreak against the Government.

I would hesitate to question the opinion of so experienced a frontiersman, especially on political matters. My experience is confined to seven years as Chief of Staff and Commander-in-Chief, in both of which appointments the question of the North-West Frontier was the subject of daily and sometimes almost hourly discussion among ourselves and with the politicals.

Nevertheless, I venture to differ slightly from his conclusions. He is an ardent believer in the Sandeman system, the guiding principle of which was control from within, and tribal responsibility effected through the tribal headmen for maintaining law and order.

He claims that during his period of service there in Waziristan from 1923 to 1930 outlaws were practically wiped out, and peace reigned within and without our borders, and he puts down the unrest of last year not so much to a failure of the Sandeman system, but rather to failure on our part to understand what were the causes of our success. He claims that those responsible failed to carry out many of the fundamental principles on which the Sandeman policy further south in Baluchistan had been based. I rather fancy that political officers who succeed him would not admit that every chance was not given to the Maliks to maintain law and order, and that they were not given every support in doing so. Since the heavy fighting in Waziristan after the War, and since Lord Rawlinson induced the Government to build the so-called circular road, no military operations of any importance had taken place in that part of the frontier. Presumably the "peaceful penetration" and tribal responsibility were carried out and encouraged during that time. We know that they were by Colonel Bruce him-

self, and it is difficult to believe that, as they had been such a success, they were dropped as soon as he left.

What is the problem? Ever since we first reached the Indus we have been confronted with 600 miles (from Chitral to the Persian border) of tangled mountains inhabited by many thousands of wild, fanatical Muslim tribesmen, trained to mountain warfare as a child is trained to walk, phenomenally skilful in the use of weapons and ground, and able, if all pull together, to put into the field half a million well-armed men.

That may be said to be the military side of the problem. The civil side is even more difficult.

It is quite impossible, and always has been, for the tribesmen to scrape a living out of their barren mountains. Till we arrived on the scene they had been in the habit of raiding their peaceful neighbours in the plains and taking from them what the strong man has always taken—women and cattle and money.

When we became responsible for the safety of the inhabitants in the plains we obviously had to say to them, "You shall not raid," and when they did we had to drive them back and punish them, which we have done, for the most part, in the past by means of so-called punitive expeditions, followed by retirement, which has been well named "hit and scuttle."

The tribesmen have always replied: "If we may not raid, then how are we to live?"

Many admirable frontier political officers have done their best to provide these men with the means to live within their own borders, but the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Indian Government has changed so often that they have never been really able to look ahead and take the long view, and, generally speaking, all they have had to offer have been bribes in the shape of contracts when we began to build roads, *maliki*, tribal allowances, and such like.

Money has never been forthcoming until recently to really help the tribesmen to live within their own borders.

Such a situation demanded always a definite policy, clearly understood by all and carried out firmly and relentlessly.

Instead of that, long lines of Secretaries of State and Viceroy's have wavered between one policy and the other, or halfway between. One has cried forward, and the next has cried back, and our policy has varied between those who advocate the only right way of control and peaceful penetration up to the border of Afghanistan and those who have advocated retirement to the Indus.

No one can say that that is the right way for a great nation to deal with the sturdy beggars at its back door.

Colonel Bruce is inclined to quote Marshal Lyautey and his work in French North Africa, and he contends that the so-called Sandeman policy which has obtained so long in Baluchistan is the same thing in principle.

I do not think that the comparisons are quite fair. Marshal Lyautey had a similar problem in so far as he had to deal with similar conditions of wild and independent tribesmen in a mountainous country, but he had not, as we

have, an Afghanistan on the other side, with a merely theoretical border between us and them, and a border which none of the tribesmen can be expected to regard as anything but theoretical. On our side I live; on the other side lives my uncle and my brothers; of the same tribe, and same descent, and the same religion, equally independent, equally difficult to deal with, precisely similar habits and customs. The Afghan takes as much part in the annual Powindah migration to India as does the tribesman of our side of the border. Nor had Marshal Lyautey to deal with the rich temptations of the plains for the tribesmen to raid. His tribesmen raided for flocks and herds. Ours raided to slit the throat of the rich Hindu and take his women and his money.

Sandeman had the good fortune to be able to go right up to the border at once and institute his policy of tribal responsibility to the headmen right up from the administrative border to the Afghan border. North of the Gomal the political officer has never been able to do that. He has never had the same access to the Durand line as Sandeman had to the Afghan frontier, and, above all, Sandeman instituted his policy before the blighting hand of Whitehall came through the institution of the telegraph from England.

I believe myself that the reason why we have had quiet since Lord Rawlinson induced the Government to build a so-called circular road in Waziristan is due more to that than to the effect of the so-called Sandeman policy. Whatever political policy you impose upon the Frontier must be based on force. Force, I admit, as Colonel Bruce says, kept out of sight, but force there, and which the tribesmen know is there. Baluchistan has always been vastly more accessible to military force than the country north of the Gomal.

I do not think that any political officer would admit that since Colonel Bruce left Waziristan every chance is not being given to peaceful penetration and tribal responsibility through the leaders.

I believe myself that the causes of the outbreak went deeper than that. First of all, in spite of all we could do, and in spite of the money which the tribes have received from road-making, *maliki* and *khassadari*, levies, militia, etc., they have still been unable to support themselves. We have never been able to provide them with irrigation schemes, improvement in agriculture, forestry, etc., and fruit-growing on a small scale, and a certain amount of marble quarrying in Tirah is about all we have been able to do for them. The young men had become impatient and were once again the easy prey of the agitator who painted a fascinating picture of loot, and Paradise for those who fell.

Of late years, also, the tribesman, who, although illiterate, is an acute political observer, has watched from his mountains more and more authority being given up by the sirkar to men whom he, the tribesman, despises beyond measure. He has seen the dangerous red-shirt movement allowed to develop almost unchecked, on the ground that it was supported by Gandhi, and, even when it was tackled, not properly suppressed. Everyone who returns from India tells him that the sirkar intends to leave the country and hand over to the Hindu. Can we wonder that these young men under such

circumstances are easy prey to such agitators as Public Nuisance No. 1, the Fakir of Ipi?

That, to my mind, has far more to do with unrest on the Frontier than the adherence or not to the strict ideals of the Sandeman policy. The ignorance of many people in England about this part of the Empire is sometimes incredible. I had to meet several Labour Cabinet Ministers when I was on leave at home when Chief of Staff in India, and explain to them it was necessary for us to teach the Afridi a lesson after their twice-repeated invasion of the Peshawar district. Several of them began talking about "Imperialistic aggression." I could not make out what they meant, but at last I grasped it, and it turned my feet cold. They did not know that the tribesmen lived in part of the King's dominions, and they thought we were planning an invasion of tribes living outside our frontier.

Thank goodness in Lord Willingdon we had a Viceroy who grasped this fact and who at long last induced the home Government to lay down definitely once for all that the forward policy and the building of roads to the Frontier was the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. That policy had, unfortunately, not time enough to show results before the late outbreak occurred. Even now we are not secure, as, in addition to weakness of policy, there is not the slightest doubt in my mind that much of our trouble all over India as well as on the Frontier has been due to the blighting hand of Whitehall. We send out an able man as Viceroy, you have your Commander-in-chief, residents, governors, and political officers, all of whom know their job, but they are never sure that a new Government in Whitehall may not interfere with all their best endeavours.

I strongly recommend Colonel Bruce's pamphlet as well worthy of study, especially by those who know their India. I can only regret that he has been unable to include a better map than he has done. It is hardly worthy of the subject, and not of great help to readers who do not know that part of the world.

PHILIP CHETWODE, F.-M.

The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, together with the Travels of Nicolo de' Conti. Edited from the Elizabethan Translation of John Frampton, with Introduction, notes, and appendices by N. M. Penzer, M.A. Second edition. Adam and Charles Black, 4, 5, and 6, Soho Square, London, W. 1. 1937. Pp. lxiv + 381, with eleven maps. Quarto. Price 18s.

The name of Marco Polo can never fail to arouse the interest of those who love Asia, and the publication of this volume, actually a cheaper but none the less valuable edition of a more expensive work, is very welcome as throwing more light on the magician who first revealed to the astonished gaze of mediæval Europe the hidden ways of Asia.

This book is far from being a mere rehash of other works. On the contrary, Mr. N. M. Penzer, the editor, has devoted much labour to its

production. He has prefaced the narrative with an introduction of sixty-four pages, and has provided an appendix of notes on the text as well as a second appendix of extracts from Ramusio's version of Marco Polo's narrative, and which amplifies the story as given in this book. The reader is thus presented with a complete edition of Frampton's translation, hitherto almost unknown.

John Frampton was a sixteenth-century Englishman who, after spending a number of years in Spain and learning the language, returned to England in 1576 and occupied himself in translating books from the Spanish. His translation, therefore, is from an edition in Spanish of the original.

In the introduction the editor devotes considerable space to a review of the various texts of Marco Polo. The number given by Yule was 78, and this has now been increased (see p. xviii) to 138. The researches of Professor Benedetto have given us this remarkable number. The object of all annotators and students of these texts is to identify the places given by Marco Polo, and thereby to establish, as definitely as possible, the route of the journeys. In itself, textual criticism is of no value if divorced from this aim, as it is not the language or literary style of the narrative which matters, but the more prosaic but important need to establish what are the places which this Venetian visited. If, therefore, the abundance of manuscripts clears up these problems of identification of places, well and good; if not, then the reader is led into a jungle of technical and critical niceties which are quite useless and tell him nothing. We have reason, therefore, to be grateful to Mr. Penzer, who on pages xxx and xxxi marshals the facts with diligence and brevity in a summary of the various texts, which is a fitting epitome of the preceding pages. The text used by John Frampton was that of the Spaniard Santaella.

After discussing the texts, the editor then explains the itineraries, and the seven maps which are conveniently placed in this part of the introduction greatly assist the argument. Mr. Penzer does his best to enable us to follow the varied possible routes of the journeys. This part of the introduction is not light reading, but it does enable us to trace, with reasonable confidence that our guide knows the way, the path of Marco Polo. There must, of course, remain doubts about identification, and doubts, too, which will never be satisfactorily solved, but the editor has done a great deal to banish many of them. As a minor point, the road to-day from Sebsevar to Meshed (p. xxxviii) may no longer be one of fine plains, beautiful valleys, and grassy pastures, but that is no reason why it should be dismissed as an impossible route of Polo. Many parts of Persia and of Central Asia are now arid, desolate, and forgotten which were in past years, and by no means very long ago, flourishing settlements or green downlands. In a country sensitive to every mood of its water supply, the folly of man or the caprice of Nature can do great damage in a brief time.

After the introduction we come to the actual text of Frampton, which is well produced in clear type and in the original Elizabethan spelling. It will be remembered that in Yule the text (that of Pauthier and Ramusio) is given in modern English. Frampton's text is not at all awkward to read, and the typography certainly helps a great deal. At the head of each of Frampton's

chapters the editor has given a useful reference to the corresponding chapters in other editions of Marco Polo's travels. Frampton's text is abridged; so, too, are the other editions, and a comparison is rather disconcerting. Take, for instance, Frampton's chapter 128 on page 116 and compare it with the one referred to Yule Book III., chapter xxxiii., page 411 of vol. ii., edition of 1903. The resemblance between the two is very slight indeed, and the wide divergence of the texts can be appreciated. This chapter is peculiarly interesting, as in it occurs the first reference in literature to Madagascar. Yule himself remarks (*op. cit.*, vol. i., introduction, p. 141) on the need of abridgement on account of the "intolerable prolixities of manner which belong to many parts of the Original Dictation, but as a general rule preserving the matter." It should be borne in mind that neither Yule nor Mr. Penzer is responsible for these abridgements. The diligence of the editor of Frampton's text is particularly marked in his efforts to trace the itineraries and to arrive at some sort of identification of the Chinese part of the narrative. Anyone who knows the endless confusion and intricacies of identifying and transliterating Chinese place names will realize what a task this is. Great skill and perseverance are needed to reconcile the divergent spellings of different manuscripts. For instance, Vigiu, or Vughin, is identified by Yule (*op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 184) as Wu-kiang, which certainly does resemble the pronunciation of that word according to the Wade system of romanizing the ideograms. Mr. Penzer (p. 233) inclines to identify the name with P'ing-wang. Again the great problem of identification is seen on page 226, where Tinguy is regarded as the site of Hsien-nu-miao. Certainly there is no resemblance in the pronunciation of these two words, and it seems rather a pity at this length of time to discard the proposed equivalent of Tung-chan. The truth is, of course, that there is no finality. The identification of other names is easier when it is a case of Chinese equivalents for native names. Locac may well be the Chinese for the Malay-named "Bentan" (see p. lvii), as anyone who has lived in Malaya is aware that generally the Chinese give entirely different names to places, and never seek to adapt the Malay ones to a Chinese equivalent.

On this subject of identification all travellers will recognize the universal difficulty of obtaining from the natives of the country the correct name of a place. It sounds so easy; in practice it is far from being so: with Chinese names it is an exhausting pastime. The greater praise, therefore, is due to the editor for grappling with this highly controversial and intricate business.

After Appendix I. of notes there is a brief account of Nicolo de' Conti, followed by excerpts from Marsden's translation (1818) of Ramusio's text of Marco Polo. This is Appendix II., and the selected passages are intended to fill the gaps in Frampton's translation. An excellent index completes the work.

This review must necessarily be cursory, as an adequate one would be far too long, but it is hoped that enough has been written to show the value of this book, which is a real addition to the rather scanty works in English on Marco Polo.

This book of Mr. Penzer's does not in any way displace Yule's exhaustive

work, which still holds the field, although very naturally it is out of date in a few points. But Yule's book, with its mass of notes, illustrations, and attractive elaborations, is on quite a different scale to Mr. Penzer's, which gives a clear, succinct, and scholarly account of a particular text and which keeps strictly to the subject-matter.

Finally, it remains to recommend this book to all who are interested in the Marco Polo adventure, and to congratulate Mr. Penzer warmly on having produced so admirable an edition of a little-known translation. His thoroughness and erudition are beyond praise.

The Stone Age of Mount Carmel. Vol. I., Excavations at the Wady El-Mughara. By D. A. E. Garrod and D. M. A. Bate. Pp. 240. Fifty-five plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937. 42s.

The slopes of Mount Carmel are studded with caves, some of them conspicuous, others masked by carob trees. Embedded in these caves were stratified rubbish heaps left behind by an endless succession of man and beast, from the early beginnings of the Old Stone Age of Palestine down to the Byzantine era.

The Wady el-Mughara, or Valley of the Caves, is in a small hill-locked plain lying at about eighty metres above sea-level on the southern slopes of Mount Carmel. The excavations conducted by Miss Garrod have revealed to us an astounding panorama changing in aspect as our journey progresses from the first glimpse of the country in Tayacian times down to the present day. The remains of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and crocodile tell of a warm climate with an abundance of water; we pass alongside lakes bordered by swamp and marshes; periods of drought and damp alternate as the gazelle gives way to the deer, a creature which browses in woods and on thickets. At no time was the climate very cold.

As we read the writing on the walls of these caves, man's long struggle is a moving epic: his ceaseless battle against Nature, his refusal to accept defeat command our admiration. The sharpening of his tools was the sharpening of his wits. We watch him with a steady fascination slowly growing up inside his cave, showing an endless adaptability to change of circumstance, at long last contriving to free himself from the shackles of the Old Stone Age. In the end he comes out into the open, not only to hunt and to gather food, but to till the soil, to grow wheat, to make baked clay food vessels, finally to invent metal.

This account of an interminable struggle on Palestinian soil is a timely object-lesson to us at the present day, exercised as we are in trying to solve the problem presented by the rival claims of Jew, Arab, and Christian living in the same land. Yet that problem is no greater than that which has confronted thousands of generations of prehistoric man fighting to improve his existence. The relative importance of our own particular pin-point on the chart of time will vary according as we are disposed to consider it as a concentrated point of focus or as a minute link in an infinite series. In the end we may rely on

man's strength and adaptability to win a victory which will bring other obstacles in its wake.

The deep perspective which we now have of the Old Stone Age in Palestine is largely due to the excavation of three caves in the Wady el-Mughara, which between them provide an almost unbroken succession of material throughout the Pleistocene Age. The earliest evidence comes from the cave of Tabun, where a small deposit of Tayacian at the bottom is succeeded by remains of the Acheulean and Levalloiso-Mousterian epochs. The horizon presented by the Tabun cave was greatly enlarged by Mr. McGowan's excavations in the Skhul cave, which contained a remarkable series of Levalloiso-Mousterian burials. Further, the story was carried on through Aurignacian, Atlitian, and Natufian times by Miss Garrod's excavation of the Mugharet el-Wad cave. "The result is that the general outline of the Stone Age chronology of this region from the Tayacian onwards is now solidly established, and it is unlikely that future discoveries will lead to a substantial modification of this framework."

Behind that achievement lies a stupendous piece of work. It was Edison, I believe, who said that genius is nine-tenths perspiration and one-tenth inspiration; whether or not these proportions are correct I do not know, but the solid basis of the work on Mount Carmel is the accumulation and sifting of an enormous mass of material and its presentation in an orderly series. This massive weight of evidence faithfully recording the true succession of events is the result of a work requiring an infinite capacity for taking pains. Slow and careful excavation, the collection of débris foot by foot over large areas, a meticulous system of labelling and packing, made it possible for all the material to be re-examined in its original stratified sequence. The work has been crowned by much brilliant and sound deduction, especially on the part of Miss Garrod, to whom fell the lion's share of the excavation, and by Miss Bate's remarkable account of the fauna.

The most formidable piece of excavation took place in the cave of Et-Tabun, where the maximum area dug was 18.5 by 23 metres and the maximum depth 15.5 metres, the bedrock being reached over an area of 100 square metres. Only those who have had to conduct a deep excavation on a large scale will appreciate the great difficulties entailed by work of this kind, requiring constant attention to the dangers of a possible fall of earth or of rock and the careful sifting of soil in deep strata where the light begins to fail. I have no idea how long a period of time is involved by the 14 metres of Palæolithic occupation in this cave, running from the Upper Levalloiso-Mousterian to the Tayacian period, for the authors wisely refuse to commit themselves as yet to any chronological reckoning. But in view of the extinction of an entire genus of fauna in the Upper Acheulean epoch, the great changes of climate, and the great faunal break in the Upper Levalloiso-Mousterian, involving the disappearance of the hippopotamus and the rhinoceros from Palestine, I imagine that many tens of thousands of years must be required to span this 14 metres of débris. This in itself is a point of great interest, for it emphasizes a very marked contrast between the economies of Palæolithic and post-Palæolithic man. In Mesopotamia there are many

examples of mounds where the same depth of accumulated débris (14 metres) represents at most a span of 3,000 years—*e.g.*, during the period between 1000 and 4000 B.C. But the same amount of débris in Palæolithic time has taken, not chiliads, but myriads of years to accumulate. I conclude, therefore, that Neolithic and Bronze Age man is a very dirty beast; in other words, he displaces a large amount of matter in comparison with his Palæolithic ancestors. This is due not only to the vast increase in his possessions, but to his habit of living in houses built of flimsy and perishable materials such as mud-brick, which was constantly tumbling down on top of his head and required frequent repair. Palæolithic man, too, it is true, occasionally suffered in the same way, for in the Upper Levalloiso-Mousterian period there was a serious collapse of the roof in the Tabun cave, apparently due to an increased rainfall working on an already existing hole in the vault; but the cave had already remained intact for a vast period of time.

The picture of the lower Levalloiso-Mousterian levels at Tabun was greatly amplified by Mr. McGowan's discoveries in the cave of Skhul, which produced the remains of no less than nine human burials, of which the majority were definitely graves, deliberately interred. It is interesting to learn that "the form, arrangement, and orientation of the individual burials vary so considerably that it is evident that these practices had not become systematized as they were in later times. The one character which all the better preserved burials had in common was the contraction of the limbs." Only one of the burials contained a votive deposit which could be definitely associated with the grave—one of the skeletons, a man of forty-five years of age, clasped in his arms the mandible of an extinct specimen of a very large pig. The inhabitants are described as "a curious combination of Neanderthal and Neanthropic man . . . a branch of the extinct Palæoanthropic family of mankind." It is a little disappointing that the separate memoir by Mr. McGowan and Sir Arthur Keith on the subject is not included in this book.

The late end of the series is contained in Miss Garrod's masterly account of the Mugharet el-Wad cave, where we have the remains of the Levalloiso-Mousterian, Aurignacian, Atlitian, and Natufian epochs.

To my mind one of the most interesting of all the results of the work on Mount Carmel is the detailed picture of the last lap in the Old Stone Age of Palestine—the Natufian. From this stage we have a flint industry, burials, and beads, which form a definite link with Chalcolithic Palestine and Syria. Further, the Natufians had begun the domestication of animals, as is shown by the remains of a large dog. At last, therefore, we have bridged the gulf between the New and Old Stone Ages in Western Asia and can point to some of the direct antecedents of the peoples who first began building cities in North Syria and the Tigris-Euphrates valley.

Associated with the Natufians are the first beginnings of architecture, including a rough limestone wall without mortar, shallow gutter, kerb, and crazy pavement, and a series of circular rock-cut basins. The basins are the earliest known examples of the so-called cup-marks which are a recognized feature of certain early Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age sites in Palestine such as Gezer and Megiddo. In the Carmel cave they seem to have had

some ritual significance and to have been associated with the numerous burials which occupied the terrace. The burials (as in the earliest Chalcolithic levels of South Mesopotamia) were sometimes flexed and sometimes extended, on their backs. Most remarkable was a number of skeletons with head-dresses consisting of dentalium shells and pendants cut from the distal end of the tibio-tarsus of a bird; they were in small groups on the top of the head. A reconstructed necklace is shown on Plate XIV., No. 2. The pendants have, it seems to me, a very interesting parallel in the earliest Chalcolithic epochs of North Mesopotamia in the Tall Halaf period. I believe that the similar-shaped steatite pendants from Chalcolithic Assyria may be descendants of this ancient Natufian type. Cf. Prehistoric Assyria, The Excavations at Arpachiyah, Plate VIII., top row. There are also variants of the type in bone, but it is true that the prehistoric Assyrian specimens never occur in pairs; this, however, is not surprising in view of the extreme rarity of Tall Halaf burials.

From Natufian times we must also note the carving of a young deer on a piece of long bone, a crudely carved human head in calcite, and a bone tablet with a rectilinear incised design, also bone sickle hafts set with flint blades.

Upper Natufian was not immediately followed by the Chalcolithic, but by a culture known as the Tahunian of el-Khiam, further represented in the lowest levels of Jericho, which contained neither pottery nor metal. Now at Jericho the flint implements of the lowest pre-Neolithic level continued in the immediately succeeding Neolithic, where the beginnings of pottery appeared. The Tahunian flint industry has definite affinities with the end of the Natufian, which, Miss Garrod considers, may safely be pushed back into the fifth or sixth millennium B.C.

This bridging of Mesolithic and Chalcolithic Palestine must in the light of recent discoveries be extended to North Syria and to Assyria. It is certain, as Miss Garrod says, that Anatolia can tell us much that we want to know. I have no doubt at all that a prolonged excavation in South Armenia would throw a flood of light on the subject. On this point the reader should consult the very interesting and suggestive remarks on page 119, where Miss Garrod refers to her work in the caves of South Kurdistan.

The general conclusion after the full review of the Palæolithic sequence is stated on page 118: "Palestine was neither an African dependency, nor a debatable ground, but essentially a part of Eurasia"; but it is also shown that the Palæolithic cultures of Africa and Palestine "did not pursue a completely independent development throughout."

I wish it were possible to discuss in detail some of the intensely interesting conclusions advanced by Miss Bate in her great work on the Fossil Fauna of the caves. The situation of the Carmel caves exposed them to a great variety of influences, for they lie "close to the single important W. gap in the mountain ridge which separates the Jordan valley from the Mediterranean, and which seems to have played an important part in faunal migrations from East to West." Hence the variety of faunal remains is astonishingly rich.

The earliest level containing a rich faunal assemblage was the Upper Acheulean with a Microfauna that "consists entirely of distinct and primitive species, and includes an extinct genus." The very interesting fluctuations of damp and of dryness are illustrated by a graph on page 141, showing the relative frequency of *Gazella* and *Dama* in succeeding periods. The basic evidence from which these climatic changes have been inferred are best understood from Miss Bate's own words on page 141: "These two forms represent animals of typically different habits; deer are ordinarily woodland animals, preferring a moist climate, while gazelles are characteristic of dry or desert country. In this connection it is important to remember that these environmental preferences are reflected in the anatomy of these animals. Deer have low-crowned petaloid cheek teeth, suitable for browsing on deciduous leaves and other soft herbage, and hooves adapted for soft ground. The cheek teeth of gazelles are, on the other hand, narrower, higher crowned and more goat-like, fit to cope with coarse herbage and scrubby growth, while their slender cannon bones and small and close, hard feet are fitted for rapid progress on hard ground."

In the Upper Levalloiso-Mousterian period there was evidence of a great faunal break: "from this level onwards the fauna is of modern type." In the same period there was a greatly increased rainfall, which was succeeded by a much drier climate in the Lower to Upper Aurignacian.

Equally interesting is the systematic account of the fauna with descriptions of the new species, many of them named in honour of the distinguished persons associated with this research; and who will grudge them the dormouse, the vole, and the wart-hog?

The accounts of the pig, the horse, and the deer are of great importance. "*Dama Mesopotamica*" is represented on shell plaques from the Royal Cemetery of Ur, found in Queen Shubad's tomb (Queen Shub on page 214 is a misprint). We may also add that copper statues of Red Deer, *Cervus elaphus maral*, were discovered at Al 'Ubaid, near Ur; they may be dated to the beginning of the third millennium B.C.

It is as well, however, to remember that it is still necessary to proceed with caution before coming to conclusions as to changes of climate, because we cannot as yet make a satisfactory correlation of the faunal and geological evidence from the Jordan valley, and while the Carmel evidence suggests tropical conditions in the earlier part of the Upper Acheulean, Vautrey's study of the Umm Qatafa material indicates a holarctic fauna for the lower levels.

The accuracy of the general record is astonishingly high, considering the vast number of references; two small slips may be noted: Pl. XXV. on page 75 should read Pl. XXXV.; and on page 119 Diabekr is better read Diarbekr.

The solid groundwork of the whole structure on which this imposing sequence of Palæolithic culture is based is a minute classification of ninety thousand recorded flint implements, a masterly piece of technical work conducted by Miss Garrod and finely illustrated by the drawings of Mrs. M. C. Burkitt. The reconstruction of successive cycles in Palæolithic times

depends largely on a detailed study of flints, just as pottery becomes the basis of archæological work in the Bronze Age. But why Palæolithic man, who must often have kneaded clay by the fireside, failed to discover how to bake a pot, still remains a black mystery to me.

This handsomely printed volume with its excellent illustrations is a model of what a scientific record ought to be. It is clear and concise, compact and systematic, an encyclopædia of learning: it never overstates a case, and there is a singular honesty of exposition. It will remain as a foundation-stone for all subsequent Palestinian research, a monumental work achieved by a happy collaboration between English and American scholarship, in which research workers from the New and Old World have played an equally important part.

M. E. L. MALLOWAN.

The Régime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris. By M. G. Ionides.

A general hydraulic survey of their basins, including the River Karun, having particular reference to their lower reaches within Iraq, with information for the use of Irrigation Engineers, etc. 10" × 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

Pp. viii + 278. Map. London: E. and F. N. Spon. 32s.

If thoroughness and comprehensiveness are the highest form of merit in a work of this kind, Mr. Ionides is to be congratulated on his book. It is a severely technical production and as such somewhat beyond your reviewer's competence. But even a layman can understand how useful such a compilation of data must be now to those actually engaged in dealing with the rivers of Iraq, and how potentially invaluable it might prove hereafter to some Willcocks of the future in his endeavours to bring back prosperity to a country to which she has been a stranger for many centuries.

After an introductory chapter the methods employed for the collection and presentation of data are explained. Then follows a chapter devoted to climatic conditions in Iraq and adjoining regions. After this we are led down each of the two rivers of Iraq from their respective sources to their mouths and given a detailed description of all the gauges, with numerous tables, in which are set out the recorded variations in the flow and volume of the stream which passes each, and some account of the irrigation and control works which have from time to time been projected, attempted, or achieved. The author then turns to consideration of the problems with which irrigation engineers in Iraq have actually to contend, such as the annual floods and silt accumulation, and of the dangers, such as the rivers' tendency to a radical change of course, against which the engineers have to guard. The discussion of these is conducted in very technical terms scarcely intelligible to any but experts.

As we have already said, the author attends very strictly to business and has produced a book likely to be extremely useful to his brethren of the craft, whether in Iraq or elsewhere. The book is not meant for the general reader and certainly contains little which is likely to attract him. On that score

there need be no complaint, but it is perhaps a pity that Mr. Ionides did not find room somewhere in his book for a more general examination of the major problems. His opinion on the question whether the ancient productiveness of the land of the two rivers can ever be restored, and if so, how and by means of what works, could not fail to be of interest and value. But he is so busy measuring all the trees that he has no thought for the wood.

Another grievance—a writer who uses such esoteric terms as cumecs, isohyets, “weight,” “chance,” scatter-band, and the like, ought in pity to provide a glossary, or to see that the index will lead to a source of enlightenment. Mr. Ionides does neither.

EVELYN HOWELL.

Gautama Buddha. By Iqbal Singh. $5\frac{5}{8}'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 376+5 illustrations. Boriswood. 15s.

He was of Sakya race, of the Gautama clan; he was christened Siddatha, and he became the Buddha (the Enlightened). He was heir to a little kingdom at the foot of the Himalayas, but when he was thirty he abandoned the world, spent fifty years in religion, and died at the age of eighty. His dates must have been, within a year or two, either 567-487 or 624-544 B.C., but there is no written record of him till the Asokan inscriptions, 261 B.C., two centuries later. Or perhaps three; so much so, that sceptics, including at any rate one competent scholar, have even doubted his existence. But though none of the Scriptures in their present form are earlier than the first century of our era, the originals may well be much earlier, for we know enough to suspect that writing was already in use even before his time, and even as they stand the Scriptures contain traces of an original language hidden beneath the present Sanskrit and Pali. Moreover, embedded in that interminable mass of Scripture, much of it inane and lacking a rigid canon, embedded like diamonds in a dust heap, are passages which have the cadence, the fervour, the authentic ring of genius: and genius is individual. Who wrote those passages? A succession of saints? Conceivably yes. A group of devout disciples? Conceivably yes. But much more probably an individual, and practical probability is what the sceptics themselves demand. No, Buddha was a historical personage, and the story of his life, despite gaps on the one hand, imaginary details on the other, is curiously of a piece with his teaching, a teaching, too, which hangs together with fewer inconsistencies than do most systems of human thought.

The Greeks knew of his followers, for Megasthenes, Ambassador to India in 302 B.C., describes them briefly and even calls them *sarmanes*, which is recognizably their own Sanskrit name *sramana*. In A.D. 320 St. Jerome heard of the Buddha himself, for he mentions his virgin birth (his mother, though a married woman of forty, had an annunciation); and in 1275 Marco Polo, in China, said “had he been a Christian, he would have been a great saint of our Lord Jesus, so good and pure was the life he led.”

What Marco Polo suggested had already happened. The story of the

Buddha contains very little theology, and in some versions there is nothing to identify it with any particular religion, so that when it reached the pseudo-St. John of Damascus in the sixth century, he perceived that here was a great but unknown saint, by name Joasaph, for Bodhisatta, one of the Buddha's titles, had been distorted. After the tenth century August 27 became the day of St. Joasaph in the Menology of the Greek Church; and in the West November 27 was the day of St. Joshaphat, who, after appearing in the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Peter de Natalibus, 1370, found his way into the *Martyrologium Romanum* of Pope Gregory XIII. The *Life of St. Joshaphat* was a best seller in the Middle Ages, the three caskets in the *Merchant of Ven. e* derive from one of its incidents, and when the first European conquerors, the Portuguese, came into contact with Buddhism, they naturally concluded that the story of the Buddha, the god of these heathen, had been copied straight out of the *Life of St. Josaphat*. It is a good instance of the way the human race fails to correlate its information that the clue thus found by the Portuguese and published in 1612 was completely overlooked, and when in 1859 French scholars, Catholics too, at last began to unearth the facts, they reached them by quite a different avenue.

Nowadays, of course, we have ample information, for the first consignment of Buddhist documents reached Europe in 1830 and results have been accumulating ever since. There are scholarly lives of the Buddha in several European languages, better than any in the East, and quite a number of popular lives. But these latter are usually short and pietistic. Mr. Iqbal Singh's is full-length, and it is anything but pietistic. Some readers will be shocked, but the outspoken and semi-fictional type of biography which is now in vogue has been applied to sacred personages even in our own religion; those who welcome it with unholy glee and those who resent it are alike wrong, for the true gods will survive it, and it attracts readers who would not otherwise be drawn to the subject.

The book opens with a vivid description of the greater world at the time, and then shows us that smaller world into which the Buddha was born. India was revelling in religiosity; the sincerity and power of the greater thinkers are beyond question, yet it is permissible to doubt whether the hair-splitting in which the average pundit indulged was really more intelligible to himself than it is to us, and the Buddha ended by rejecting the whole system. He had been brought up as a softly nurtured princeling, and the legend depicts him as revelling in the delights of his harem, but this is merely a rhetorical device to heighten his subsequent saintliness. He was probably serious and sensitive even as a lad, and when, disgusted with the naïve crudities of the life around him, he fled from the world, he found that in religion too there was no solace. He was loyal enough to the clergy, followed their teachings, fasted and prayed, racking his brain and mortifying his body for five long years without avail till, on the very brink of the grave, the scales fell from his eyes and he saw the truth in a flash. He arose, took food, and thereafter cherished his body as the vehicle in which he must live, strong and well, to fulfil his mission. His asceticism is that of the

spiritual athlete who keeps himself strictly under control, and it is of a piece with the magnificent sanity of his whole gospel.

Mr. Iqbal Singh is a master of English, and his narrative holds the reader throughout. As a biography it is admirable, and on the philosophical side it is at any rate intelligible. He has read widely, he has digested a good deal, and he is always interesting, but he errs in rejecting as late accretions, invented to satisfy human frailty, doctrines which are at least as authentic as the gloomier ones he so willingly admits. The Buddha accepted the nobler portions of the theology and metaphysics of his age, even though he relegated them to the background, insisting that there are infinitely more important tasks in life. His teaching was never simple, save in the sense that Christ's teaching appears to be simple: all ultimate truth is simple, once you have grasped it, but that does not make it easy, still less is it independent of considerable presuppositions. Mr. Iqbal Singh exaggerates the Buddha's nihilism. Far from rejecting transmigration or the existence of the soul, the Buddha accepted them both with passionate conviction, restated them, and indignantly repudiated the charge of nihilism:

“ Even in this present life, my brethren, I say that the soul is indefinable. Though I say and teach thus, there are those who accuse me falsely of being a nihilist, of teaching the non-existence and annihilation of the soul. That is what I am not and do not teach ” (*Alagadupama, Majjhima, i., 135.*)

His doctrine of the soul is stated in negative terms because he was controverting current misconceptions, and it is a false perspective which sees in his denial of brahmanical doctrines about the soul a denial of the soul itself. Nor would he say what it was, refusing to define the indefinable and answering those who tried to catch him out—“ eel-wrigglers,” he called them; logic-choppers, as we would say—in terms which show that he had anticipated many a modern psychologist who knows there is such a thing as personality, even though he can find nothing beyond states of consciousness linked by a casual nexus.

Mr. Iqbal Singh's book is finely produced and its illustrations are charming. His interpretation of the Buddha's life and doctrine is aimed at the modern man who, though interested in the past and attracted to any manifestation of beauty, whether in a noble life or in a work of sensuous art, is less interested in religion and is on the whole averse to a belief in a future life. But though Mr. Iqbal Singh has absorbed our atmosphere to a remarkable degree, he overlooks the fact that it is ceasing to be the fashion for sex to obtrude, and certain passages might have been curtailed. Yet even these have a justification, for there are still too many people who imagine that the West is material, the East spiritual; if any such generalization were permissible, the reverse would be nearer the truth. As Mr. Iqbal Singh says, India is addicted to metaphysics, and the Hindu is the metaphysical animal *par excellence*, but this does not mean that he neglects the physical; on the contrary, he is obsessed with it, attaching a transcendental importance

even to the baser functions of the body. It is well to realize these things, for they help to explain the Buddha's distaste for metaphysics and his uncompromising asceticism.

G. E. H.

Muhammad: A Mercy to All the Nations. By Al-Hajj Qassim 'Ali Jairazbhoy. With a Foreword by H.H. the Aga Khan. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pp. 389. London: Luzac. 7s. 6d.

This is a book by Al-Hajj Qassim 'Ali Jairazbhoy, with a foreword by His Highness the Aga Khan. The author, as stated in the foreword, is an Indian gentleman who is known for his charitable contributions to the cause of science and Islam.

The biography of the Prophet, which has been lately dealt with by more than one Moslem author, notably in Egypt, is a most striking feature. The most prominent works being Dr. Haikal's book on Muhammad, Taufiq Hakim's drama (*Muhammad*), and Dr. Taha Husain's two volumes, *On Comments on the Sira*. This is one of the most noteworthy characteristics of the awakening now so noticeable in the Arab and Moslem worlds. To this already long list of authors may now be added Mr. Jairazbhoy.

The author, who is a devout Moslem, demonstrates his devotion in every line he writes. Here a story or an anecdote, and there a Sura, all to prove or to disprove some ethical principle or misconception which, according to the author, has been attributed to Islam rightly or wrongly. The treatment of the subject is thus sympathetic but not critical. His analysis of the life of the Prophet cannot be regarded as totally scientific or in some parts even comprehensive. The author, who is imbued with deep religious convictions, exhibits sometimes the spirit of a missionary and even a proselytizer rather than a scholar. He is a hagiographer and not a biographer.

The book may thus be regarded as a contrast both to Sir William Muir's sympathetic work and to Professor Margoliouth's colder and more critical study which, in spite of its objective nature, becomes in certain passages offensive to the completely unbiassed reader. To those who have been impressed by Professor Margoliouth's arguments this book will perhaps prove a wholesome antidote. They will find it interesting to read and not pedantic, while the narrative on the whole is correct, though marked by important omissions.

In demonstrating the tolerance of Islam, particularly in its days of ascendancy, a subject which has been distorted by biassed or ignorant writers, the author rather surprisingly omits the name of Saladin. With the exception of 'Omar and the Companions, it would be difficult to state in Islamic history a more conspicuous example of generosity of character and tolerance towards non-Moslems.

As for the subject of polygamy, it is doubtful whether he has made a very strong case, but even such an authority as Professor Margoliouth says: "Polygamy is itself an attempt at solving a problem which the Indo-German nations solve by harbouring prostitution." A highly debatable question which neither East nor West has yet solved satisfactorily!

The value of the work would have been greatly enhanced had it contained references to sources. A lack of index at the end of the book is an omission which may well be rectified in the second edition.

The transliteration of Arabic names is either careless or unsystematic. There are certain consecrated spellings in which no variation should be permitted.

"Yasrib," for example, cannot be allowed for "Yathrib" (see page 95). Hind, the wife of Abu Sufyān, is wrongly written as Hinda (see page 139). "'Umayr bin Abi Qās" (page 131) appears for "'Umair Ibn Abi Waqqās," brother of the famous Sa'ad, the Arab general, and one of the oldest and dearest Companions of the Prophet.

It is doubtful whether this book will be put on the same shelf with Sir William Muir's, Sayyid Amir Ali's, Professor Margoliouth's, and Dr. Haikal's works on the Prophet.

A. S. K.

L'Expédition d'Alexandre et la Conquête de l'Asie. By Raymond Burgard. (Découverte du Monde.) $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 252. Nineteen illustrations. Five maps. Paris: Gallimard. Paper covers, 21 fr.

The series ("The Discovery of the World"), of which this volume is the first, has for its object instruction in an attractive manner. The author tells the story of Alexander's conquests in a manner that is highly attractive; the grandeur of the theme is enhanced by the resonance of the language. The scope of the book exceeds what we in England should call a popular book; it is one which will appeal even to those who already know the main facts. Of special interest is the account the author gives of the results of the conquests: how they opened up the East for commerce and the interchange of knowledge, and for the spread of Hellenistic culture from the Mediterranean to the Pamirs, with influences which later affected Northern India as well as China and Japan. An achievement of even greater importance was the founding of Alexandria. He further deals with the legend of Alexander both in the East and in the West. He might have instanced how the Hunza Thums claim descent from his hero.

The bibliography does not mention Sir Aurel Stein, though his identification of Mount Aornos with Pir-sar is followed.

F. B. P. L.

Kafirs and Glaciers. By Colonel R. C. F. Schomberg, C.I.E., D.S.O. Pp. 277. Two appendices. Illustrations and map. London: Martin Hopkinson. 1938. 15s.

The acceleration of travel in the last decades, covering wider fields in shorter time, opening up by land and air tracts formerly difficult of access, cannot be said to have brought with it any improvement in the travel book in general from the point of view of close and accurate information. Rather there has supervened insidiously, and almost imperceptibly at first, a decline from the old leisurely standards that required time for seeing and reflection by the way. The brilliant comment consciously drawing attention to itself and the studied style frequently provide a polished and attractive exterior which on analysis may record little of abiding value. It requires a rather cultivated adroitness in the writer to produce this glittering surface, and he may indeed gain some reputation as a traveller of note, but there are many travellers, scientists and seekers after knowledge by the narrow way who cannot be easily satisfied in their demand for something containing that originality which strikes an answering note in themselves. To these readers Colonel Schomberg's new book will come as exceedingly welcome and refreshing.

He has again chosen for his travels, as in *Unknown Karakoram, Between the Oxus and the Indus*, and *Peaks and Plains of Central Asia*, that part of Asia which yet remains comparatively unpenetrated by the motor-car and aeroplane, and as usual he has travelled on foot. This time he takes us to Chitral, which he knows nearly as well as his beloved Sinkiang, and gives us, as we accompany him in spirit, a most delightful description of that remote country and its peoples. So with him we don the heavy marching boots, much cut by thorns and stones, the khaki shorts and old shooting coat, and, notebook in pocket, proceed to explore Chitral in a way that we had not thought of doing before, and to observe the country and its inhabitants from a new angle which somehow or other had escaped us in the past—and all the time we feel looking down upon us the magnificent snow-clad summit of Terich Mir (25,426 feet), whose fairy has never been disturbed by the sound of the human voice.

Colonel Schomberg is specially equipped in many ways to write on Chitral, for, besides his natural keen powers of observation, he possesses a general fund of knowledge of Central Asian peoples with whom he has a deep sympathy, giving him access where others have had to stand aloof, but even his friends have to submit to having the truth told about them, and the Chitrali receives the criticism which is his just due, while ancient abuses, such as the insecurity of land tenure which has prevented the development of the country, are exposed. The people have much to hope for during the rule of the present Mehtar, H.H. Captain Nasr-ul-Mulk, who possesses great natural ability in many directions. He received training in duties of civil administrations under the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, and served for some years in a famous Frontier Force battalion, assuming the *gaddi* in 1936. A good photograph of him faces page 160.

As the title implies, much of the book deals with the so-called black Kafirs in Kalash who inhabit certain main valleys of Chitral and still preserve their ancient pagan religion in the midst of Muslims on every side. Much has been said about them for which the scientists will be grateful, though their anthropological side and some of their other aspects have been dealt with by Ujfalvy, Stein and Dainelli, and more lately by Morgenstierne and Guha. There are few Red Kafirs or Kati remaining in Chitral from those who originally crossed the passes into Afghanistan. Conversion to Islam was forced on the Red Kafirs by the Amir Abdul Rahman. They are now known as Jadidis, new converts, and the mountainous country they occupy to the west of Kunar river as Nuristan, the Abode of Light.

The book is well illustrated by reproduced photographs, and there is an excellent map. The coloured photograph of the old Kafir Baghashai forms a delightful frontispiece. There are two appendices, one giving a most useful historical sketch of Chitral and the other a list of the rulers of the present Kator dynasty.

The author is to be congratulated on a book which provides for a definite need in the literature on Chitral and which should find its place not only as a reliable work of reference in every library, but also as a book which is certain to please at any time, and the publishers are to be congratulated on their excellent production.

J. A. R.

Land des Lichtes. Deutsche Kundfahrt zu unbekanntem Volkern im Hindu-kusch. Von Albert Herrlich. Mit 88 Abbildungen auf Tafeln und 4 Karten skizzen. 1938. Verlag Knorr und Hirth G.m.b.H., München. R.M. 4.80.

This book gives an account of the German expedition in 1935 to the part of Eastern Afghanistan now known as Nuristan—the Abode of Light—and which before the annexation by the Afghans, and the subsequent conversion to Islam of the pagan inhabitants, the “Red Kafirs” or Kati, was appropriately known as Kafiristan. Our best authority for the Kafirs is Sir George Robertson’s *Kafirs of the Hindu Kush*, which gives a valuable account of the country when it was both pagan and independent, and incidentally unspoilt.

The German expedition visited a great deal of the area which Sir George, who ran great risks, was unable to reach. It is impossible to avoid the reflection that this new journey must necessarily be of much less interest, since the Kafirs are now Mohammedans.

The party left the main Khyber to Kabul road at Jalalabad, followed the right bank of the Kunar River to Chigar Serai (the spelling is that of Robertson, not of the German maps), then west up to the Perch or Kamah Presun River to the Kulam and Rangul valleys in the west—that is, the very heart of Nuristan, and which Robertson did not visit. The party returned by Gadwol, and then north-east by Kamdesh to Chitral. There the Germans took a trip through Chitral, and finally left for Europe.

This volume of 176 pages is perhaps rather a superficial account of what is really a remarkable journey, and it is strange that comparatively so little space has been given to these unknown valleys of Nuristan. It is true, of course, that had they still been Kafir there would have been much more to write about. Perhaps this is only a popular account, and there will be a more learned one to follow. The expedition, too, was a trifle top-heavy. The illustrations are well-produced, but are often trivial in the extreme—*e.g.*, lorries laden with kit, commonplace snapshots of camp life, and so forth. The photographs of “types” are excellent. The maps are a disappointment, as they consist of very rough plans, and are crude in the extreme. Apparently German publishers share with the British ones a reluctance to provide travel books with adequate maps. In this case, it is particularly regrettable as the country visited is uncharted. There may, possibly, have been difficulties in making an adequate survey. The book is otherwise well-produced in the Gothic script. There is no index and no list of illustrations.

Alone through the Forbidden Land. Journeys in Disguise through Soviet Central Asia. By Gustav Krist. Translated by E. O. Lorimer. Pp. 271. Seventy-two pages of photographs. Two sketch-maps. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.

Quite apart from the subject-matter, this book has two great merits: it is written in a clear and direct way, and it is admirably translated. The narrative is carried on briskly and logically, and there is an absence of the turgid digressions, sometimes merely speculative, sometimes trivial, but always tedious, which disfigure the modern travel-book.

Gustav Krist, the author of this work, was a young Austrian who, after spending four years as a prisoner of war in Central Asia, decided to return again to a country which he must have been glad to leave, after many months of hardship and misery. This resolve shows the intrepid spirit of the author. After

liberation Krist had become the servant of a Persian carpet merchant in Tabriz, and with him had wandered all over Persia. He was well-treated by him, and after his second journey in Russian territory, was welcomed back by his old master.

Krist travelled from Tabriz via Barfurush to Askabad, Merv, and Bokhara; thence via Samarkand, to the Alai and the Trans-Alai regions of the Russian Pamirs, returning along the Surkhab to Meshed, from where he regained Tabriz. It will be seen that he covered a great deal of ground, and his story is well told.

Like all who travel where the sun of Soviet freedom shines on an unappreciative land, he had to go in disguise and under false pretences. His long sojourn had made him familiar with conditions, and he was clearly a very welcome visitor in most places. But that does not imply that he was welcome to the Soviet. Very much the reverse. One sometimes wonders what the Bolshevik authorities think of the tales of these travellers who have bluffed their officials—these foreigners who escape from prisons, and who demonstrate the inefficiency of the Soviet tyranny. The explanation probably is that the Bolshevik Government does not care a doit, for the good reason that no one in Europe is concerned with what happens in Russian Asia, and the accounts of a casual wanderer excite no interest at all.

Krist travelled as a geologist, and although often stopped, questioned, and at times arrested, his only serious danger was when he was making his way out of the country. Thanks to his resource and ingenuity, he managed to get away, but this final incident was a dangerous one.

As one reads this simple, vivid, and sincere narrative, it is impossible not to be impressed. It is the tale of a modest and courageous man, observant and intelligent. There is no striving after effect. Krist convinces the reader that he describes things as they are. That his conclusions are not always correct is no reflection on his judgment or on his veracity; and even when we may differ, the point at issue is of slight importance.

Chapters IX. and X. are the most interesting in the book, as they give an excellent account of the many months which the author spent amongst the Kirghiz. He was, as he says, in the last stronghold of Kirghiz freedom. Krist was accepted by the nomads as one of themselves, and he describes clearly and in detail his life among them, where he was happy and much liked, a great tribute to his character. He had, as his remark already given shows, no illusion that he was seeing the last of an era. The freedom, the adaptability, and the economic life of these pastoral people, were being destroyed by ignorant, urbanized, and fanatical idealists who imagine that the balance and scheme of nature can be subordinated to an artificial and pragmatic political order. As he says (p. 154): "I little suspected that I had seen the last march of free people." Krist notes how well the life of these people corresponds to the demands of nature; the ingenuity of the yurt (p. 143), their simple mode of living (pp. 129-130); the deadly approach of the soldier and the doctrinaire that was to end it all.

The book is full of shrewd remarks, and is enlivened by episodes and stories. Nothing escapes the author. The nonsensical autonomous republics (pp. 31-32), the temporary liberty allowed to Central Asia (p. 71), the reason for excluding foreigners (p. 83), and the schemes and conduct of the Soviet never deceive him. There is also a good deal of out-of-the-way knowledge. Apparently the nomads on certain occasions brew a special drink called "buzeh"—how charmingly suggestive!—which enables a toper to get drunk twice, much like the "ambit" of Malta. There is a terrifying account (p. 168) of scorpions and tarantulas, of the black spiders (p. 169), and especially of the old chief who killed many travellers with tarantula schnapps and gave their bodies to his bear (p. 113).

Krist explodes the myth (pp. 191-193) of the slaughter of the ewes for Persian or Karakul lambskins.

Chapter XII. gives an unrivalled account of Bokhara, just as a totally different subject is well described in a visit to a Persian hammam (p. 236). Amongst the many good things in the book is the story of Enver Bey, that strange, romantic, if rather sinister figure, a champion of Islam. Herr Krist gives two accounts of his end, and the reader should not omit Chapter VI.

But enough has been said, it is hoped, to show the nature of the book. The illustrations are numerous and good; the maps are sufficient and easily read. The printing, binding, and production of the book are a credit to the publisher; and so is the price.

The translator has made a success of that standing bugbear—the transliteration of proper names. It is a pity, perhaps, that in the case of Khiva, Samarkand, Bokhara, and Kirghiz these normal spellings have been discarded. Mallison (p. 49) seems to be a misspelling, as does Paropamisus (p. 50). On page 235 a footnote says that the "karez" is common in Chinese Turkestan, but the Turfan area is the only place where this form of irrigation is established. These, however, are very trivial slips in a book singularly free from misprints and blemishes.

It is sad that the author has died, but perhaps the accomplished translator will give us Gustav Krist's other book, since this one has been so successfully introduced to us in English.

Jungle Trails in Northern India. By Sir John Hewett. 9" × 5½". Pp. viii + 278. Twenty-four plates and map. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

In how many sports is one's pleasure bound up with the companionship and help of so-called dumb animals! In our premier sport of fox-hunting, in coursing, in falconry. Shooting, how much more delightful with a dog at heel! Of the many books I have read about tiger shooting, however, this, by the distinguished Indian Civil Servant, Sir John Hewett, is the first I have come across in which full appreciation has been given to the elephant, without whose help in many districts this sport would be impossible. He mentions in despatches, so to speak, individual elephants by name, noting their behaviour, their courage or their occasional poltroonery; for one must remember that there is no natural quarrel between elephants and tigers. There is given in this book a vocabulary of no less than thirty-three different words of command used by mahouts and understood by their charges. And there must surely be more than that, for your reviewer, with his much smaller experience in tiger land, has seen a thirsty mahout stop his elephant while crossing a river and call for a drink. The elephant put his trunk into the water, sucked up some gallons, curled his trunk over his head and poured into his mahout's hands, made into a cup, just as much as he wanted and no more. Sir John loved his elephants and they loved him. They had characters like human beings. For instance: "M. was riding a magnificent elephant called Morni. She (the best tiger elephants seem to be females) suddenly put her head down and butted the head of my elephant Ali Piari, then she turned quickly to her right, caught Ali Piari broadside on and hurled her to the left, a drop of about 15 feet, into a dry sandy bed full of drift timber and boulders. The mahout was rather seriously hurt and my guns were somewhat damaged. But the elephant was unharmed. . . . When we enquired why Morni had behaved in such an extraordinary way, we found that there had been seated on the rope behind my howdah the *charkata* (grass cutter) of Ali

Piari. He had formerly been employed on Morni, whom he had bullied, and was consequently transferred to Ali Piari. This was a remarkable instance of an elephant's powers of scent and memory. I was to experience this trait years later on the part of Ali Piari. She and I parted company at the end of 1883, and I did not see her again till years later when I met her in camp at Rudarpur. . . . When we went round to see the elephants she at once picked me out and fondled me all over with her trunk."

It will have been surmised that this book is mainly about tigers. But it is much more about shooting them than about their natural history. The latter has indeed been dealt with in many books. Weights and measurements, however, are discussed very fully. Indeed, almost every tiger spoken of is labled in brackets with length and weight. Of the several ways of hunting tigers, Sir John preferred driving up to posted guns rather than the Nepalese system of ringing. The latter, with an adequate number of elephants, certainly gives the tiger small chance of escape. For the former, a greater knowledge of tiger behaviour and character is necessary: jungle craft, so called. Whichever way is adopted, the ordinary sportsman, who may possibly have been in at the death of anything up to a score or so of tigers, is generally content to leave dispositions in the hands of experienced native shikaris. Sir John, however, by repute, used to keep the management and control of his beaters in his *own* hands, though nobly anxious always to give the shots to his guests rather than take them himself. In this respect, as well as in the matter of numbers, Sir John must be reckoned among the great tiger slayers of recent times, every one of whom has got his century of tigers, some of them two or three times this number. It is noticeable that among this fraternity the tendency has generally been towards specialization. They thought of tigers and little else, beast even such as rhino and buffalo being reckoned of little account—rather like the "various" of a day after pheasants.

About game preservation in India the author, though as well qualified to speak as anyone, says little. He incidentally mentions, however, many of the relevant facts. That tiger breed rapidly, that in parts of the country they still take a toll on human life, that pressure of population leads to tigers being driven back to the forests. But he does not mention the killing of deer and other animals by unlicensed villagers that is said to be going on everywhere. In this way tigers, deprived of their natural food, are compelled to prey on flocks and herds, now and again on human beings, which again leads to the villagers getting rid of the carnivora by poison or in any way they can. A vicious circle, tending to the elimination of all game. As with foxes in our country, so in India the only real friends of the hunted are the hunters. Perhaps the solution of the problem will be found some day in the establishment of extensive sanctuaries.

It is needless to say that this book contains many stories of adventures and accidents of extraordinary interest, among which the author has included some true tales of others than himself. A wise decision, for, speaking generally, adventures with tigers are the privilege of the ignorant, and it is from accounts of such happenings that beginners may learn, if they will, the respect that is the tiger's due. Respect is indeed the word. Only on two occasions, says Sir John in a pregnant sentence, has he seen *fear* in an approaching tiger's eyes. As to actuarial risks to human beings, the author with all his experience—he has been in at the death of 247 tigers—had only two mahouts killed, and these men died a long time after the accident from septic pneumonia.

Though the chief subject of this book is tigers and tiger hunting, it must not be supposed that other creatures of the jungle do not come in for mention. They do. There is a most interesting account, for instance, of those queer offspring

of the forest known as "wolf children." They are, it seems, real and not mythical; but *not* quite so lovable as Mowgli! And as brevity is the soul of wit, here is a brief story about a snake which must be my last quotation: "On our way we shot a python with a full-grown hog deer inside him. He had not completely disposed of the horns, but was getting on with the job very well!"

The book ends with two chapters that do not form part of the author's tiger-shooting reminiscences. The first of these contains a description of the beautiful hill tracts of Kumaun and Garhwal, and includes an account of the life and death of a man-eating tigress that had been proclaimed by Government for ten years, one of the best true narratives of the kind ever written.

Lastly, there is the story of a journey by the author's daughter. Drawn by the magic of the name Leh, a town in the Karakoram mountains, high, remote, Mrs. Atkinson started off alone, in search of adventure. How successful she was in her quest readers of this delightful book must find out for themselves.

R. L. K.

History of the Bombay Army. By Sir Patrick Cadell, C.S.I. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Pp. xviii + 362. 2 coloured plates. 11 maps. Longmans, Green. 18s.

Some of the best military histories have been written by civilians. This is not surprising, because it is not professional knowledge that is required so much as patience in research, method in piecing together the patchwork of units and formations, administrative as well as combatant, which make up an army together with the operations in which they have been engaged, and the ability to present the result in an attractive form to the reader. This book shows that the author possesses these qualifications. It is the first comprehensive history of the Bombay Army; hitherto there have only been scraps. Chapter I. contains the author's justification for writing this history. Sir Charles Napier's appreciation is alone sufficient justification: "I feel fearless of an enemy at the head of Bombay troops. With the Bombay soldiers of Meanee and Hyderabad I could walk through all lands. . . ."

Lord Roberts once wrote in a foreword to *The Armies of India*, a work of Sir George MacMunn: "It is most imperfectly known in England and often insufficiently understood in India how diverse and divergent in many respects are the numerous races which we enlist into our Indian Army—in creed, in temperament and traditions. Yet these factors must, each and all, be attentively studied . . . if we would maintain and develop the fighting efficiency of our Indian soldiers and the strength of the bonds of loyalty and devotion by which they are attached to our service." Therefore any work which helps to disseminate a knowledge of the classes of which the Indian Army is composed, and the reasons underlying their successes and failures in the past, is valuable. Owing to various reasons—to mechanization, to the constant improvement in communications which leads to more frequent absences from their units, to the higher standards required in military education, the Staff College, the S.O.S. and other educational institutions—officers have less time at their disposal to study their men than used to be the case, and the languages, a knowledge of which is essential

to maintain touch with them. There must be some tendency towards a loosening of those bonds of loyalty and devotion, on the strengthening of which Lord Roberts and all great commanders of Indian troops have laid such great stress. Whether Indianization will strengthen or weaken those bonds the future will show.

Sir Patrick Cadell's book is something more than a history; it is a tale of rare achievements and a monument to the memory of brave men, forgotten founders of the Indian Empire; and to the loyal devotion to his salt of many a humble Indian soldier.

The opening chapters treat of the beginnings of the Bombay Army, "The Dark and Early Days" of 1662-1715. They describe the circumstances which brought about the grafting of the native element on to the European stock which was first imported from England in the year 1661. It is a marvel how this tender plant ever survived the neglect, the injudicious pruning and the parsimony which the Army in India suffered in its earliest days and during the whole period of its growth and maturity down to recent times. A year after the outbreak of the Great War we find the Finance Minister to the Government of India actually boasting that he had effected a saving on the military budget! This at a time when the existence of the Empire depended on the strength and efficient equipment of the armies in the field.

Chapter IV. carries on the tale of shortage of officers, meagre pay, the highest commands frequently held by civilians without any sort of military training. It is a tale only relieved by the gallantry displayed on occasions by officers and men. "Like every other military body, the Bombay forces had to learn their lessons at some cost, and were to suffer from peace-time economy." "The pay of the officers was so low as only to attract an inferior class."

In these days of highly developed means of communication one is apt to overlook one of the chief difficulties with which the Bombay Army had to contend in its early days, and which forced the many small detachments to rely on their own initiative and resources to an extent which is rare in these days. During the monsoon all communications ceased and isolated posts could be neither reinforced nor relieved, often for months.

We are told in Chapter V. that with the official termination of the French war in 1748 the "earliest and least satisfactory portion of the history of the Bombay Army is ended." In some respects "Yes," in others "No." It is wonderful to watch the immature Bombay Army standing up to the assaults of Portuguese, Dutch, pirates, hostile Indian rulers, climate, deprivation and disease. It cannot be denied that there were many bad or indifferent characters among the British troops; there was also a lot of hard drinking. But as to this latter failing, let us pause before we blame, and reflect on the lives these men lived; the long years of exile, far from any softening influences, boredom, solitude, absence of any of the amenities which are regarded to-day as essential for the amelioration of the trying climate and the prevention of disease, malaria and cholera rife, accommodation often wretched and the food unappetizing. Is it to be wondered at that men turned for com-

pensation and solace to drink? There must have been real "grit" in men who resolutely faced this combination of active and passive foes.

The same chapter describes the establishment of an organized army; some fighting under Clive; and a share in the battle of Buxar, which in Malleson's words "takes rank amongst the most decisive battles ever fought."

In Chapter VI. we witness the Bombay Army growing steadily in strength, the company having come to realize that "its rich and extensive possessions called for larger and better organized forces to secure them." In this and the next two chapters we are shown the army gaining prestige and experience in the fighting against the immensely numerically superior forces of Hyder Ali and the Mahrattas, which covered a period of fifty years, following the year 1767.

Space does not permit of following here the fortunes of the Bombay Army through Mysore, Malabar and Mahratta wars, in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere. When reading the chapters which deal with them one asks oneself where would our Indian Empire be were it not for the splendid initiative and inspiring leadership of comparatively junior officers such as Goddard, Abington, Hartley, Little, whose conduct Grant Duff described as worthy of the generalship of Lawrence or of Clive; of Staunton, the defender of Koregaum, "one of the most heroic and valiant achievements recorded in the annals of the army" according to Elphinstone; Fitzgerald, of whom Burton wrote: "He died too early for his fame. There was something in him that leads to Westminster Abbey"; and of many another; of the British soldier, of whom the Gaekwar general wrote to his brother: "I was quite astonished to see the manner in which the British fought. I do not suppose anybody in the world can fight like them"; of the native troops, of whom Abercrombie said, "The behaviour of the native troops when employed in the field has ever been beyond praise"; and Malcolm: "I question whether any army can produce more extraordinary examples of attachment to the Government it served and to its officers than that of Bombay." And when reading one is conscious of a feeling akin to shame that those names are practically unknown, those gallant deeds submerged in the onward flow of world history, above whose flood only the highest peaks remain visible. The campaigns are described in just sufficient detail to enable the reader to follow the part taken in them by Bombay troops. Some of the marches made by Bombay troops were prodigious. The Bombay Horse Artillery in pursuit of the Peshwa marched 2,250 miles in seven months; and a mounted force under Kerr in pursuit of Tantia Topi 241 miles in nine days: these marches being made over indifferent country roads and in a trying climate.

It is interesting to find that N. Battery R.H.A., Y.Q. and Z. Batts., R.F.A., the 2nd Btn. Durham Light Infantry and the Leinster Regt. all had their birth in the Bombay Army.

The Bombay Army had a large share in the First Afghan War and at the storming of Ghazni; in the conquest of Sind and the victories of Meanee and Hyderabad, the Scinde Horse particularly distinguishing itself at

Meanee. In Sind "much suffering was caused to detachments by being sent, chiefly by political officers, in the intense heat on useless expeditions." The reviewer, having been made to suffer from the same cause, cordially sympathizes with those who suffered before him! The Persian War of 1856 was remarkable for the fact that the whole of the Indian forces employed, except for some Madras sappers, came from the Bombay Army.

Sir Patrick Cadell points out that in the Indian Mutiny the Bombay troops engaged received "insufficient recognition for what they did and what they resisted! Out of 32 infantry battalions only 6 gave ground for anxiety."

Several Bombay units took part in Sir Hugh Rose's operations in Central India, which were little noticed at the time "in comparison with the more spectacular fighting at Delhi and Lucknow." Fortescue writes in his *History of the British Army*: "On the whole Rose's march of a thousand miles to Kalpi and thence by Gwalior strikes me as the most remarkable achievement in the history of the Indian Mutiny."

In the Abyssinian War eight of ten infantry battalions and two out of four cavalry regiments came from Bombay. In what he describes as "perhaps the most difficult and dangerous enterprise in which a British army was ever engaged," Fortescue singles out for special praise the 10th Bombay Infantry.

There were two Bombay cavalry regiments and two Bombay infantry battalions present at the battle of Maiwand in the Second Afghan War. Of these the 3rd Bombay Cavalry and the 1st Grenadiers bore a high reputation gained in many previous campaigns. The 3rd Scinde Horse and Jacobs Rifles were comparatively young regiments, but had seen service in the Mutiny. Sir Patrick Cadell shows how these "Bombay soldiers fought stoutly till the limit of endurance was reached," and adds that little can be justly urged against their good name. Several other Bombay units took part in this war—six cavalry regiments and sixteen infantry battalions in all. Nevertheless, like

"The painful warrior famed for fight
After a thousand victories once foiled,
Is from the book of honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toiled,"

the Bombay Army suffered for many years, though unjustly, the slur of Maiwand.

The years following the Third Afghan War, described in Chapter XV., saw the Third Burmah War, the Somaliland campaign, and the China expedition of 1900 to China, to all of which the Bombay Army gave its quota.

In 1893 the Presidential Armies were abolished. Owing to a variety of causes, fully set forth in this chapter, the recruitment of men belonging to the Bombay Presidency had much declined. More and more the ranks of Bombay units were replenished from Sind, the United Provinces and the Punjab. With the completion of Lord Kitchener's scheme of reorganization

the Bombay Army became finally merged in the Army of India, and ceased to exist as a separate entity.

In Sir Patrick Cadell's words, "To the old Bombay Army as a whole the Great War furnished a glorious apotheosis." Bombay regiments and battalions fought on the Western Front in Mesopotamia, where they shared in the privations of Kut and the sufferings of its aftermath, and in *The Miracle of Shaiba* General Melliss stated in his despatch: "It is gratifying to record the fact that all the Indian troops engaged, the 24th Punjabis excepted, are old Bombay Presidency Regiments. They have proved on this occasion that they are worthy to stand shoulder to shoulder with the best troops that the Empire can produce"; in East Africa, where the author notes that "The successful result of the campaign . . . may be claimed to have been largely contributed to by the four Bombay regiments engaged in it; and in Palestine; and in the operations in Aden and Persia. Finally, three Bombay Cavalry regiments, two Bombay mountain batteries, and five infantry battalions were employed in suppressing the Arab rebellion in Iraq. Although not specifically referred to in the book, it may be mentioned that the Scinde Horse did brilliant service during the retirement on Hillah after the surprise of the Manchester regiment, acknowledged by the award of no less than twelve decorations and the honour of the appointment of the Prince of Wales as its Colonel-in-Chief.

In the last chapter Sir Patrick Cadell makes some thoughtful comments on the future of the Indian Army under the Reforms, and points to the danger when we find some 85 per cent. of the Army recruited from less than 30 per cent. of the total area of India. It may also be added that Bengal provides not even one per cent.

Everyone possessing an atom of the spirit of adventure or a spark of pride in the achievements of the men of his race will get profit and pleasure from reading this book. The story of the growth of the Indian Empire from its beginnings is one of the great romances of history, on nearly every page of which the humble Bombay sepoy appears "always patient, faithful and brave."

G. de S. B.

Beloved Marian. The Social History of Mr. and Mrs. Warren Hastings. By K. L. Murray. 8½" x 6". Pp. xvi + 290. Jarrolds. 12s. 6d.

This pleasant and interesting book begins with a vivid picture of the first meeting of these famous lovers on board the *Duke of Grafton* in the spring of 1769. Warren Hastings was then thirty-seven years old, "short, slight and tired-looking," with years of hard service in Bengal behind him, now after four years of rest in England posted to Madras as Deputy-Governor. Marian, half French and half German, was only twenty-two, but had been married for six years and had borne three children to her husband, one of whom had died, another had been left in England with a friend, while her second, a small boy, was with her. Her husband, Charles Imhoff, an impecunious German baron, had obtained a concession-passage on the pretext that he wished to serve in the Madras army, whereas in fact he hoped to make a fortune in some other way, perhaps portrait

painting. Was not India a reputed El Dorado? In brains and character he was far superior to his pretty, fair, attractive wife. Hastings, on the other hand, had for some years been a widower. His first wife lay far away at Berhampur in Bengal with her infant daughter. A boy had survived and been taken to England, but he, too, had died just before his father's return home in 1765. Although in the prime of life, Hastings had considerable excuse for looking tired when he came on board the *Duke of Grafton*. But years of high office and intense struggle, as well as the great passion of his life, all lay before him. Marian and he made friends on that six months' voyage. She nursed him through a slight illness; and their friendship continued when all three took up life in Madras, Imhoff as a portrait painter, Hastings as the second man in the settlement. The former made no attempt to fulfil his obligation to enter the army and failed so signally to make money by painting that after a year he felt compelled to explore a wider field of enterprise, and in the autumn of 1770 sailed for Calcutta, leaving his wife and child to be cared for by Hastings but to follow him later on. Before departure he drafted an application to the Directors with Hastings's assistance, asking for permission to make the move "in order to practise one of the liberal arts," omitting to notice the fact that, contrary to his original undertaking, he had not entered the Company's military service, nor did he intend to do so. Hastings, although Deputy-Governor of the Presidency, clearly abetted this omission, and Mrs. Marshall observes, in a somewhat naïve fashion: "It is strange that a man so conscientious, so particular in the slightest detail of his work, should have lapsed in his duty here. Such a lapse is difficult to explain; but it is certain that it had a direct influence upon his future and Marian's." It had indeed. It opened the way for all that followed. Marian and her boy did not rejoin Imhoff for a year. Soon after their departure Hastings also went to Bengal as Governor.

Throughout his previous service in that Presidency he had borne "an unblemished character." But his work in Madras had brought him into frequent contact with the monstrous system which enabled the Presidency's Civil Servants to improve their fortunes by lending money at usurious interest to the local Nawab of Arcot, whose officials administered not only his own territory but also the Company's "jagir." The securities for such loans were "assignments," mortgages on revenues derived from poverty-stricken cultivators. Hastings kept clear of all such transactions, but made no attempt to stop them, and lived on friendly terms with men who battered on this abominable system. These associations undoubtedly biassed his action as Governor-General on two occasions in after-years.* His courtship of Marian progressed, but cannot have been unattended by twinges of conscience. Altogether, despite what Mrs. Marshall calls "the passion and romance" of those days, his moral fibre weakened.

Marian was much younger and was largely dependent on her kind protector. Her weak and incompetent husband had failed her. It was certain that he would never lift her out of a life of endless struggle to make both ends meet. He had gone away leaving her in this strange new land, where all around her presents and bribes passed freely. Reacting to this environment, she availed herself of Hastings's boundless generosity.

About the end of their first year at Calcutta the Company's answer to Imhoff's application arrived. He was ordered home. Then the Governor came forward with a plan. The Baron was to go and take his son to be educated in England at Hastings's expense. Afterwards he would proceed to Germany and obtain a divorce from his wife on the ground of desertion. When the decree of divorce

* See article on "Warren Hastings and Madras," *Asiatic Review*, April, 1937.

arrived and had been certified in Calcutta, Hastings would marry Marian. All this went according to plan, but slowly. Imhoff sailed in January, 1773, and more than four years later, in August, 1777, Hastings and Marian became man and wife. In the meantime she had been his friend and counsellor, his support through incessant trials of the severest kind, but, in all probability, not his mistress. Mrs. Marshall gives good reasons for this conclusion, corresponding largely with those that satisfied Lord Curzon. The fact is that Hastings was not the man to ruin his own deliberate scheme of happiness for life by premature indulgence of passion. Nor was Marian the woman to acquiesce in such folly.

And so they married. Mrs. Marshall considers (p. 172) that "the honeymoon spirit pervaded all their life together." It did. As Lord Curzon writes in his *British Government in India* (II., p. 148): "Who can doubt that all the strength of this strong man's being was concentrated on the woman he had chosen? . . . I should not have devoted so much space to the relations between Hastings and his wife were it not clear that in his love for her, even more than in his courage and sense of rectitude, lay the main source of the strength that enabled him to sustain the burden of the last decade of his service in India." But heavy though that burden was, an even heavier one awaited Hastings on his return to his native country, the country for which he had freely risked his life and reputation through long, stormy years. All through the period of his impeachment Marian remained his never-failing support and consoler. Then followed a peaceful eventide undisturbed except by pecuniary embarrassments. Here, too, she did her best to ward off the consequences of his distaste for finance, enormously aggravated by the expense of the impeachment which had ended in his acquittal. Mrs. Marshall does not fail to criticize Marian's defects, but rightly aims at judging her fairly and generously and at pointing out the finer traits in her character. How far her faults were the natural results of circumstances and environment acting on temperament and defective education we cannot here discuss. Marian had her days of triumph; but they were followed by terrible reverses. We can well believe her when she writes: "What he suffered during the period (of his impeachment) and what mine [*sic*] sufferings were during those seven long years God alone knows." She met those prolonged trials with a courage that never wavered; and even though in her prosperous days she had accepted costly presents and amassed a private hoard, she spent it freely for her husband's benefit; and, as Macaulay observes: "Her influence over him was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving." Both she and Hastings were extraordinarily self-sacrificing and generous to relatives and friends. When at last she lost him, she never ceased to cherish "the memory of that great and blessed spirit."

Busteed's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* and Lord Curzon's *British Government in India* should have found a place in Mrs. Marshall's bibliography. She has written a very interesting book in a pleasant picturesque style. It is a "social history" and merely gives the authoress's impressions of personages and some events of a remarkable period, together with much illuminating information regarding Marian and her first husband. Mrs. Marshall is mistaken in thinking that on his final return home Hastings was "lulled into a false sense of security by his ineradicable belief in the righteousness of his own actions" (p. 182). He had passed much time on his voyage in preparing an elaborate vindication of his administration, and had strong reasons for expecting to be fiercely attacked, although he can hardly have anticipated the unscrupulous brutality of his assailants, the prolonged torture of his impeachment, and the pecuniary ruin that lay before him.

H. V. L.

India : A Short Cultural History. By H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E. Edited by Professor C. G. Seligman, F.R.S. 10" × 6½". Pp. xvi + 452. Ten plates. Maps. Illustrations. London: The Crescent Press. 1937. 30s.

The sub-title of this book suggests a study of religion, philosophy, literature, art and science. But, while these subjects receive due treatment, the bulk of the volume is devoted to a narrative of events, of dynastic struggles and political changes. A few minor errors and some lapses from the system of spelling which the author has adopted do not detract from the value of his work. In some 400 pages Mr. Rawlinson has told the story of India during some 4,000 years, but has avoided the dullness which often accompanies compression; for the text is enlivened with touches of interesting detail. His lucid and attractive treatment of the theme should commend this book especially to those who have no first-hand acquaintance with India. There are twenty-three excellent plates, numerous drawings, useful maps and a well-arranged index.

While the book cannot claim to be a work of original research, it has the merit of bringing facts already known into apposite and suggestive juxtaposition with each other and of thus enduing them with new meaning. A good example of this is the manner in which it deals with the question of the influence of foreign civilizations upon Indian thought and India's own contribution to the total sum of human advancement. She can justly claim her own religions and philosophies. Hinduism, with its persistence, its elasticity and its unique system of caste, is essentially a home-grown product. Behind its ritual and its multitude of deities we can clearly trace in these pages, from the earliest times up to the growth of the Brahma Samāj, an intellectual striving for the conception of a single divine Spirit, for a considered answer to the riddle of existence. The Sāṅkhya school influenced Greek philosophical thought; and the Upanishads moved Schopenhauer to admiration. Mr. Rawlinson has eloquently told the story of the rise and spread of Buddhism—that gift which India bestowed, together with not a little of her artistic ideals (as testified by the monuments of Java and Cambodia and possibly by the pagoda of China), upon vast areas in the Far East. The activities of the Gandhāra school of sculpture, with its incontestably Greek features, were limited to the extreme north-west; and there simultaneously arose an indigenous form of art, lineally descended from that of Barhut and Sāñchi. India created her own drama and her own school of painting, though the latter was not too proud to benefit from Persian and European models. The Hindu astronomers frankly admitted their indebtedness to Greece; and so stout a nationalist as the late Mr. Gokhale declared that India must accept with gratitude the gift of physical science from Europe. Yet Nālanda and other centres had their medical colleges; and it was a Hindu of the seventh century A.D. who in a measure anticipated Newton's discovery of the law of gravitation.

The treatment of this problem, running as it does through Mr. Rawlinson's pages, exhibits a balanced judgment on his part which should act as a corrective to those on the one hand who would belittle Indian originality and to those on the other who assert that her culture owes nothing to external sources, and who overlook the fact that failure to adopt what may profitably be used argues a limited intelligence. Nor has India any need to view her record with regret. If others were quicker to reap the fruits of scientific research, her offering in the field of religious and philosophical thought, of literature and of the plastic arts, has been of inestimable value.

H. S.

Simple Colloquial Persian. Edited by C. L. Hawker, M.A. Longmans, Green. 3s.

This book has evolved from a series of pamphlets issued by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Ltd., for the use of their employees in Iran. It is essentially a book of useful words and phrases, connected up with a bare minimum of grammar and without the introduction of any Persian script. As such it should prove useful to those who have to acquire a smattering of the language for strictly utilitarian purposes. It is perhaps a pity that this utility plan is adhered to so rigidly and that no concession is made to any more aspiring learner who might wish to embroider his collection of phrases with some of the set expressions of politeness in which Persian conversation is so rich.

Hindustani Simplified. For tourists and all military ranks. By Major H. C. Parks. Luzac and Co. 2s. 6d.

The author has attempted to "simplify" a language, which depends to a great extent for expression on inflection, by ignoring all inflections. He also ignores the commonest and simplest construction of the language—*e.g.*, *apna, milna, parna, chahie, lagna, chukna*, etc.—and the phonetic spelling shows in many cases that he is ignorant of the correct pronunciation of the words. The following sentences taken at random show that the author fails to understand the very elements of the language:

Karnā Saktā? = Can do? (Page 17.)

Larkā ko puchho larkī bulānā. (Page 18.)

The boy (to) ask the girl to call.

Ho qulī hamārā naukar tum ko dekhā? (Page 22.)

Ho cooly my servant you (to) have seen?

Āt bāje gia. (Page 23.)

Kal Sūknā thā. (Page 24.)

After this lesson half the bāt tumārā pas hai. (Page 27.)

The modern tendency is not to inflect. (Page 28.)

Uskā bāl lambā thā, bhī uskā sir. (Page 28.)

Yeh aur bhārī se woh hai. (Page 30.)

C. B.

Migrant Asia. By Radhakamal Mukerjee. With an Introduction in Italian by Corrado Gini on "The Problem of the International Distribution of Population and Raw Materials."

This book is published by the Italian Society for the Study of Population Problems, of which Mr. Mukerjee is a corresponding member. Mr. Mukerjee is Professor of Economics and Sociology in Lucknow University and seems to have written several books on subjects connected with his work. This book, with its 279 pages and numerous statistics, purports to be a serious and important study of the population problems as they affect Eastern nations, and mainly China, Japan, and India. It is not well-arranged and there is much repetition, while some of the statistics are

contradictory. For instance, on page 158 it is said that only 25 million acres odd in Canada, or 2·7 per cent. of the whole area of 966 million acres, is productive. Immediately below the "land area" of the country is given as 1,003 million acres, and the "land in farms" is shown to be 879 million acres, which is said to be 46·2 per cent. only of the whole! It is difficult to understand how so many contradictory figures come to be crammed into a few lines.

It is impossible to accept the book as an impartial academic study. Mr. Mukerjee is well up in his subject and might have written an excellent treatise on it, but he is too much an Indian with a grievance. Further, his suggestions for righting the inequalities of population which really do exist are impracticable and visionary. His main theme, which he repeats several times in different parts of the book, is that in the south and east of Asia 900 million Asiatics, representing half the human race, are confined to an area representing only 4 per cent. of the globe's surface, and are excluded by the selfish white races from the rest of the underpopulated countries. This sounds very terrible, and there is a real grievance underlying it, but it is an overstatement of the case. The land portion of the globe is only 55 million square miles in area, while India and China alone cover 6 million square miles, or 11 per cent. of the whole. Moreover, the population of China in most books of reference is placed at 320 million and not 450, as claimed by Mr. Mukerjee, and on this basis the population of the area falls well below 800 millions. Again, the population of Europe as a whole is well over 100 to the square mile, while that of Asia is about 60.

Still, China, Japan, and India are very densely populated, and certain other parts of the world—Australia, for example—are relatively empty. It is most unjust, says Mr. Mukerjee, that the Chinese, Japanese, and Indians should be excluded by law from Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, and most of Africa, and compelled by pressure of population on the land to live in semi-starvation in their own countries. His remedy is that emigration and immigration should be controlled by an international authority. He would compel Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, and other countries to receive immigrants of all races freely. He considers the argument that they will reduce the standard of living as due really to racial prejudice. At any rate, it should not be allowed to be put forward unless the race or community concerned can undertake continuous manual labour in the region it occupies or where it can populate its area within a reasonable time by its own increase more or less as Asiatic immigrants would populate it. Thus, he says, it is estimated that "on the present level of technique" Australia could support a population of 450 millions and South America 2,400 millions! His idea seems to be that any race which can breed like rabbits and is content with a standard of comfort of the lowest possible level has an incontrovertible claim to oust another which is content to increase slowly and wishes to maintain, if not to raise, its style of living. It is difficult to appreciate the point of view which will maintain such a thesis. Surely the world owes a debt of gratitude to the white races which have shown that the standard can be continuously raised. Man should aim

at increasing comfort and higher culture. He should learn to control his own increase as he does that of his domestic animals. The real remedy seems to be birth control (which Mr. Mukerjee hardly mentions) and sustained attempts to raise the standard of living in Eastern countries.

Mr. Mukerjee maintains that the white man's standard is artificial and is based on the exploitation of the tropics and on unnatural industrialization. This argument cannot be sustained. Take the case of a more or less self-contained country like America. If she was cut off entirely from the rest of the world, does Mr. Mukerjee think that her standard would sink to that of China? In point of fact, it is easy to show that the settlement and control of the tropics and the mutual trade of Europe and America with these countries, after a little blundering and perhaps some plundering and brutality in the beginning, has led to real benefit to their populations.

Mr. Mukerjee has no fears of any harm arising from race crossing. He disposes of the matter in half a page and evidently thinks that on the whole a mixture of, say, Chinese and Japanese with the Australians would be for the ultimate benefit of the latter. Unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, the Australians think otherwise, and most of the world will agree with them.

It is difficult to take too seriously an argument put forward on these lines, with ultimate reliance on international control, in the present state of world politics and the at any rate partial collapse of the League. When it has failed in its relatively limited programme, it is surprising that anyone should suggest that it should try to solve so thorny a problem as this. Further, there is a good deal of evidence that the three peoples concerned do not really wish to emigrate on a larger scale than at present. The Chinese do emigrate, and they seem to find plenty of room to the north and to the south in the Dutch East Indies and the Malay archipelago. But Japan and India have done relatively little even in those suitable areas which are open to them. Mr. Mukerjee admits that the Japanese are poor pioneer workers and cannot stand competition from the Chinese. In spite of pressure on the soil at home, they seem to have little real desire for mass migration. Brazil and some South American countries welcome them as settlers, but very few go there. Except for Burma and Ceylon, which are really part of India, relatively few Indians have gone abroad. Mr. Mukerjee makes great play with the restrictions imposed in South Africa, Kenya, and other countries, but in Tanganyika, where under the mandate all immigrants must be welcomed, Indians have only increased since 1921 from 9,000 to 18,000—an insignificant total—not worth calling even a fraction of the 350 millions of the home country.

Altogether, a reading of the book gives the impression that Mr. Mukerjee has spoilt a good case by a poor presentation of it. For instance, he devotes quite a lot of space to arguing that the U.S.A. ought to admit Asiatics freely to settle on the west coast. He has many good arguments against Australia and some other countries, but he weakens their force by his extravagances. The fact is that the grievance is really more political than economic. The educated Japanese and Indian naturally rebel against prohibitions which

they realize imply racial inferiority. One must sympathize with them and recognize the danger of the antagonism arising from these feelings. Further, everyone realizes that the position of Australia is unnatural and unsound. The Australians cannot work their tropical areas themselves and appear to the Eastern races to play the rôle of dog in the manger. An empty Australia is a real danger to the world and to the British Commonwealth of Nations, but it is not easy to suggest a practical remedy.

B. A. C.

Life and Labour in a Gujarat Taluka. By J. B. Shukla, M.A. Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd. Paper boards, Rs. 5; cloth, Rs. 6.

Mr. Shukla has devoted much conscientious labour to the compilation of this book on the conditions of life in the Olpad Taluka of the Surat District. In Olpad there is no great city, no great shrine, no great market. Nature has not adorned it as a beauty spot, and there is nothing to bring the sportsman within its limits. So it has few visitors except the merchant buying cotton, and the peasant from Baroda State in search of a wife. It has never, so far as one can remember, given birth to a man of eminence. From the villages of the seaboard come sturdy seamen, but they have not returned to their homes with the wealth of Zanzibar or the treasures of the Spice Islands. It has no river to bring in or carry away trade. Yet it is near the city of Surat, and a main railway line runs through it, so that it is not isolated, and its products are easily sold at fair prices. Its simple annals are thus comparatively uncomplicated, and in a general way it may be taken as typical of much of rural India.

Mr. Shukla discovers, not unexpectedly, that for most of the inhabitants of this agricultural area life is an unequal struggle. They cannot, taking good and bad years together, count on making enough out of their labour or their land to provide their families with food and clothing sufficient for their minimum needs, with the result that, except in so far as small earnings from other sources may help, they are either consistently undernourished or steadily slipping deeper into debt, or both.

He does not echo the cry that unduly heavy demands for land revenue are the chief cause of this economic distress. Indeed, save for the information that the rate for the four villages in Group I. is Rs. 7, there being five groups in the Taluka, we are left without light on this point till we come to page 195 *sqq.*, where balance sheets for various crops are given. Here, it may be remarked, Mr. Shukla suddenly switches over from the acre, the official unit of measurement, to the bigha, a variable local unit, and it is not until page 269 that a footnote tells us that the bigha is here approximately four-sevenths of an acre. He takes the average land revenue on a bigha of cotton or jukar land at Rs. 3.8, on wheat land at Rs. 2.8, and on bajri land (in the poorest villages) at Rs. 1, working out at about Rs. 6.2, Rs. 4.6, and Rs. 1.12 per acre respectively, these figures being less than one-sixth of the estimated gross income from cotton, less than a fifth in the case of wheat, and less than a fourteenth in the case of bajri. In dealing with the accumulated debt of the Taluka, he shows that the debt incurred for the specific purpose of paying the land revenue is only 0.35 per cent. of the total, but he reasonably points out that if the land revenue is not paid the land is forfeited, and so it is paid as soon as the cultivator gets cash from the sale of his produce, even if money for other essential purposes has to be raised by loans.

From first to last Mr. Shukla lays stress on the evils of excessive subdivision

and fragmentation of holdings. The causes of fragmentation are carefully studied, the main cause being the operation of the Hindu law of inheritance, and remedies are suggested. He thinks that legislation on the lines of the Bombay Bill of 1927, which was stoutly, not to say ferociously, opposed by the professed friends of the cultivators, may be necessary, unless the co-operative methods of consolidation in use in the Punjab and the Baroda State can slowly cure the trouble.

Indebtedness is so widespread that house to house enquiries into the affairs of nearly eight hundred families showed more than three out of every four to be in debt, the average burden being Rs. 763. Averages, of course, mean very little; in one village two families, one being Brahman, accounted for more than a quarter of the debt of thirty-eight families; in another two families, both Brahman, owed more than a third of the total shared among nineteen. On the other hand, a debt even of Rs. 100 is a load which a Koli with a large family and an uneconomic holding of poor land can never shake off, and in the lowest group of villages the average debt is no less than Rs. 456. The worst feature of the situation is that more than three-quarters of the debt is unproductive, and less than a quarter was incurred for productive agricultural purposes. Mr. Shukla very fairly abstains from moral indignation against the poor Koli who enlivens a dull and monotonous life by occasional extravagance on a marriage festivity, and he urges with equal sanity that education is the only lever which will raise the daily level of life and check these ruinous dissipations. That the Sowkar is still indispensable in village life is clearly brought out, and also his unscrupulous exploitation of his illiterate clients. Mr. Shukla is in favour of legislation to compel the Sowkar to keep regular accounts, and to furnish statements of account to each debtor in a prescribed form, though, as he points out, full advantage of such an enactment could not be secured unless the debtor were literate.

Oddly enough, he classes tea-drinking among the unwarrantable extravagances to which the peasant is addicted. Habits may have changed. Not so long ago the ratio of tea-leaves to cup was so low that the cost must have been purely nominal, and the nutritive value of the milk and sugar included must have exceeded by far any stimulating effects the beverage may have had. One may find here an echo of more political lines of thought, as in the lip service duly paid to the charkha, as one of several spare-time occupations which might improve the conditions of the poor.

No doubt from a laudable desire for clearness, there is a certain amount of repetition in this book, which does not make for easy reading. On several occasions figures which have appeared in a table are repeated in the text without any comment which would give them additional significance. And Mr. Shukla sometimes plays a trick on his readers by leaving the chief operative factor to the last when investigating the causes of some phenomenon. One says to oneself, "Can it be that the Chhapania is already forgotten?", only to find that Mr. Shukla was keeping it up his sleeve to be produced like the rabbit when there seemed to be nothing more there. These are small flaws in a very valuable piece of work. The real mischief-maker is the person who teaches English in India. Time and again one comes across such elementary errors as the misuse of "as well as." A phrase like "primary schools for boys as well as girls" says just the opposite of what it is meant to convey: probably indeed, as is often the case when this expression, so popular in India, is used, nothing more is meant than "for both boys and girls." Does no Professor in the land condescend to notice such trifles?

An Introduction to Indian Administration. By M. R. Palande. 8½" × 5½".

Pp. viii + 258. Milford, Oxford University Press. 4s.

The title of this book is a misnomer. It is not so much an introduction to Indian administration as a criticism of the India Act of 1935. The author is a Professor of History and Economics at Surat College. Like so many political theorists, he lives, where politics are concerned, in a world of his imagination. For him, India is a nation panting to be governed democratically by Congress; if only Britain would give up exploiting the country and deal fairly with it, India would soon find her feet as a great world Power. He dismisses the unpleasant Hindu-Moslem feud with the comment that "in the peculiar circumstances of a conquered country in which the will and the interests of the supreme overlord are neither inactive nor negligible forces any kind of settlement is impossible." A cryptic saying; the implication, however, seems to be that if only the overlord would stand aside, the quarrel could be composed. "The Indian race," he complains further, "is being dwarfed and stunted by British domination." "The upward impulse, the ambition to rise to the loftiest heights which is cherished in an atmosphere of democratic feeling, is being dried up in an environment of abject inferiority." Here again the suggestion seems to be that the British at the outset of their rule found an atmosphere of democratic freedom in India, and for the last century have done nothing but pollute it. But could there be such an atmosphere where every fifth or sixth member of the Indian race was an outcast beyond the social and political pale? Have there not been opportunities for high achievement in, for example, abolishing such customs as child marriage and in the uplift of the outcast? Another deep lamentation from the Professor is that "the administrative and military talents of the Indian race which have been the glory of the country's history in the past are bound to deteriorate and disappear owing to their misuse." Of what is he thinking here? Of the Moghals, of the Moslems of the Deccan, of Telukota, or of the Marathas tearing to pieces their Hindu co-religionists, the Rajputs? Despite the indictment of British selfishness, unless everything in India is *maya* or illusion, Indian ministers are controlling, not without success, the administration of the whole of British India. This, unfortunately, is not enough for the Hindu Professor. Why should Indians be mistrusted? "In all progressive Western countries the Legislature has acquired outstanding importance." Here he seems to forget the Germany of Hitler; Mussolini and his achievements; the Russia of Stalin, spiritual home of the ex-President of the Congress and of his successor.

The Indian States constitute an unpleasant problem. How astonishing that "they should prefer the control of a foreign bureaucracy to the domination of an Indian democracy"!

A curious theory of democracy is propounded; that its success depends greatly on "the size of the purse"; "a democratic Government must be in a position to elevate the masses." But is it not a fact that the spirit of freedom in the Greek and Roman democracies was suffocated by the influx of wealth from the East? One might suggest that the Congress was nervous lest its oligarchic rule should only be possible through political bribery.

On one point Congress might do well to consider the Professor's advice, where he remarks that there should be no interference by politicians in the work of administration. From all one hears, local Congress committees in the villages have almost ousted the official.

The book will not greatly appeal to English readers. For one thing, the sketch of Indian administration is so obscured by criticism of British methods that it is not easy to follow. Most Englishmen will feel that it would be better to let the

dust of ten years' political controversy settle, and that Indians should get on with the work of solving, with the practically unlimited power in their hands, some of the urgent problems that obsess the lives of their countrymen.

W. P. B.

The New India. Anonymous. 10" x 7½". Pp. x+xxi+179. Reprinted from *The Times'* India number published on March 23, 1937.

This very well got up volume contains a reprint of the articles that appeared in the India number of *The Times*, which was published in March, 1937. It will be recalled that the India Supplement of *The Times* on publication was very well received in India, and a reprint in the present handy form affords those whose interests lie in India an opportunity of having these important contributions on various Indian problems available for closer study or reference.

No one can expect the terms of a new constitution to be easily understandable by the ordinary man. The Government of India Act of 1935 is particularly complicated, and the review given by *The Times* certainly does its best to clarify the situation and to explain in intelligible language the main lines of the New Constitution. The chapter on "A New Era in the Government of India" impresses that "the fundamental conception of the New Act is that the Government in India is the Government of the Crown conducted by authorities deriving function directly from the Crown in so far as the Crown does not itself retain executive functions." This change brings India into line with the Dominions. The Act of 1919 is now repealed and a "single reservoir of governmental jurisdiction is created in the Crown." The details of this tremendous change are as complicated as modern legal draftsmanship can make them, but a study of *The Times'* articles definitely helps to an understanding.

The chapter headed "Towards Federation," by Mr. Rushbrook Williams, is full of interest. The contributor shows with convincing argument that in Federation in India there lies no new principle. Through Indian history runs a thread of what he calls "Central Suzerainty with local autonomy." He reviews the alarm which has arisen among some of the affected Princes consequent on a later study of the implications of Federation, particularly those concerning customs, railways and financial interests. Federation in its simplest form seems to present no serious problem and little in the way of obstacles, but a study of this article, as well as the most recent correspondence in *The Times*, makes it quite plain that the application of the principle to India involves all manner of difficulties and problems of varying degree of importance to the Central Government and to the Independent States. Mr. Rushbrook Williams concludes his summary with a paragraph which is worth quoting.

"The Federal conception, though in imperfect form, is an essential element in India's political heritage. Expressed in a shape adapted to the requirements of this age, it will assuredly provide, in Lord Linlithgow's words, 'a spectacle whose dignity and grandeur will not be unworthy of this great and famous country.'"

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Having in view the fact that the contributions under notice are now in book-form, it would seem that the chapter on "The Montague-Chelmsford Act," followed by that on "The Defence of India," are somewhat misplaced in sequence. The former might have been incorporated with the earlier chapter, "A Milestone

in History," and the latter relegated to the section devoted to departmental activities. Further, as regards Defence, unfortunately, in some respects, particularly as regards the rôle of the Royal Indian Navy, this chapter is rather out of date. It is, of course, almost impossible to keep a book of this description right up to date when administrative changes are being made rapidly in so many directions. India is so far behind in the march of progress that the new awakening hurries details of reform into operation almost between proof correction and publication. The Defence chapter, however, apart from the Naval Section, is extremely informative and shows clearly the future relationship between the Commander-in-Chief, the Central Government, the Secretary of State, the Committee of Imperial Defence, and the Governor-General. The new system seems to be so complicated that one must believe a real superman will be required to combine all the qualities called for. Fortunately the army in India has a habit of producing such a man. Readers of this chapter, too, will be, if unfamiliar with India's defence problems, interested to learn of the meaning of the "Minor Danger."

Those who read the chapter devoted to a study of the functions of the Governor-General in Federal India will note that attention is called to the absence of any reference to a "Viceroy," and will sympathize with the Governor-General when they learn that more than 100 sections of the Act impose on him special responsibilities. Consideration is then given to some of these responsibilities and an explanation given as to what is meant by that deliciously elastic word "discretion."

The Times correspondent in India supplies material for the article on "Parties and Personalities" and on "Politics in the Provinces," and this section will be no disappointment to those who have read Mr. Inglis' feature articles in *The Times*. Few men in India are better qualified than he to describe the aspirations of the different wings and sections of the many political groups who ask for the confidence of the electorate. It will also be noticed that *The Times* correspondent is the soul of discretion in the manner of his handling of this difficult appreciation, and the only criticism that can be offered here is that he seems to have gone out of his way to offend no one by plain speaking. And in this matter the uninformed might be all the better off for a little plain speaking, particularly as to what the Left Wing of Congress stands for. Mr. Inglis, most correctly, refers to Pundit Nehru as being "uncompromising in his hostility to the British Administration," and states that he (Nehru) aims at the creation of a "Socialist State." Your reviewer's conception of the Pundit's aim is that his State is to be Communist rather than Socialist, a conception which, if attained, would necessarily mean the disappearance of the Federated Native States and their Rulers. Mr. Inglis' appreciations of publicists outside Congress, such as Sir Chaminlad Setalvad, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, Sir Phiroza Sethna (one of the cleverest and sanest men in India), Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Mr. Jinnah, are apt and to the point.



Sir William Barton writes on "The Princes and Federation," and is careful to point out that the first enthusiasm for accession has, among the greater number of native rulers, rather faded out. Sir William closes his careful review by saying that there are no insuperable difficulties in the way. He thinks the safeguards in the Act are adequate, provided the Princes stand together. But is a princely *bloc* a desirable element in a free, democratic form of government?

Sir Lawrence Hammond has one or two amusing episodes to relate in his contribution on "India at the Polls." No doubt he could fill a volume with others. Those who are no longer familiar with modern India will enjoy having it recalled

to them that the electorate in the Provinces numbers 35 million, and that 2,000 members have to be elected to the Legislatures. The majority of this enormous, not to say ponderous, electorate is illiterate and bovine and requires to be guided to its ballot-box *à choix* by symbolism, a cart, an umbrella, a cow, monkey, or some familiar object. The situation is further complicated by the question as to who is the senior wife among a many.

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The remaining contributions are concerned with departmental activities, and all these articles are written by experts. They deal with a multitude of interesting subjects: "Fiscal Problems," by Sir Campbell Rhodes; "Industry," by Sir Atul Chatterjee; "Trade," by Dr. Meek; "Science in Agriculture," by Dr. Burn; "Indian Geography," by Brigadier Couchman; and "Railways," by Sir Guthrie Russell." The article on the "Civil Service" is written by a member who appears to be well satisfied with the career, as well he might be.

There are articles on "Civil Aviation," "The Posts and Telegraphs," "Broadcasting," "Mountaineering," "Christianity in India," and a very thoughtful one on "The Changed Status of Women," which would please American readers of the Middle West. Here we learn that "Poona, once the citadel of Hindu orthodoxy, is pulsating with new life . . . with her Women's University and the Sera Sedan."

Sir Francis Younghusband writes on "The Place of Religion in India." It is a splendid chapter, written by a master of his subject.

The article on "Public Health," as is still usual, is relegated almost to the end of the book. Such a subject, maybe, is thought to have little "news value." The space allotted to this most important subject is all too meagre. It is the one subject in which in India complacency should find no place. Public health in India, in spite of all that is written about it, has an enormous leeway to make up. It should be thought to be nothing short of scandalous that Her Excellency Lady Linlithgow, in all her sympathy for suffering, has to come to the public for financial assistance for a campaign against tuberculosis. Government does relatively nothing, or very little for public health in India. It is proud of its efforts to support nutritional research, which includes work on trying to find a diet which will support life on starvation wages. Why should some of the best scientific brains available be used to meet a condition brought about by an economic situation which, for instance, allows Government to pay its arsenal labour five annas a day for a five-day week? That comes to an annual wage of just £5. The article on "Public Health" does admit that, in regard to infant mortality, much remains to be done! Nevertheless, the Government of India remains complacent, because it has recently constituted a Central Board of Health, and the writer of the article is of opinion that the Board should be of great value. Your reviewer, on the other hand, holds the view that the Central Board of Health is just another Debating Society, and that its accomplishments will be commensurate with the latter status. Meanwhile, in the matter of public health, the Government of India might well learn something from its neighbours. The Dutch East Indies and Malaya and the great towns of India could with advantage study hygiene methods and means to be found in the Panama Canal Zone or in Rio de Janeiro.

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In summary, then, the Royal Central Asian Society should be happy to add its congratulations, and indeed its sense of gratitude, to *The Times* for its enterprise

and public spirit in publishing this reprint of articles by experts on such a variety and over such a range of subjects. Here is an enormous mass of information, adequately condensed and handy for reference. It is, as was the Supplement, illustrated by many very well-reproduced photographs.

D. S. S.

I Go West. By D. F. Karaka. 9" x 6". Pp. 288. Michael Joseph. 10s. 6d.

"To whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required"; and from Mr. Karaka, who has enjoyed many privileges, India has the right to expect a substantial return. And so one takes up this book with a certain anticipation. It may be too much to expect from him the solution—or a solution—to the agonizing problem, the terms of which have been set out a thousand times, of adjusting the mechanism of India's life and thought to the insistent forces that are beating upon her to-day, but at least we may hope to learn the aims which he has set before himself, and the goal toward which he is striving.

But Mr. Karaka has deliberately chosen a different way. He lays bare the influences which the "intellectually grown-up" circle of Oxford undergraduates, into which he holds himself fortunate to have fallen, exerted upon a mind already disposed to criticize the existing order. He lingers a little over the emotional reactions provoked by other experiences in England and Paris, for which an early practice in hot journalism has furnished appropriate idioms of expression. And so, as his punning title suggests, he presents himself before us as something of a pathological case: "Sometimes I feel that I don't know where we really want to go, or what we are aiming at." Obsessed by the superiority complex of the white and the injustice of the colour-bar, his emotions impel him into revolt, and he enters on a catalogue of the wrongs of India, not knowing, perhaps, that his indictments have already been made, and much more effectively made, by Englishmen themselves. Gandhi appeals to his emotions, Nehru to his left-wing inclinations; he admires, but distrusts. From India he swings back to Oxford and Paris to recover his emotional poise—until the colour-bar sends him over to India again, only to find himself confronted, and as it were disinherited, by religious forces which he cannot share.

Yet the impression remains that Mr. Karaka, perhaps rather wilfully, does himself some injustice. He has not yet found his way out of negation into constructive ideas, but he is obviously thinking, sometimes with his head, more often with his emotions. He is young, and there is so much to do for India. And let him be assured that thousands of his fellow-subjects in this country, conscious that they may not intervene by word or deed, are watching for the response which he and those like him will make to the problems which await them.

H. A. R. G.

Inside India. By Halide Edib. 9" x 5½". Pp. vi + 378. Allen and Unwin. 1937. 10s. 6d.

Intelligent and critical descriptions of the Indian position by Asiatic writers have not been frequent in recent years. The value of Halide Edib's account lies in the picture which it gives of leading Indian personalities and in the vivid representation of human scenes; the prayers at evening in Mr. Gandhi's house are full of reality and appeal, and the sketches of speakers at various meetings are lifelike. The author is obviously sincere, and her experiences, particularly

her relations with hosts and hostesses who entertained her, are recorded in a spirit which indicates that she was a pleasant guest.

Invited to address the Muslim "University" in Delhi (Jamia Millia Islamia), and viewing India with the eyes of a progressive and modern Turk, Halide Edib must at times have surprised her companions by the vigour and frankness of her comments. Her audiences will have listened attentively to a condemnation of the purdah system, of untouchability, and of the opposition, shown by many Indian Muslims, to political alliance with the Hindus. They were no doubt greatly benefited; for Halide Edib, though influenced by Dr. Ansari whom she had known in Turkey, was a disinterested but not an impartial observer, and she practised what she preached, associating with Hindu leaders and staying in their houses. Her evident desire is to see a united Indian nation, and Gandhi's mention of Nationhood, as the greatest benefit conferred on India by the British, is quoted with approval. (The author might be disconcerted if she knew how many of the British, including the wicked British officials, approved it likewise, and shared the desire for Indian unity.)

This book is refreshing and worth reading. It suffers, however, from two defects. In the first place there are errors which even a casual traveller might have avoided, such as *Han* Sahib (now Chief Minister in Peshawar) and the *Shaliwar* Gardens at Lahore. It is incorrect to call the Famine Fund in Hyderabad State an "extraordinary" measure, when a similar fund has existed for sixty years in British India, and it is misleading to call Sikhism anti-alcoholic (as in doctrine it is), without reference to the heavy drinking practised by many Sikhs. But more than this, in the second place Halide Edib is sadly gulled by her informants, often but not solely when they wish to make an anti-British case. The maximum land revenue is not, as alleged on page 175, one-half of the gross produce, but of the *net* produce of land—*i.e.*, one-half of the rent or its equivalent. Generalizations as to the condition of the Indian peasantry should not be based on one or two Zemindari villages near Lucknow, which were exhibited to the author as typical. Three hundred million people did not fast when Mr. Gandhi inaugurated Satyagraha; the great majority took no notice of the injunction to fast. The horrifying description of Abdul Ghafar Khan's limbs, sore and bleeding with fetters, is moonshine, and the schoolmaster, whose pupils, on first arrival, were ever raising their arms to avert a blow, was—if the expression may be permitted—pulling Halide Edib's leg! Indian children are only too often underfed, but they are cheerful and merry by nature. A blow from parents or any other person is rare.

A reader who disregards the nonsense with which the author has been primed by ungenerous friends will find her book stimulating and suggestive. India will one day produce equally good writers.

C. F. S.

Lectures on the Bhagavad Gita. By D. S. Sarma, M.A., Principal, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. 7" x 5". Pp. xiii + 213. Publisher: N. Subba Rao Pantula, Rajahmundry. Agents: Luzac and Co. 3s.

These lectures are intended not as a work of scholarship, but as one of edification for Hindu students.

The Gita mentions, and in a vague way reconciles with one another, so many different *yogas*—*i.e.*, ways of salvation or aspects of the religious life—as to lend itself fairly well to use as a general work of edification for Hindus.

In the author's words, it takes "every type of religious thought and practice

gently by the hand and shows it the higher way." He suggests, incidentally, that Hindus ought to take their popular religion similarly in hand and purify some of its forms.

The Gīta, he shows, prescribes action without self-seeking, and without wrath or arrogance. Wealth may, he states, be acquired, and desire be gratified, provided that it be within the framework of Dharma.

What, then, one may ask, is the content of Dharma? Beyond freedom from egotism, devotion to the Deity, mystical meditation, and so on, is the ideal simply the observance of caste rules?

No, Mr. Sarma would reply; the four-caste system referred to in the Gīta was an ideal, not an actual system, and in it the virtues of each caste were specified. It was "an ideal society in which every man's position would be organically related to his aptitudes." Caste in its present form, in his view, is bound to disappear; but man's duty is viewed in the Gīta as governed by the aptitudes of his nature and by his place in a community embodying the principle of spiritual progress. He has a duty not only to his neighbours but to the great society of the universe.

This is a lofty ideal, but one which would seem to require more illustration than it receives from Mr. Sarma. However, he has taken the Gīta as it stands, representative, as it is, of the wonders no less than of the deficiencies of the higher Hinduism. He has brought out its lessons with obvious sincerity.

A noticeable strain running through the book is the defence of Hinduism against Christianity.

A. F. K.

Indian Temples. One hundred and thirty-six photographs chosen and annotated by Odette Bruhl. With a preface by Sylvain Lévi. 10½" × 8". Pp. xvi. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1937. 10s. 6d.

This volume forms a useful adjunct to Mr. Rawlinson's Cultural History and, like it, extends over a wider field than its title would imply. For it contains pictures not only of Hindu temples but also of Muhammadan mosques and tombs, of Himalayan peaks, of pilgrimages and of processions.

In a preface of four pregnant pages Professor Sylvain Lévi rapidly traces the outlines of the history of Indian art as expressed in stone. Beginning with dolmens of the megalithic period, he passes to the remarkable civilization which flourished in Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa about 2,500 B.C. After the disappearance of that civilization and the commencement (perhaps about 1,500 B.C.) of the Vedic period, there is a long gap in the archæological record, a reason for which is suggested. With the rise of Jainism and Buddhism there came a revival of religious architecture. The great tradition then established was carried on by resurgent Hinduism; and in later centuries the imported art of Islam profited by indigenous ideals and craftsmanship, so that in India "mosques, minarets and mausoleums have attained a dignity and beauty greater than anywhere else," and "only the Taj Mahal can compare with the glory of the Parthenon."

The remaining 120 pages are occupied by 136 illustrations, followed by some notes thereon. Efforts "to avoid meaningless disorder" have not been very successful; for the specimens of Muslim architecture are out of place and those of Indo-Sumerian art figure at the end. But the pictures are a splendid revelation of Indian genius in the realms of architecture and sculpture. Here is no need to strain after mysticisms in squat and unlovely forms. Rather we have a record of

bold, virile productions, instinct at once with realism and with imagination. In particular the rock-temples and their sculptures, as here depicted, fully warrant Professor Lévi's assertion that they can take their place among the greatest works of art; and one may ask, with feeling, whether a thousand years of "progress" have increased the sculptor's ability to delineate in bas-relief a "Figure flying through the Air" (Picture No. 92).

Monuments of Ceylon are included, and an interesting series of photographs illustrates the little-known temples of Nepal.

H. S.

The Process of Change in the Ottoman Empire. By Wilbur W. White. 9" x 5½". Pp. ix+315. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

Professor White has two not unambitious aims. He wants to make a case study of the Eastern Question from specimen countries in the European, African, and Arab parts of the Ottoman Empire, and then to theorize from the standpoint of modern international and municipal law about any peaceable or legal trend in the solutions he may observe, though from the beginning it is evident that law may conceal victories and defeats no less barbarous than those of war. Novelty can hardly be expected in the rendering of account for Turkey-in-Europe, and we have the familiar picture of the powers, sponsoring either rebellious nationalism or the Sick Man and his "defined right," and, in the end, "on the excuse of financial interests, general peace, general guarantees, or even upholding her own constitution," the new nation has become a vassal to many masters instead of one, and is involved in boundary disputes, dynastic changes, and external financial control.

The "North African pattern" of Ottoman disintegration contrasts with that in European Turkey because the pashaliks here concerned may have been voluntary vassals, and because, with only two powers at first participating in the liquidation, there was little chance for the benign operation of fraternal jealousies: imperialism comes to the fore and self-determination gives way. Egypt was most of the time in a position as obscure as that of the Suez Canal, and nowhere else "has there been such a continuous and pronounced divergence between the status *de jure* and the brutal facts." The Wafd relied as much upon the Fourteen Points of President Wilson as on the honesty of the English promise to leave the country free, and its task in Europe indeed became difficult when "to help in the restoration of order" Mr. Wilson himself recognized the English protectorate (April 21, 1919). The author does not mention this, nor essentially does he show why and where material autonomy was in fact relinquished; yet such a factor as the divergence of views between the Palace and the Cabinet is as significant to-day as it was on the morrow of the promulgation of the constitution at the same time with that of Roumania. Everything is in the nuance, with which the author's authorities are ill-provided. The "brutal frankness" of the Milner Report (1920) loses its import, especially after a relation of terrific riots—and reprisals equally terrific—in March, 1919, without a supplementary record of the dignity and resolution that were made a point of honour in the general strike that boycotted Lord Milner in December. The educational system, maintained for the benefit of Egypt (see memoir of Dr. Dunlop, *Egyptian Gazette*, October 25, 1937), might have incapacitated the country for the sense of responsibility that the English press was too apt to accuse it of lacking, but it had enough to defeat Lord Milner. Professor White, though he has a cryptic reference hidden in another chapter (p. 185 *n.*) loses a chance to establish both the legal and material

heritage of a protectorate—the boundary matter of the Jaghabub Oasis. It is indeed difficult to understand (to quote a comment reported in the *Near East*, July 16, 1925) “how such a sincere and devoted friend of Egypt as Lord Milner could, in the negotiations with Signor Scialoja [April, 1919, about art. 13 of the Treaty of London, 1915], have agreed to the proposed cession of Jaghabub to Italy” without even consulting the Egyptian Government.

The separation of the Arab countries from the Empire (says Professor White) in general shows imperialism balanced or even slowly outwitted by self-determination. Competitive and secret war-time agreements had to give place, for France and England, to the compromise of mandates, in their strict form nevertheless “imposed by the same means as though it were a seizure of colonial territory,” and in the end liquidated (as is charged by countries without mandate) the better to attach the country to the mandatory and detach it from the League or any third party. But questions of legal status, and therefore criteria of capacity for independence, themselves depend on more than the account (to 1925 only) of the oil interests would indicate. Perhaps the important history of Arab “nationalism” since 1860, particularly in secret societies, is insufficiently stressed; the Maronite-Druse conflict of that year is indicative of England and France in the region, and the nature of the Arab, and his fate, should be made clear from a full account of the bids that those countries ultimately made in the war against the Central Powers. The division of English opinion then over the Arabs (see this *Journal*, 1938, p. 108) is as important as the opinion the Turks had of them, which is adequately symbolized by Fakhri Pasha’s reluctance to leave Medina to them even in January, 1919. With such a background sketched, the Hussein-McMahon correspondence would be almost unimportant; as it is, the author devotes an appendix to it, but why does he not use the texts in the *Palestine Royal Commission Report* (1937), which he elsewhere cites? The Emir Abdullah’s recent (July, 1937) expostulation with the High Commissioner in Palestine seems to add nothing to our knowledge of what the full documents might be, but we are still not so much in the dark that Professor White need miss the question, crucial at least to Sir Henry McMahon, whether Palestine was included in the zone for Arab independence, or the charge that he “ignored the claims regarding Aleppo and Beirut.”

The story thus told in two-thirds of this book is not a story of the Turks. “The Ottoman Empire is a *political* and *military* creation that certainly takes its support from the Turks, and yet has been governed neither by them nor with respect to the claims of their existence or their character, but through the *dynasty*, and the class of *renegades*.” Thus Iorga justifies himself for not using Ottoman sources in his great history, and the same excuse might apply for the first of the two necessarily superficial chapters in which Professor White treats Turkey itself, up to and after the Treaty of Küchük Kainarji. Yet, at least for the present century, it is indispensable to allude to national qualities: how else could we explain the difference between the Treaty of Sèvres and that of Lausanne, or the consistent rectitude the Republic has shown—*e.g.*, in the character of the procedure used before the remilitarization of the Straits, which “may go down in history as one of the important undertakings of modern times in the advancement of international peace”? The author’s aim does not lead him to face imponderables peculiar to the situation in hand (unless they be lightly formularized, as *nationalism*, *imperialism*, and so forth), but it is a pity, if he was bringing in the Turks at all, that it could not admit of a glance at another vast empire of theirs, the Kingdom of Delhi, which would, for example, have thrown some light on the highly characteristic institution of imperial fratricide (*cf. Kuran*, ii., 187).

They are inexplicable in the story he tells unless we regard both the beginning and the end of it in a higher continuity that excludes as a mere episode the Sick Man of the nineteenth century, and return to the life of the Turkish people, which (as Vambéry wrote in 1885) "still to-day can boast of the greatest geographical expansion of all the peoples of the earth, distinguished among all of them by the most significant mutations in all the history of Asia and Europe, mutations that were brought about by its own indomitable *wanderlust* and militant genius." The Arabs in their very nature could never, despite a common religion, be bound to the empire of which they were a part as the Turkmens of Central Asia were to the Caliph, whose symbolic function religion and race equally taught them to revere.

A documentation, limited almost entirely to English and American books and English and French official documents (with, of course, the League of Nations), indicates an essential defect in this author's views of scholarship. To state the Eastern Question in the light of Russian views is as necessary for the trends in the formative years of the Turkish Republic as for the period when the struggle for the Straits was all-important. At least E. A. Adamov's six volumes of documents on Turkey and Greece would have been available in translation, and if other Russian reading was an unattainable ideal, there was all the more reason to follow not only that, but other currents of policy, in better periodical articles than are given by an almost exclusive use of the *American Journal of International Law* (and a few other law periodicals) and *Current History*! The work of Amedeo Giannini alone on the subject of the book makes the scholarly *Oriente Moderno* (1921 to date) indispensable, or if not, then at least the *Near East, L'Asie Française*, or the publications of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Islamkunde*. These are certainly accessible, even if it would have been merely tantalizing to include, and contemplate, the many fascicules of the *Post-War Bibliography of Near Eastern Mandates* (ed. S. C. Dodd). The cases the author cites are tabulated, and the manuals of international law well in evidence, but where, for the impartiality of the historical side of the book, are (e.g.) the many works by Syrians in French, the publications of the Palestine Economic Society, the many volumes of Egyptian history published by the Royal Geographical Society of Egypt, or, finally, the books on that country by Theodore Rothstein, Adolph Hasenclever, and Ahmed Chafik Pasha?

The author's analysis, as a historian, of the dynamics of international change ultimately sets forth not so much the different forms of status in municipal law that he has defined, which might arbitrarily succeed each other, nor even effectual change too complex for legal definition, but rather an ideal (and unhistorical) evolution on an analogy of "life" in politics, such as may be constructed from a hasty generalization about processes (pp. 1, 34). The book is not completely perfunctory, like its useless sketch-map, but the whole material might better have been arranged from an exclusively legal standpoint and the theoretical ideal concentrated in an extended essay on the model of the concluding chapter. There Professor White recognizes "a 'political' realm in which the 'legal' procedures are incapable of providing a solution," save perhaps by the possibility of "equitable" decisions. But it is a question whether these would be as effective against the recrudescence in the mind of Europe of an Eastern Question as is the present Balkan Alliance supplemented by the Eastern Pact between Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan.

OWEN E. HOLLOWAY.

Turkish Instruments of Music in the Seventeenth Century.

Only 225 copies have been printed of this work by Henry George Farmer, Ph.D., M.A., formerly Leverhulme Research Fellow and author of many studies of Oriental music. His present monograph consists of translated extracts, with notes, from the work of Evliya Chelebi of Constantinople. Only one manuscript of this work exists in England, in the possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The author is indebted to the Society for the loan of this manuscript, which he collated with a printed text published between 1896 and 1900 in Constantinople and with a translation made long ago by Von Hammer, and was thus enabled to clear up many doubtful and ambiguous passages. The result was submitted to the late Raouf Yekta Bey of the Conservatory of Music in Constantinople, whose notes are incorporated.

Evliya Chelebi (1611-1669) began life as "Hafız" (reciter of the Koran) in the mosque of St. Sofia. His musical and literary gifts attracted the notice of the Sultan Murad IV., who took him into the Palace. Subsequently he travelled widely in Turkey, Persia and Europe, and wrote his famous *Siyahat nama* (tale of travel), from which Dr. Farmer has extracted his exhaustive description of Turkish musical instruments. Evliya mentions some 76 instruments, which are described in detail with their names in the old Turkish script.

The present reviewer is no musician, but he cannot refrain from testifying to the plaintive charm of Turkish music played in the open air, especially the "injuh saz," which used to be heard at night in Stambul during the month of Ramazan. He was surprised not to find it mentioned.

A. T. W.

The Herods of Judæa. By A. H. M. Jones. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xii + 271. Maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1938. 8s. 6d.

This book is intended to provide the "contemporary perspective" of the history of Palestine and the Herodian dynasty between about 70 B.C. and 70 A.D. Based, as it inevitably must be, on the *Annals* and *Histories* of Josephus, it supplements his version of events with material, and in some cases corrections, taken from many other contemporary sources. The view-point taken is that of a student of provincial government in the early Imperial Roman period, and some unusual and valuable inferences are drawn, particularly with regard to the position of client kings within the Empire. The summarizing of the very full original authorities for this period is skilfully done. The most complicated and tortuous intrigues appear deceptively simple, and clever touches of characterization make it quite impossible to confuse any one member of the Herodian or Hasmonean families with any other, even when several of the same name appear together. The reader will no longer find that King Herod of the Massacre of the Innocents has formed in his mind an amalgam with the Herod of John the Baptist, and the Herod of St. Peter's escape from prison.

But though it will be a very lucid and authoritative textbook for the period, it is disappointing to find that *The Herods of Judæa* is nothing more. In parts the narrative is both bald and dry, particularly where it deals with the career of Herod the Great. The author here is clearly little in sympathy with his subject. Josephus portrayed Herod as a brilliant Othello in youth, and perhaps rather a monster in old age. Here the colours are paler and colder: Herod is stiff, and at times almost anxiously correct in his behaviour, while Mariamne, his Desdemona, never comes quite to life. But if it requires perseverance to wade through the early chapters, the effort is more than repaid when one comes to the career of Agrippa I., and his handling of the half-mad Gaius Cæsar, and the vacillating

Claudius, in a desperate, but successful, effort to save the Jews from extermination. There is a depressingly modern touch about some passages: "The Jewish shops were looted, four hundred houses were plundered and destroyed," describes the beginning of a pogrom at Alexandria (p. 194); and one learns that in A.D. 50 "Times were bad, as the enormous increase in brigandage, always a sure index of the welfare of Palestine, clearly shows" (p. 223). It is also interesting to learn what a large part of Palestine was not populated by Jews at the time of the Maccabees, and even later (pp. 9, 67, etc.).

It is a pity that the author has not brought into his synthesis more material from the archæological researches of the last century. The great wall, begun by Agrippa I., to include the northern suburbs of Jerusalem, is dismissed in a few words. Joppa disappears from the story after page 90, and there is no explanation of the part it played in the great Rebellion in A.D. 70. Yet the foiling of the Jews' attempt to use it as a naval base, from which to attack the corn ships from Egypt, was claimed by Vespasian as his chief title to the gratitude of Rome. Most of all does the reader look in vain for fresh light on that fascinating but obscure chapter of history that is engaged with the Nabatean kingdom. Although Petra was the ancient capital of Idumæa, and the Herods were Idumæans, both their origin and the part played by Nabatean Petra in the history of South Judæa is left extremely obscure. The author makes no use whatever of the discoveries in this region described by Woolley and Lawrence in *The Wilderness of Zin*, nor of more recent archæological work at Petra. This omission is the more to be regretted that the publications of the Palestine Exploration and other archæological funds are neither cheap nor readily accessible to the public for whom the present textbook is intended.

It is perhaps inevitable that a textbook should present only conclusions. But it would have made very interesting reading here if the author could have given the reasons for his views when he disagrees with Josephus or New Testament writers on statements of fact. He omits also at times to make it clear that certain of his own statements are not more than probable conjectures. For instance, the usual question mark should be put after one or two of the place-names on the useful maps at the end of the book, and against the line suggested for the north wall of Jerusalem before A.D. 41; Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel may be two persons, but may also be two names of one person (p. 3); it is not entirely certain that the Dome of the Rock stands over the altar of sacrifice (p. vii), a few authorities would prefer that as the site of the Holy of Holies; and when he refers to Baris as "the ancient citadel" (p. 75) the adjective seems misapplied to a fortress built only about seventy-five years before, unless he identifies the site with that of the earlier Greek citadel, the Akra; and if some new discovery has at last solved the vexed question of where the Akra stood, it would be extremely interesting to know of it. But these are minor flaws in a book which is chiefly a study of different methods of administering the most difficult province of the Roman Empire. Although the clarity of the narrative makes them almost superfluous, there are some interesting genealogical tables, and a few most excellent photographs.

R. O. W.

Palestine at the Crossroads. By Ernest Main, M.A. 8" x 5½". Pp. 309. Allen and Unwin. 1937. 7s. 6d.

This book is an interesting addition to current literature on the Palestine problems by a writer whose knowledge and experience of Middle East affairs is unquestioned. The difficulties in the way of maintaining a detached attitude

towards a subject on which feelings run high are here evident. For the author set out to write an impartial survey of the question, with no prejudice in favour either of Jew or Arab, but gives the impression of having been more convinced in the end by the arguments of the Zionist group. This, of course, does not destroy the value of the book, and no one can fail to benefit by so clear an exposition of the facts at issue.

The first part of the book is given to an account of the events which led up, first to the Mandate, and then to the development of the present unsatisfactory situation in Palestine. Due prominence is given to the importance of the strategic position of the country, especially in connection with Imperial communications, and the effect on this of changes in Egypt. Few criticisms can be aimed at the careful history of the events of recent years, though many may disagree with the opinion quoted that the military situation at the end of the war was uninfluenced by the activities of Lawrence and the Arab Revolt. More controversial are the portions of the book dealing with the effects of Jewish immigration, and the benefits claimed to have been conferred on the country. Facts and figures are given of the development of agriculture and industry; and it is pointed out how Arabs as well as Jews have gained from the money which has been brought into the country. All will not agree, however, with the views expressed on the effect on agriculture, notably the instance of citrus cultivation, which might conceivably have developed independently of the Jews in response to increased demand. Enough perhaps has not been made in this book of the real objection of Arab organizations to continued Jewish immigrations, this being based less on any alleged harm done by the Jews than on the fear that Jewish enterprise and force of character, supported by outside money, will quickly lift the Jews into political and economic domination. The intensive efforts to industrialize large portions of the country, and the grant of monopolies for such undertakings as the Dead Sea Salts Concession and the Yarmuk electricity scheme, which are discussed in the book, are likely to do nothing to lessen these misgivings. The question of the safety of the holy places is dealt with in some detail in Chapter IX., and the quotations of Zionist declarations on the subject are of great interest as showing the absence of designs on the Temple area. If the proposals for partition are adopted, the safeguarding of the holy places will naturally become a less urgent problem. It would have been an advantage to the book if the publishers had included an index, also a map on a larger scale than the one given.

J. R. G.

With Allenby in the Holy Land. By Lowell Thomas, with Kenneth Brown
Collings. $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. 202. Frontispiece. Cassell. 7s. 6d.

With Allenby in the Holy Land is a bright and breezy account of the Palestine campaign from its start on the Suez Canal in 1915 until its conclusion at Aleppo shortly before the Armistice. For those who do not already know the story of this advance across the one hundred and thirty miles of desert to the Holy Land, and who do not desire to study it too closely, this book gives a slight but invigorating summary of it from start to finish.

In some ways it reminds one of that thrilling series of boys' books of the nineties by G. A. Henty entitled *With Cortez in Mexico*, and so on, for the book is nearly all of it a narrative by a certain Captain Todd Gilney, who, according to Mr. Thomas, "was a combination of liaison officer, secret agent—and more. His services were so valuable that he was supposed to keep out of danger—but Todd wasn't that kind." He certainly was not, and if these were his instructions there

can have been no man in the three Services during the war who disobeyed orders so consistently and flagrantly, for Captain Todd, with a positive nose for a battle, took a prominent part in every spectacular engagement in Palestine and Sinai from the drop of the flag to the end.

Captain Todd Gilney started well by bayoneting a Turk with the rifle of a dead Punjabi soldier at the first attempt on the Canal in 1915, and after that he never looked back. Owing to the plastic nature of his employment he could pick and choose the Division with which he served, and with his natural intuition for a fight he missed nothing when there was a really attractive and historical battle in progress.

At Dueidar, when the Yeomanry were cut up, he fired till "his pistol became red-hot." At Beersheba in 1917, after going forward with the infantry, he charged into the town with the Australian Light Horse, and later took part in the famous charge of the Bucks Hussars at Mughar Hill. With the 75th Wessex Division he participated in the attack on Nebi Samwil; with the 53rd Welsh he was in the capture of Bethlehem; at the crossing of the River Auja he had transferred his affections to the 52nd Lowland Scottish, and then left them to attach himself to the 6th London for the crossing of the Jordan.

Captain Todd Gilney, moreover, did not neglect the Royal Air Force, and as an observer and machine-gunner took part in most of the thrilling air battles of the campaign—the bombing of Jenin aerodrome, and the bombing and machine-gunning at Beisan, Deraa, and the defile at Abana, together with a few more or less private, but none the less exciting, shows.

In his spare time—one wonders if he had much—as secret service officer he was trying to capture a charming German spy, the Countess Warbuta, who appropriately had black hair and green eyes—female spies always have green eyes. She slipped through his fingers at Port Said, she shot him with her revolver at Jaffa, but he caught her at Beirut. She was in his clutches, and then the clock chimed eleven—11 a.m. of November 11, 1918; the Armistice and peace, and the Countess was free!

It is such a pity that there was no really historical naval battle in the Mid-East during the war, for one feels sure that Captain Todd Gilney would not have missed it. With his nose for a good battle one is convinced that he would have been serving a 12-inch gun in the after-turret of the flagship.

Yes, it is a very exciting book, and the reader, like Captain Gilney, never has a dull moment.

C. S. JARVIS.

The Heart of a Continent. By Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. New edition commemorating the 50th anniversary of his journey from Peking to India by way of the Gobi Desert and Chinese Turkestan and across the Himalaya by the Mustagh Pass. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. 243. Four illustrations; sketch-map; index. Murray. 1937. 9s.

This book is a reprint of that part of Sir Francis Younghusband's book, published in 1896 under the same title, which deals with his journey in 1887 from Peking to India, across the Gobi, through Chinese Turkestan, over the Mustagh Pass, and ending at Srinagar, to which is added a short chapter by way of epilogue.

The journey was made just fifty years ago and remains one of the classics of Central Asian travel. Sir Francis's description of his ill-equipped scramble over

the formidable Mustagh Pass is one of the best in mountaineering literature, and it is to be regretted that the horrific picture of his party on the ice slope is not reproduced in the present volume. The Mustagh can only be called a Pass by stretching the meaning of the word, and one has to have tackled ice with hides bound to one's feet and no proper axe to realize Sir Francis's difficulties in crossing it. The Mustagh has never been used as a Pass, except perhaps by Kanjuti raiders. This was the first journey (except for the contemporary one by Colonel Bell) made by a European from China to India by the desert route, and conditions appear very much the same to-day, to judge from the accounts of recent travellers, though Russian infiltration, which was then part of Sir Francis's purpose to observe, is now more marked. One may be allowed to note that Sir Francis found "the wild peach in full bloom" on the east side of the Gobi (page 38) and picked up "Ovis Poli" heads in the Tian Shan (page 78). On the other hand, he was one of the first to observe the depth below sea level of the Turfan depression. The British Consulate had not been established at Kashgar, and Chinese dominion had only recently been re-established in Sinkiang after Yakoob Beg's rebellion. In spite of the motor-car, aeroplane, and wireless, fifty years have not made much change in Central Asian politics.

In his epilogue Sir Francis Younghusband gives a summary of subsequent exploration of his region and reaffirms the cosmic speculations engendered by his long night marches in the desert half a century ago.

R. A. L.

Minya Gongkar. Forschungsreise ins Hochgebirge von Chinesisch Tibet. Erlebnisse und Entdeckungen von Arnold Heim. 24 x 16 cm. Pp. 244. Three plates of maps, panoramas, 26 inset drawings, 147 photos, 6 being in colour. Bern-Berlin: Hans Huber. Published 1933.

This is a popular account in German of the National Sunyatsen University of Canton's expedition in the mountains of Chinese Tibet for geographical and geological survey during the years 1930-31. The author, Herr Arnold Heim, a geologist himself, was leader, and Professor Ed. Imhof, of Zurich, was in charge of the topography, for which he used a Wild's photo-theodolite. The scientific results have been published elsewhere, and here we are given an intimate and lively description of the journey to Tatsienlu and of tours to the south and north-west of that town, with much information on the country, its inhabitants, animals, vegetation, and natural features.

This expedition of four Europeans and five Chinese travelled from the coast by the French railway via Hanoi to the railhead at Yünnan-fu, an interesting old-fashioned Chinese town with nearly 200,000 inhabitants, still unspoilt by European innovations. There, after some delay, a caravan for the road journey northwards, with a military escort, was got together. The Yangtse River was crossed at a point in its great southern bend, where its yellow-brown stream flows in a deep gorge, reminiscent of the Grand Canyon of Colorado, and where, after a steep descent of 1,500 metres, the heat was intense. The surroundings were of great geological interest. The province of Setshuan was then entered, and the way led through several small towns. A few Lolos, a tribe distinct from their Chinese neighbours in

race, language, and dress, were met and photographed. The activity of bandits at times limited freedom of movement away from the main party.

On July 26, 1930, the first distant view of the great Minya Gongkar mountain, 7,700 metres high, was obtained at Haitang. Tatsienlu, the capital of the new western province, Sikang, was reached after some three days of travel along the Tatsienlu River. This town of about 10,000 inhabitants, mainly Chinese, is an important emporium for trade with Tibet, Chinese tea being exchanged for wool, musk, and gold from Tibet, and well merits the designation of "the door of Tibet." The author, with his usual vivid detail, describes the town, which has long been a Christian mission centre, with a Roman Catholic bishop and a China Inland Mission station. The photo (No. 41) well shows the town spread along a narrow, flat valley between steep mountain ranges.

The late summer of 1930 was devoted to survey of the mountain group, crowned by the high pyramid of Minya Gongkar, a peak sketched in 1923 by the Australian missionary J. H. Edgar, who thought it more imposing than Mount Everest. In 1929 the region was visited by the American J. F. Rock, author of an article, "The Glories of the Minya Konka," in the *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, October, 1930.

After a two and a half weeks' stay at the little red-cap Tibetan monastery of Gongkar, which looks on to the west face of the mountain named after it, a circuit was made round this mountain group and the main glaciers explored, at times under most adverse weather conditions. The map (plate iii, end of book) embodies the results of the survey, which established Minya Gongkar as the highest peak in China with the height of 7,700 metres. At least six of its neighbours were found to be between 6,000 and 7,200 metres, Djaze Gongkar being the highest of these. A series of fine photos, including beautiful colour plates, vividly depicts the mountain forms and glaciers, and is supplemented by the author's drawings of mountain panoramas and other subjects. The text is rich in information on the geology, botany, human and animal life of the region, besides chronicling incidents of travel. In November the return to Tatsienlu was made by a more westerly route than the outward journey, thereby extending the survey.

After difficulties about funds and transport, amid snowstorms and reports of disturbances on the frontier, on November 23 a start was made westwards to Litang. The missionary J. H. Edgar now accompanied the party. North of Litang the little-known Nyarong Valley, once notorious for its brigands, and only taken over by the Chinese in 1911, was traversed, and the towns of Rino, Taofu, and Sharato visited. The two Chinese assistants, Lee and Hsü, reached Kanze, north of Rino.

The appearance of the stalwart Tibetan inhabitants of Nyarong, with their brown skins and long, straight noses narrow at the base, is noted by the author and illustrated in the colour and other plates. Further study of their ethnology and also of their isolated Tibetan dialect would be welcome. Most impressive was their capital, Rino, with its great square fortress, its many outlying towers, and its unique bridge, supported on massive timbered piers (see plates Nos. 98, 100-1). In this remote spot, where human sacrifice

continued till 1911, the visitors were regaled with a twenty-five-course banquet by the Chinese officials.

Next the author examined the long, deep fissures and other results of the catastrophic earthquake that had visited the Taofu-Sharato region in 1923. These remarkable fissures are shown in the plates Nos. 112, 121. A special geological treatise deals with this subject. This earthquake was foretold by one of the nude Tibetan anchorites, described by Madame David-Neel. Palæolithic finds were also made near Sharato. The musical notation of a Tibetan folk-song heard at Taofu is given. Elsewhere we find several notations of lamas' chants and other songs.

This winter expedition ended with the return to Tatsienlu in mid-January, 1931. Thence the party journeyed via Tshöngtu to Nanking. Notes on climate, equipment, survey, the mountains examined, lists of peaks, glaciers, and passes, and indices of illustrations will be found at the end of the volume, but there is no index to the text.

This quiet yet vivid narrative of daily happenings and scientific work, successfully carried out in a remote and difficult mountain terrain, reveals Herr Heim as both a competent writer and a gifted leader in the field. His determination, resource, and kindly attitude towards men of all classes—Chinese, Tibetans, or others encountered on the journey—as well as towards his colleagues, are patent. As a Swiss he has an enthusiasm for mountains, and his interests are wide. This splendidly illustrated and well-produced book is a worthy record of close co-operation between Chinese and Europeans in the scientific exploration of Chinese territory.

H. L. SHUTTLEWORTH.

Everest: The Challenge. By Sir Francis Younghusband. 9" x 6". Pp. x + 243. London: Nelson. 12s. 6d.

This is a most remarkable and stirring book, and, had the well-known author not already ascribed the title to an earlier work of his, might have appropriately been called "The Wonders of the Himalaya," with perhaps the addition of "And how Man may more fully Benefit from Them." It is concerned, as Sir Francis says in a remarkable chapter (IX.) on "Unity with Nature," with the challenge which Everest has made to men to climb, not only it, but also the other great summits of the Himalaya, and come to such close quarters with the mountains that they may know and understand them. "And the attempt to reach the summit of the highest mountain in the world may be taken," he says, "as symbolical of this striving in the heart of all living things to do something more than only adapt themselves to their surroundings: to stand superior to them. Man, as the crown of creation, in striving not merely to adapt himself to the loftiest regions, but to rise in spirit above them, is surpassing himself and reaching upward to a higher level of being."

The work is divided into Book I, "Adventure," and Book II, "Reflection," and it is the latter which stands out as a remarkable contribution to the philosophy of the mountains. It is impossible in the space of this short review to do justice to, or even briefly recount, the many moving and indeed thrilling thoughts that Sir Francis has given expression to. In the pursuit and worship of Beauty in its sublimest and purest natural form—namely, that of the highest Himalaya—can

man find an inexpressible bliss, an ecstasy of delight. But not that alone is to be found. The beauty in the face of the mountains is but the outward expression of the Motive Power at work in the heart of the world. And to put himself in ever-increasing intimacy of communion with this Fountain Source of Things will, from that time forth, be the constant endeavour of the true mountain devotee.

Sir Francis relates what the Himalaya have been to him during his life-long association with them; and, what is far more important, the place that they have occupied in the mind and in the worship of the devout Hindu from time immemorial. For to the latter the Himalaya are as holy as the Holy Land is to Christians; and to them many thousands make their annual pilgrimage. Nor to the modern mountaineer or traveller should they be merely a playground, or a supreme means of testing his skill and powers of endurance. He should think not of the attainment of some physical height, but, like the Hindu pilgrim, strive to win the heights of the spirit.

But the author has a practical suggestion to make in a suggestive chapter entitled "Holy Himalaya," wherein he recommends what might prove to be beneficial places of pilgrimage for Europeans, and others, in the future. Whereas the Hindus sought the source of their sacred river, or the mountain-abode of a god, and made these the object of their pilgrimage, we should be animated by a different desire. Our aim should be to reach that point where mountain makes its deepest impression on man. The Everest climbers took the summit of Everest as the object of their endeavours, because Everest was the highest mountain in the world. But the aim of discerning pilgrims of the future, who it is to be hoped will include the climbers, would not be to reach the summit of some high peak only on account of its height. Beauty and not altitude would be their main consideration. Wherever it might be—on a pass, on the crest of some ridge, or on some minor summit—they would seek that position where they would be able to see the mountains in the highest perfection of their beauty and see beauty in its greatest variety. In both body and spirit the pilgrim will need to fit himself. And there, the author says, the experience of the Everest climbers will make itself felt. An Everest climber must be fit in spirit as well as in body. And if such perfection of spirit as well as of body is needed for the attainment of the highest physical height, how much more necessary must it be for the attainment of the loftiest spiritual eminence! It is a wonderful and stimulating thought that in the quietude of his mountain sanctuary the pilgrim-mountaineer of the future may well ponder upon "the secret of the world" and arrive at a better understanding of it there than in the crowded, confusing haunts of men.

Book I., "Adventure," is an excellent résumé of recent Himalayan exploration and climbing. Sir Francis, as a member, or Chairman, of the Mount Everest Committee, has been intimately concerned with the Everest Expeditions since their inception, and, apart from describing their chief attainments, has in the opening chapters many shrewd comments to make upon them. He has an answer for those who have criticized the committee-management of an expedition, such as that to Everest; and for those few mountaineers, suffering let us hope from temporary mental aberration only, who have declared (as even George Mallory did on at least one occasion!) that the unconquered supremacy of Everest should not further be challenged.

There are a few statements of the author that require correction. For instance, that "neither Norton nor Somervell nor any member of the previous (Everest) expeditions would be fit to reach the summit" (p. 28) in 1933 is open not only to grave doubt but extreme improbability. On page 54 "the labour of cutting steps in ice" on Everest is referred to: actually, owing to the low

atmospheric pressure and high evaporation no ice can form, and even the compacting of the powdery snow surface to form a crust but rarely takes place. In describing something of the geological structure of the Himalaya, on page 163 the author says that the granites would be locally raised into more or less dome-like masses standing above the general level of the growing range. From this one would infer that granite on eruption actually reached the surface, whereas it is essentially a deep-seated (plutonic) rock that is only intruded far within the crust, where it subsequently cools, and is eventually exposed by the processes of denudation.

These are, however, but minor misstatements in a grand and deeply thoughtful book, in which the author has sought to show, and we consider successfully demonstrated, that while the Himalaya as a most prominent feature upon the face of the earth is well known, what is not so well recognized is the extent of the influence it is bound to exercise in the future upon, not the people of India alone, but the whole human race.

N. E. O.

Willy Merkl: ein Weg zum Nanga Parbat. Leben, Vorträge und nachgelassene Schriften herausgegeben von seinem Bruder Karl Herrligkoffer. Bergverlag Rudolf Rother München. 1936. Price R.M. 4.80.

Forschung am Nanga Parbat. Deutsche Himalaya-Expedition, 1934. Von Richard Finsterwalder, Walter Raechl, Peter Misch, Fritz Bechtold. In Kommission: Helwingsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Hannover, 1935. Price R.M. 4.80.

These two books are the sad legacy of the disaster on Nanga Parbat to the first German attempt to climb that mountain in 1934. The first book contains the life, lectures, and literary remains of the leader of the expedition, and is a memorial to a very popular and enthusiastic mountaineer. Merkl was a great climber, and went to many places, all of which are described here. The book is produced in Gothic type, with good illustrations, and is an interesting record of a mountaineer's life.

The second volume is an elaborate account of the expedition itself. It is an admirable monograph, and a pattern of what such books should be. The frontispiece is a charming coloured print of a water-colour of A. von Schlagintweit (1856); the illustrations are excellent reproductions of photographs; the text is clear Roman; and the small sketch-maps and plans are clear and practical. The geological diagrams on pages 102 and 103 might well be imitated. It can only be repeated that this book is a model for all who contemplate an account of a mountain expedition, and the price should make the British publisher blush.

Die kombinierten ghi-Kannen und Dochtlampen von Nepal. By Leonhard Adam. Pp. 15. Photographs and line-drawings. Reprinted from *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. Neue Folge XIII., Heft 1. 1937.

A scholarly account of the evolution of the combined ghi-holder and lamp commonly used in Nepal, with special emphasis on the significance of the decoration. This short paper is not intended for the general reader, but is of great interest to the connoisseur of Tibetan and Nepalese art, for whom it is primarily intended.

JOHN MORRIS.

Tibet and Her Neighbours. By E. T. Williams. University of California Publications. Bureau of International Relations. Vol. III., No. 2. Pp. 99-140. University of California Press, Berkeley, California. 1937. Price not stated.

This brochure of forty pages appears to be one of a series of monographs on international relations. It has no pretence of original work, and the authorities consulted are all referred to in footnotes. The criticism naturally arises as to whether all the proper books on the subject have been examined, and how suitably this has been done.

The first paragraph of the book tells us that Tibet is a little state, and that China, Great Britain, and Russia have been rivals for its control. The author wonders why these countries covet it, and thinks that it must be due to the gold there. Surely not in the case of Russia and Britain! It is, of course, doubtful whether Tibet is coveted at all.

After a brief description of the country, necessarily superficial, a sketch, based on the usual authorities such as Rockhill and Waddell, is given of its history. The intrigues of Dordjieff (*sic*) are suitably described, but not nearly enough importance is given to the British expedition and occupation of Lhasa in 1903-04. The significance of this first intrusion of the West into the Lama kingdom, the success of the enterprise, and the events which sprung therefrom, seem to have escaped the attention of the author.

On page 120 we are told of how the hold of China on Tibet was strengthened, but the position of China in Tibet has always been very vague, and certainly not appreciated by the precise diplomacy of the West. It has never been realized there that the claims of China to Tibet, the presence of the Amban with his soldiers in Lhasa, and the consequent political nexus meant very little. It was a useful link for the Tibetans with the outside world, and with the only race which they understood, and whose culture and trade they knew and required. But the whole country remained unaffected by the Chinese suzerainty, if indeed that is a proper description of the implication of the Amban's presence. In fact, the Turkish mission in Egypt up to 1914 meant more than did the Chinese one in Lhasa. The Chinese connection has always been a useful card to play when the Tibetans felt they needed support, but there is a danger of over-emphasis of the Chinese position in the Tibetan capital. On page 120 there is an odd description of a "hsien" city as the capital of a county.

This short and well-printed sketch certainly provides a handy précis to the history of Tibet, but it hardly seems worth publishing. A good gazetteer or encyclopædia would furnish as much information. In a work of this kind there can, of course, be no place for scholarship, but a learned body like the University of California might at least have provided a sketch-map, a table of contents, and perhaps even an index.

Burmese Drama. A Study, with Translations, of Burmese Plays. By Maung Htin Aung. 5½" × 8¾". Pp. viii + 258. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 11s. 6d.

The author repeats the usual cliché that the Burmese had no hereditary system. But they had: no human race that has survived through the centuries can fail to evolve some sort of class distinctions, and it was because the English annexed the country from India, and for long dealt through caste-ridden intermediaries, that they failed to recognize the much more reasonable but none the less real stratification of society in Burma. For the

first half-century they administered only the coastal areas, not the Burmese kingdom itself, and even when their subjects happened to be Burmans they were immigrants who developed in an atmosphere devoid of tradition. In the Burmese kingdom there was a hereditary squirearchy of village headmen, and though the kingship, partly from caprice, partly of set policy, allowed no security of tenure in the higher offices, it was not unknown even for these to continue in the same family.

The author himself is, in a sense, a case in point. His great-great-grandfather was Governor of the Seven Hill Tracts of Mindon under the Burmese kings, his great-grandfather was Township Magistrate there under the English, and his father was one of the first Burmans to be made a Deputy Commissioner. The fact has a bearing on our subject, for the drama needs men of taste and influence. The Governor of the Seven Hill Tracts in 1800 dwelt in a palace which was only tinsel and bamboo, but it was royal enough in the eyes of his simple people, and the troupe of actors he maintained were very real actors indeed. Nobody who has had the good fortune to witness the pageant and the drama in some old-established village of Upper Burma can fail to recognize the genius of the race. And there was a public: within a few years of the introduction of printing in 1860, a popular author could sell anything up to 20,000 copies of a new play. The widespread interest of the people was echoed by the court, which seldom failed to give the necessary lead. But the kingship, though culturally helpful, was politically stagnant; worse still, it passed into evil hands. Just at the very moment when England and France were competing for territories in Indo-China, and the English, though reluctant to advance into Upper Burma themselves, were seeking a pretext for keeping the French out, the Burmese monarchy chose flatly to declare war. Annexation followed immediately, and doubtless it was inevitable, for few conquests have been so flagrantly provoked; but it was none the less a pity, for with the fall of the palace in 1885 there passed away much that ought not to have passed away.

The impact of the West arrived in full force, and there was no buffer to lessen the shock. Deprived of the leadership of the gentry, the stage, never a very reputable calling, suffered a decline. Here and there a great actor has striven for the highest, but he gets no support. The pick of the English-educated classes are absorbed in the administrative services and the stage is left to the ignorant. Latterly the schools have taken to studying the traditional plays, and Rangoon University does what it can to encourage an interest in the past—the author is a Fellow of the University, and his sister chose, for her degree thesis there, a subject which included the interaction between the Buddhist Jatakas and the Burmese drama. It may be that in time these efforts will affect the vernacular stage, but so far the influence of the West has produced little but the garish and the sensational.

The book gives a historical sketch, traces the origins and development of the drama, describes the careers of the few well-known authors who have survived, and appends a hundred pages of extracts from their works which, though of little interest to readers in Europe, should be of great help to residents in Burma. The treatment of the puppet play is disappointingly

brief; the general history is open to criticism; the literary parallels are occasionally doubtful, if only because published material is not really adequate for an appreciation of the drama in the countries concerned; and much of the book reads like a first attempt at a prize essay—indeed, it is actually an expansion of a Ph.D. thesis for Dublin University. But it is a labour of love, it incorporates the oral tradition of the author's family regarding the stage in the unspoilt countryside, and it merits our gratitude as the first attempt at a full-length study of the Burmese drama that has yet appeared. A pioneer work may have inevitable defects, but at least it provides a framework for others to amplify and amend.

G. E. H.

Trials in Burma. By Maurice Collis. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 294. Faber and Faber. 8s. 6d.

Collis has written a surprising book, and has written it in the first person, putting down in cold print the things that happened to him during the strange period in Burma, 1928-1930, when he was District Magistrate of Rangoon. The men we knew and the things that we were saying in the clubs, they are all there. The writer's personal opinion of Government policy is revealed as the tale unfolds. Let those who dislike the flaunting of opinions and the quoting of private conversations leave the book alone. Nevertheless it throws a revealing beam of light on a situation which we in Burma found hard to understand, and which to the outside world must have been unintelligible, if indeed it did not pass unnoticed. The facts narrated are true from beginning to end.

The theme behind the book is the age-old antipathy of the Burmese race to Indian races, and the feeling, strong in the Burmese and shared by not a few Europeans in Burma, that its people have not had a straight deal from the British over the matter of Indian intrusion into their country. Put bluntly, were we in Burma to exploit the country for gain, with Indian assistance; or was our mission so to govern the Burmese that they might presently govern themselves? "Smash and grab," or the more worthy ideal of commonwealth?

The two European cases dealt with make unpleasant reading, and the only excuse for raking them up again is the extraordinary clamour which they aroused in the Press and in club bars. The trial of Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta, on a charge of sedition uttered in three chance speeches which he made in Rangoon while on a holiday trip, is on a different plane. It was a genuine political trial, but the Government case was not strong enough to make it a political success, at any rate not in Collis's court. The story of the Rangoon riots reads like a boy's book of adventures—but it happened, horrors and all; and a wildly improbable three days of terror brought home to the good people of Rangoon, and to their governors, that there was a pressing alien problem in the land.

The book ends on a crashing chord of full-blooded rebellion—the Fourth Burmese War we called it in the clubs. A surprising book indeed, but all true, and delightfully written.

J. N. L.

A Handbook for Travellers in India, Burma and Ceylon. 15th edition. 7½" × 4½". Pp. cxxxii + 792. John Murray. 1938. 24s.

The fifteenth edition of *Murray's Handbook of India, Burma and Ceylon* shows meticulous care in re-editing and revising. Colonel Sir Gordon Hearn,

who undertook the revision, has, during thirty-two years in the East, acquired familiarity with nearly every province in India and Burma, and has turned his knowledge to good effect.

Browsing through Murray's Handbook has for the traveller in, and resident of, India the same fascination as flicking over the pages of *Who's Who* has for the casual reader. Every paragraph contains jewels of information of historical, topographical, and modern interest, as, for instance, that Amritsar means the "Pool of Nectar," and the story of the Naini Tal landslide. Footnotes give the names of many books and even libraries dealing in detail with subjects which of necessity are but touched upon in the Handbook.

It is impossible to claim acquaintance with every route and town dealt with, but dipping at random into the pages dealing with those with which your reviewer has the closest and most recent association, a number of small inaccuracies may be discerned. It is invidious to point out 90 per cent. of these, for it is so much easier to criticize than to create, and most of the inaccuracies are but small. Although it is possible that they might cause the traveller slight confusion, they would not occasion any upset in his tour. Most of them, indeed, are due to superannuation. The sailings of the steamship line up the Gulf are not quite as stated on page 402. Old Government House in Karachi is not, and has not been, the residence of the Governor of Sind. It has lain empty for the past two years, since the inauguration of Sind as a separate province, and is shortly to be pulled down to make way for a modern Government House. The Indian Infantry Mess is not on Bunder Road, and has not been for some years; the agents for the Anchor Line are no longer Graham's Trading Company. Of several important developments in Karachi there is no mention: of the Judicial Commissioner's Court buildings completed some years ago and used by the Legislative Assembly since its inception; of racing, although the racecourse is marked on the map. This is now assuming ever-increasing importance, especially with the virtual cessation of racing (since this latest edition of the guide was published) in Cawnpore and Meerut; and, most important of all, of the great marine airport expansion. The inclusion of more than a passing reference to the Empire air route would be of interest and importance to travellers.

Turning to Lucknow, no mention is made of the establishment of the *Pioneer* there, which was removed from Allahabad some seven or eight years ago. To the regiments mentioned as being stationed there should be added an Indian cavalry regiment. The account of the 1857 Mutiny is excellent and concise, but surely the translation of "Dilkusha" is more nearly "Heart's Delight" than "Heart Expanding."

In Naini Tal the name of the newspaper is given as the *Naini Tal Gazette* instead of the *Lake Zephyr*; and, quoting from memory, your reviewer thinks that it is many years since the Assembly Rooms on the Flats were done away with.

Reference is made to Kipling's "Kim," whose school was La Martinière at Lucknow, but in the Lahore pages search was made in vain for mention of Zam-Zamma, the great gun with which the tale opens, and which stands in a commanding position upon the Mall.

At Amritsar there is no mention of the many carpet and shawl factories which have sprung up in such numbers just outside the city, nor does the writer note the golden doors which are displayed in the Golden Temple upon feast days, such as the birthdays of the Gurus.

Although this edition of the Handbook is dated 1938, the Governor of Ceylon is given as Sir Reginald Stubbs, G.C.M.G., who has finished his term of office and has been succeeded by Sir Andrew Caldecott, K.C.M.G.

Nevertheless, the Handbook has been carefully revised since the fourteenth edition, but it suffers from the obvious drawbacks of lack of the man on the spot. Official statistics have been taken full advantage of, and the whole publication, with its numerous maps and diagrams, and a wealth of information, is an invaluable guide to the traveller who wishes for the maximum of information at his finger-tips with the minimum of bulk.

S. R.

Japan over Asia. By William Henry Chamberlain. 9" x 6". Pp. 328. Illustrations and maps. Duckworth. 15s.

Japan over Asia is one of the more valuable of the books which have recently appeared and which deal with the Far Eastern problem. It is written objectively and with no apparent bias; this fact alone would make it of interest, for an unbiassed mind is not a common quality in writers on the Far East.

I doubt if the most exacting critic could find many points to disagree with in Mr. Chamberlain's very able analysis of the present internal political and economic conditions in Japan (Chapters VIII.-XIII.), nor with his description of conditions in Manchuria and in Taiwan. These chapters, in particular, give a very valuable background. One of the difficulties which faces the Englishman, with no first-hand knowledge of Japan, is to understand that Japanese politics are not similar to those of Europe, and these chapters explain clearly the reasons which make for these differences. In fact, the author is at his best when he gives the results of his own direct observations and leaves the reader to draw his own conclusions.

The weakness of the book lies in the chapters on Japan's foreign policy, and it is a weakness which is somewhat surprising in a writer who has obviously studied Japanese history and who links the events of the present with the history of the past.

For instance, in the opening chapter, Mr. Chamberlain says that "Japan's drive for expansion on the Asiatic mainland began . . . on the night of September 18, 1931"—that is, with the famous bomb explosion on the Southern Manchurian railway. It is true that this was the ostensible cause of certain military action taken by Japan in 1931 and 1932, which led to an increase in the pace of her expansion, but the main lines of the policy which led to expansion had been thought out much earlier and had been put into practice in the nineteenth century and at the time of the Sino-Japanese war.

The omission to deal with the factors underlying the theory of Japan's "Life-Line," both in the forms of continental and southward expansion, makes the chapters dealing with this a history of incidents which have occurred, and in no way shows how these incidents are related to the underlying causes which have moulded the policies not only of Japan, but of the other Powers which have interests in the Pacific area.

In Japanese eyes it is these underlying causes which form the moral justification for a policy which runs counter to the normal moral outlook of the West on international politics, and—again in Japanese eyes—they are based on the law of self-preservation.

In the period between the opening of Japan to foreign trade and the Russo-Japanese war, Japan had found herself threatened, first by the naval powers and later by Russia. Skilful diplomacy solved the first problem and victory in war the second—temporarily. The invention of the aeroplane changed the strategic position, for Vladivostock as an air base was once again a potential danger to the islands of Japan.

It is not primarily the search for coking coal which accounts for the westward

extension of Japanese influence in Inner Mongolia. The main deposits of coking coal lie in Shansi and Shantung. The underlying cause is strategic—the desire to threaten Baikal and possibly also to counteract Russian influence coming from Shinkiang.

With regard to the southern life-line, Japan's desire to control her own supplies of rubber and oil is clearly brought out. It is not sufficiently stressed that Japan's paramount need is for naval supremacy in the waters of the Western Pacific. Nor is the fact made clear that Singapore is primarily a defensive and not an offensive base. A battle fleet, whether British or Japanese, which attempts to fight a fleet action several thousand miles from its main base is almost certain of defeat: Singapore therefore protects the sea routes to the south, but does not in any way endanger Japan's supremacy in her own waters.

These criticisms are in no way intended to detract from the value of the book generally, but rather to point out that the facts presented are insufficient to enable the reader either to form a just estimate of Japan's case for expansion or to judge in what way Japan's policy comes, or might come, into conflict with the vital interests of the British Empire or of the United States.

Pacific Scene. By Harry J. Greenwall. 7½" × 5½". Pp. viii + 301. Map. Nicholson and Watson. 1938. 8s. 6d.

This book is written chiefly for the benefit of those Englishmen who refuse to make any attempt to understand what is happening in the Far East, on the ground of "What does it matter? China is a long way off." The author feels strongly that it matters supremely, for every year brings the Far East closer to us, and though he keeps the point of view of the British Empire consistently in mind, he does not forget that other nations have interests around the seaboard of the Pacific and each of them with their own nationalistic aims.

In the first part we are told how America's interests in Pacific affairs are every bit as keen as ours in Great Britain are in European developments. There are also Republics in South America into which the Japanese have within the past two years made rapid inroads, and these countries view future developments in the Pacific with apprehension. Australia and Canada both have vital interests, and the Netherlands Indies have a very great deal at stake. They all have to face the Japanese fanaticism, which is driving forward the policy of expansion not only in Asia, but also much further afield, for Japan is penetrating into countries where raw materials may be obtained without necessarily having to fight for them. One might think that this need for expansion could have been met by the conquest of Manchuria, which is as big as France and Germany combined, and that it would be sufficient to absorb the Japanese surplus population for generations to come. But the fact is that the Manchurian climate does not suit Japanese immigrants, many of whom have tried to live there and have returned to Japan.

Having annexed Korea and Formosa, then Manchuria, and now with the control of five large North China provinces and the spread southward that is at present going on, Japan is increasing the perplexities of the Pacific problem. Covetous eyes look towards the Dutch colonies, which lie thousands of miles from the mother country and are rich in products, notably oil, which Japan lacks. Borneo abounds in rubber and oil; Sumatra and Java are also as wealthy in minerals, rubber and oil, so there can be small wonder if Holland feels uneasy. France with her Indo-China possessions regards Japanese expansion with a wary eye, and in the adjacent country, Siam, Japan has now gained a dominating

position. Nearly all the British and French advisers to the Bangkok Government have left and are replaced by Japanese advisers, and the Government is now alleged to be strongly under the influence of Japan.

In the Philippine Islands the Japanese have tried many ways of infiltration, and as they are not allowed by law to own land in the islands, large numbers of them have married local girls and have purchased land in the name of their wives; they are "after" the trade, and mean by hook or by crook to get it.

Though Honolulu, which lies 2,400 miles from San Francisco, is an American stronghold, there are 140,000 Japanese living on the island, in spite of the U.S.A.'s intention to make Hawaii a "Gibraltar of the Pacific." From the Aleutian Islands, off Alaska in the far north, down via Hawaii to the American Samoa group, lies America's chain of defence in the Pacific. Further west lie the Midway, Wake and Guam Islands, which all help to form aviation stepping-stones.

Though Hongkong has been shown by the manœuvres which took place in April, 1937, to be extremely vulnerable against air attacks, we may feel fairly comfortable about the ability of Hongkong and Singapore to take care of themselves: the manœuvres held during the current month (February, 1938) at Singapore have satisfied the authorities concerned.

Few of us appreciate the importance of the Dutch East Indies as an object for Japan's cupidity. Belonging as they do to Holland, they cover 734,000 square miles and have a population of 65,000,000, and they produce raw materials of great value. Japanese trade with these islands doubled itself in the last five years: it has now ousted Great Britain from its leading position and has risen from the eleventh place to the first. Imports from Japan now exceed those from Holland, Great Britain and Germany combined. Mr. Greenwall's comment on this is that—

"the importance of the Dutch East Indies for Japan's southern policy is not apparently limited to commercial aspects. In his book, *Japan Must Fight Britain*, Lieut.-Commander Tota Ishimaru says with regard to these islands that it is no exaggeration to say they constitute the strategic key to Australia, New Zealand and India, not to mention Singapore."

These and many other points which we can judge to be true have been collected by the author and formed into an interesting consecutive tale that can with confidence be recommended to students of the Far East. They indicate to us, along with the events now occurring, that there is a coming struggle in a *venue* geographically far away from our shores, and one which may tax our resources to the uttermost—perhaps more so than a conflict in the Mediterranean. We can learn enough from this book to prove to our satisfaction that our huge expenditure on Singapore has not only been justified, but it has also been timely. The safeguarding of our trade in the Far East without recourse to belligerency is daily becoming a more intense proposition for our Government.

Pacific Scene is an important book: much of it is "the writing on the wall."
G. D. G.

Japanalia. A reference book to things Japanese. By Y. Kagami and Lewis W. Bush. Pp. 193. Illustrations. Front and end-paper maps. Tokyo: Sanseido Co., Ltd. Yen 5.

It would be difficult to write a book that should surpass the late Professor Basil Hall Chamberlain's *Things Japanese*, which has long been, and will always remain, a standard work of its kind. His book, however, has been out of print

for many years and is not now easy to obtain. In view of this fact *Japanalia* fills a definite want. It is less scholarly in treatment than the larger work, but none the worse for that; and because of its many illustrations, both photographic and line, is an indispensable companion for anyone visiting Japan. It contains brief and informative notes on almost everything on which the casual tourist requires information; and the introductory chapter gives a sufficient outline of Japanese history up to the present day to meet all practical requirements. I regret only the absence of a bibliography.

JOHN MORRIS.

I Speak for the Chinese. By Carl Crow. 7½" × 5". Pp. 136. Third Impression, January, 1938. Hamish Hamilton. 3s. 6d.

In speaking for the Chinese Mr. Carl Crow follows the military dictum that the best defensive is the offensive, and thus his book is almost wholly concerned with an indictment of the Japanese. It exposes in all their nakedness the devious and secretive methods employed by Japan under the guise of high-minded aims. Mr. Crow thinks that what he calls the many "felonious infringements" on China are not sufficiently known to the general public, and that even if known they are soon forgotten. He recounts these incidents and fits them all in together in a logical sequence: they form "one consistent story of military aggression which has hesitated at nothing to accomplish its purpose."

This story deals with recent and contemporary history, beginning from the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5, and we are therefore in a position to "check up" on the author's statements. We are reminded of the various advantages that Japan gained as the price of her entry into the Great War, and of how, in the years that followed, though Japan became a signatory in a number of Agreements such as the Briand-Kellogg Pact, the Nine-Power Treaty and the Naval Limitation Treaty, thereby pledging herself to respect the territorial integrity of China, she has adopted the scrap-of-paper argument. And we see how all the time that Japan was bringing her plans to fruition, China was wallowing in a maze of misgovernment, civil warfare and spread of Communism.

In many liberal quarters of Japan it has been argued that Japanese prosperity could be best assured by a peaceful and prosperous China if it were not overborne by the military clique which appears to have triumphed so far.

Mr. Crow's version of the part he took in exposing the egregious Twenty-one Demands in 1915 is not altogether accurate. His journalistic blood rose to fever pitch when he happened upon the document to which he was given access in the Russian Legation at Tokyo. He regarded it as "the realization of a newspaper man's dream, a sensational world scoop and an exclusive one." These Twenty-one Demands, made while all Europe was in the grip of war, would, if they had been acceded to, have meant the complete domination of China by Japan. Though it had become known they were presented, much secrecy was maintained till China's reaction to them could be ascertained. The first news to the world was in point of fact given by the late Dr. G. E. Morrison, who framed his idea of what the Demands would be and took it to the Japanese Minister in Peking. He told the Minister he was about to cable this to *The Times*. The Minister said: "Your version is wrong: here is the correct one," and he read it out to Dr. Morrison, who had a remarkable memory and was able to reproduce it telegraphically to *The Times*, which published it the following day. Later, one day after, a question was asked in Parliament why H.M. Government were

behindhand in not receiving the information from the British diplomatic representatives in Tokyo or Peking.

The volume does not make any other categorical statements with which one can find fault. It is a journalistic collection of events with a recounting of current foreign public opinion in China as these events occurred, and as such it is readable and interesting throughout, even if it does not throw any fresh light on the happenings in the Far East.

G. D. G.

Kung Fu-Tseu. A Digest of the Analects of Confucius. All' Insegna del Pesca d'Oro. Milan.

A Chinese student comes to our country and writes a tiny booklet to tell us something of the Sages in his, at present, distressed country. Alas! the world of to-day is no place for philosophers, whether ancient or modern. As he has shaken the dust of our country off his feet and is basking in the sunshine of Italy, he might have an opportunity to try the effect of Confucian philosophy on the great Italian Dictator. The four Chinese characters on the cover of the booklet might be translated "One principle runs through it." That is through the Confucian philosophy. "Guns or butter" is the watchword of to-day, and the guns have it.

J. D.

My Visit to China and Japan. By Sybil Ready. Illustrated by the author. Portsmouth: Charpentier, Ltd. London Agents: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

It would hardly be possible to take this volume seriously. Over twenty years ago the authoress paid a visit of about five months' duration to her brother, who was a Customs Official stationed up-country at Kong-Moon on the West River. One can imagine some friend saying: "Do you remember when you made that trip to China you kept a diary of your doings: *now* would be a good time to publish it."

In the prefatory note there are two consecutive sentences:

"I arrived in a land of pigtails—the pigtail has gone."

"I arrived in a land of 'small feet'—now they are rare."

So now you know all, as the villain says in the play.

The book chiefly records the social life of a happy visit, and there is little else of any importance in it. In Part II., "Japan," as Miss Ready spent less than a month in that country she can only touch lightly on the sights she saw. Part III., "America," deals with her homeward journey across Canada, as seen from a railway carriage, a day in Boston and a day in New York—and all twenty years ago.

Though pleasantly written, the volume is devoid of interest or information. One wonders why it was published: there may, however, be a public that is interested in thumbnail travel-sketches and that would find this kind of book to its taste.

G. D. G.

When China Unites. A History of China's Struggle for National Independence, 1840-1938. By Harry Ganner. 8vo. Pp. 276. London: Dent. 8s. 6d.

A book written with a set purpose of making its readers see things from a certain exclusive point of view becomes propaganda and loses proportionately in general value. The reading public, when it takes up a book about China, desires, especially in these stirring times, to obtain as objective and impartial an account as possible of the drama which is at the present moment being enacted in that unfortunate country. The author of *When China Unites* is evidently not of this opinion. He wants his readers to see the history of China of the last hundred years exclusively as he remodels it from the point of view of a Communist.

It has recently become the fashion for some authors to represent the first contacts of Western merchants with China as nothing but an effort of forcing opium upon the Chinese people, to invade China in a military sense and to subjugate the country. It makes it easier then to inveigh against "capitalism." Historically nothing could be more absurd; and to speak of "the second series of Opium Wars," as is done in this book, is deliberately distorting history. Not only is the historical part of the book far too one-sided, but it is full of errors in its details. To mention only a few will suffice.

The Taiping rebellion was not an anti-foreign uprising as a result of the so-called "first Opium War," and the Taipings never ruled over sixteen provinces out of eighteen. The construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria preceded the lease of Port Arthur by Russia and not *vice versa*. The American open-door policy did not originate in Britain's efforts "to make China her exclusive prize" or "another India." In fact, the man who gave the first impetus for Secretary John Hay's well-known declaration on the subject was an Englishman. There were no foreign allies of the Manchu rulers in 1900 against whom the Boxers were in opposition, and no foreign armed forces came to Peking in that year to the assistance of the Manchus. There never was a Russian Minister in Peking called A. A. Neratoff. Nanking never was "guttled" by the American and British gunboats which were obliged on March 24, 1927, to fire a few shells in order to put a stop to a savage attack of Chinese soldiery against foreign houses where men were murdered, women raped, and the British consul wounded. A Mandate issued by the Chinese Government of March 14, 1928, stated:

"... a part of the Army together with the local riff-raff, at the instigation of Communists, daringly plundered the friendly foreign Consulates in Nanking and the residences of foreign nationals," etc.

The Soviet Embassy in Peking was never pillaged by the Chinese police in April, 1927; it was not even entered into. The Russian bank was searched by them and so were the former Russian barracks.

So one could go on pointing out the many inaccuracies and errors that occur in the narrative.

Equipped with the knowledge obtained by much reading, the author could have produced a more valuable survey of historical events in China had he not endeavoured to twist and press all his facts into a communistic strait-jacket and employed language which savours of the *Pravda*. All the foreign powers are called "imperialists," all their motives are "imperialistic." They are "bleeding China through Shanghai." Foreigners in China are "invaders," their countries are "contending for colonial hegemony in China." Wu Pei-fu was an "Anglo-American puppet" and so forth and so on. He does not seem to realize that by speaking thus he overshoots his mark. But his statements are absolutely

beside the truth when he conveys the impression that the police in foreign settlements fire without reason or provocation on peaceful Chinese, and in his description of the very regrettable incident in Shanghai in 1925 he omits to mention that an international commission of investigation examined this whole Shanghai question, and that all concerned gave evidence before it, except the Chinese, who refused.

It is queer to read on page 36 that Mr. Lennox (not Leonard) Simpson should, on the part of the British, with intimations that he spoke for the British Government, have advised China to join the Allies in the war and have made promises should China consent. Does the author really believe that the British Government had chosen Mr. Simpson as their spokesman? And if not, why put such statements in his book?

After the anti-British boycott and mob assaults in 1925-26, which were instigated by the Bolsheviks and which the author calls "costly defeats of British imperialism throughout China," he says that "Britain was ready to collaborate with anyone, on almost any terms, to beat back the revolutionary assault." It is not clear what can be meant by this statement, but it is evident that the author is not cognizant of the British Foreign Office Memorandum of December 18, 1926, which marked out a definite line of action, sympathetic by its impartiality, towards the new Government that was arising out of the existing chaos and not leaning on the support of other Powers.

The book is very interesting where it speaks of the disagreements and disputes between Trotzky and Stalin over the way in which the Chinese revolution should be guided. These pages show to what extent China and her people have been the living body upon which these professional revolutionaries have been experimenting.

The main part of the book is taken up by the civil wars after the establishment of the Kuomintang Government in Nanking and by the Sino-Japanese relations. The civil wars were caused by the formation of "Red Army" groups under the leadership of Chinese Communists in close touch with Moscow. They established themselves in various parts of China, but principally in a mountainous corner of Kiangsi, until they were forced by the Nanking Government to withdraw and march by a long circuitous route into the province of Shensi, a march which may be compared with the famous trek accomplished in 1853 by the Taiping rebels. This march and the subsequent settlement of the Red Armies in Shensi has been lucidly described in more detail in *China under the Red Star*, by Edgar Stone.

The actions of Japan and their effects in China are gone into in considerable detail, although the book produces no new facts. One would expect that the author would also give interesting information about the actions and the influences in China of Soviet Russia and the Comintern, but in this respect the book is disappointing. Not a word is said about them. Yet the documents found in the old Russian barracks in Peking revealed the wide scope of Soviet activity and the intimacy of the relations with certain Chinese revolutionary leaders. An article written by the well-known Bolshevik leader Dimitrov in *The Communist International* of September/October, 1936, states that the Communist Party of China is one of the best sections of the Comintern in Moscow. The silence about these relations is therefore all the more remarkable. Even the name of Borodin (Grusenberg) is only mentioned very casually. Of the frenzied Marxist and anti-foreign propaganda carried on directly and indirectly by the Soviets and of their enormous subsidies to army commanders and revolutionary associations in China not a word is breathed. Much wrath, however, is poured out over the Kuomintang leaders, and over Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in particular, for having broken with

their Communist partners and because they wished to hold their party together without obeying blindly the orders from Moscow. But Moscow has since then never tired of trying to re-establish this Communist-Kuomintang combination. It was Dimitrov's idea to create the so-called "Popular Fronts" in various countries whereby the Communists under the cloak of nationalism and democracy obtain a firm influence in the radical sections of foreign nations. Japanese aggressive policy in China gave him a welcome opening for a campaign for the establishment of a "United All-China Democratic Republic," and Mr. Ganner's book is an eloquent piece of propaganda work for this idea and as such it is well worth reading. As in other democratic countries, he says, the Communists in China would, under the democratic rights of free speech, free press, and free assemblage, retain the right of their advocating their programme, but he does not add that these rights would cease to exist should the Communists carry the day as in the U.S.S.R.

The perusal of this book cannot but increase the pity one naturally feels for China and the Chinese people. Harassed by Japan on the one hand and by the Communists on the other, urged on, against her wish, into the greatest and most destructive war she has ever engaged in, she now wrestles with Japan in battles which can only bring profit to Moscow for whom Japan is as a nightmare. According to the last paragraphs of Mr. Ganner's Epilogue, the war will set off the bombshell of revolution in Japan, and it will, if it lasts long enough, "favour" China because it will then forge the revolutionary power of 450,000,000 people.

W. J. OUDENDYK.

Le Capital. Dernières nouvelles financières et politiques. Reproduction autorisée. Director: Jules Perquel. Paris.

In *Le Capital*, a Bulletin issued in Paris with the latest daily news, Dr. A. Legendre, who formerly travelled and worked in Yunnan, China, gives what he feels is the French point of view on the Far East conflict. He expresses opinions which differ greatly from those held in this country. He says: "There is no doubt to-day that the Nanking Government has for long been preparing this war against Japan, and that, since the first of July, eight days before the Japanese attack near Peking, orders for the mobilization of 30 Divisions had been issued by Chiang Kai Shek, who counted on the help of certain Powers, especially those of Protestant faith, British and American, in return for the marvellous idea he had had of getting himself baptised in order to get Anglo-American support."

In a later issue, January, 1938, of the same Bulletin, in writing about the traffic in arms from French and other sources, across the borders of Indo-China, Dr. Legendre says: "Thus we are playing a dangerous game and all the more so, for we risk alienating ourselves from Japan and we are not far off that. But it may be said that Indo-China can defend itself and that we will arm it. In case of danger, would we send out an Army Corps and a Fleet? Could we do that? Certainly not in the present state of world politics. Even so, at any time it would be a difficult job for the mother country. It is necessary to understand: the best defence for Indo-China is the friendship of Japan and not that of an incoherent China, without unity, without stability, and which would fall apart to-morrow if it did not have the interested support of both England and the United States."

The article proceeds: "But why does the war in China drag on till the

country is in ruins? Because Nanking is convinced that certain nations are preparing to give China direct and effective aid. The day when this belief falls will be the end of the war, and without any doubt the end of the nightmare of a new general *mêlée*."

One can hope that French people are not misled by leaders of thought like this who may pose as authorities on China because of temporary residence there and the ability to write political views. No comment is necessary: the quotations speak for themselves. At the same time it is always interesting to see what other people think—even though the French are the closest of our Allies.

G. D. G.

Russia in Chains. By Ivan Solonevich. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. vi+314. Illustrations. Williams and Norgate. 12s. 6d.

This is a terrible picture of conditions in a Soviet concentration camp. It is a gruesome concatenation of horrors and nothing else. The author took his degree in law in 1917 in Petrograd University, but later, under the political pressure of the Revolution, drifted from law and journalism to sport—the profession farthest removed from politics. As a sporting journalist he travelled for seventeen years all over the U.S.S.R., writing articles for magazines and observing conditions generally. He was arrested on eleven different occasions, and finally sentenced to eight years in a concentration camp. Through his work in the statistical section of his "relatively small camp of 78,000 prisoners only," he came to the conclusion that not less than five millions of Soviet citizens are in camps of one kind or another. These large numbers are explained by the fact that "every individual or group capable of independent thought of the smallest resistance to the common levelling process is liable to banishment or suppression, as a matter of course." It is extremely difficult to review this kind of book, because nobody who has not been in a concentration camp has the slightest justification for passing judgment on nine-tenths of it. Personally, I have not any difficulty in believing all that is related of the appalling conditions known to M. Solonevich in his particular camp. Where I venture to join issue with him is in his general picture of conditions in Soviet Russia. It is sheer nonsense to deny that there are millions of enthusiastic followers of Stalin. And his assumption that things in and out of the camp are more or less the same cannot be supported by the facts of the situation. Soviet Russia has made enormous progress in so far as housing, food, clothing, and the material basis of life is concerned in the last ten years, but not a word of this appears in this dismal chronicle. The author's anti-Soviet bias is very natural in view of his sufferings, but he errs by over-emphasis and *suppressio veri*, and is therefore far less convincing than if he allowed the other side of the Soviet record to balance his terrible story.

VIOLET CONOLLY.

Observation in Russia. By Sidney Luck. Pp. 339. Macmillan and Co. 10s. 6d.

This is the diary of one of the members of the British Expedition which visited Siberia in 1936 to observe the total eclipse of the sun. The author grew up in pre-war Russia, and this fact lends additional interest to his comparative picture of conditions in Soviet Russia to-day.

The expedition visited Leningrad and Moscow before proceeding to Omsk, where they set up their camp in a State Farm and awaited the eclipse. In these days of organized travel under State auspices in the U.S.S.R., few travellers have an opportunity of seeing Siberia, as Siberia is not included in the *Intourist*

schedule. The most useful and interesting parts of this most fair-minded chronicle are undoubtedly concerned with Siberia. I greatly enjoyed Mr. Luck's account of the vicissitudes of life on the large State Farm where he stayed near Omsk, the conversations with the farm workers, the descriptions of the barracks and huts where they lived, the ideas and attitudes of all and sundry with whom he came in contact. In Siberia, as elsewhere in the U.S.S.R., the author admits the inequalities of salary and general living conditions, the ignorance of the outside world, the cocksureness and frequent inefficiency noticed by all recent travellers, but through it all he sees a constant striving for better things and unbounded confidence in the future progress of the country. Whatever his reactions, his sense of humour and balanced judgment never desert him. There are a couple of points on which I do not agree with Mr. Luck. Only a small percentage of foreign and American Jews have migrated to the Jewish Settlement of Birobidjan which has been mainly colonized by Russian Jews. Mr. Luck's account of the Volga German Colonies under Soviet rule is far too rosy and omits many of the harsher aspects of collectivization in the German Volga. The map of Siberia, which Mr. Luck sought in vain in Leningrad, has now, I think, been published by the Institute of Pacific Relations in Moscow. In the welter of pro- and anti-Soviet literature now appearing, Mr. Luck is to be congratulated on giving us such an informative and attractive book.

V. C.

Goose Feathers. By George Digby. 8vo. Pp. 407. London: Collins, Publishers. 10s. 6d.

The reader of this pleasantly written book will learn a good deal about life and work on the tea plantations of Ceylon, the loneliness of the European planter, the difficult task of the overseer, and the daily toil of the Tamil coolies for whom he has to be both a boss and a friend. The author's romance with a sympathetic, well-educated girl of mixed blood is the outstanding feature of the book. He presents in vivid colouring the cruelty of the system of social ostracism that obtains in India and everywhere under British rule in Asia with regard to those of mixed blood, and he calls this problem one of the most acutely dangerous which the world will ere long have to face. In contrast with British India, where he says the Eurasian is made to be despised by the natives, he praises the Netherlands East Indies, where not only in theory, but in practice, every type of administrative post is open to the man of mixed blood, and where, he might have added, the woman of mixed blood can marry anyone without damaging her husband's career. The "Indo-Europeans," as they are commonly called (not "Nederlanders," as the author evidently thinks—this being the general name of all who are not considered natives or foreign Orientals), find neither social nor legal obstacles in their way; they are taken for what they are worth, the same as any European. They feel themselves Europeans and know that their interests lie with Holland, and at the same time they stand somewhat closer to the native population, a fact which makes them feel that they belong to the country of their birth. It would never enter anybody's mind that a different way of looking at this problem were possible. As Mr. Digby says: "Not only is the Dutch method kind; it is practical wisdom."

In the subsequent stories which form the second half of the book the author tells about the hardships inflicted upon the German settlers of New Guinea by the Expropriation Board when that German colony became a Mandate Territory; he gives a delightful account of a trip to kill birds of paradise, and a description of different phases of life in some of the Pacific Islands.

The end of the book relates his experiences in Japan, where he worked for a news agency. He was not happy in Japan. "There was a grim determination," he says, "in Japan's constant fight to keep her position among the nations that made uncomfortable, to say the least, the position of a foreigner who had strongly developed feelings regarding his own racial dignity."

W. J. OUDENDYK.

The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan. By Lieut.-Colonel E. W. C. Sandes, D.S.O., M.C., R.E.(ret.). 10" x 6½". Pp. xxxii + 571. Illustrations and map. Chatham: Institution of R.E. 18s.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the various campaigns which have been fought on the soil of Egypt and the Sudan since the year 1800, when Captain Lacy, R.E., rode into the Grand Vizier's camp just before the Turkish defeat by Kleber at the Battle of Heliopolis. While special attention is paid to the part taken by the Royal Engineers in these operations, the fine work accomplished by others, both civil and military, is by no means neglected. Gordon and Kitchener, both sapper officers, dominate the book, but the author has found plenty of space for the exploits of less famous men.

The point which, perhaps, will strike the reader most forcibly is the immense amount of work accomplished with resources which were invariably woefully inadequate. We find the same story, whether we are following Kitchener himself in the reconquest of the Sudan, or whether we are reading of Sapper May, put ashore alone on the Red Sea coast, with little experience of the country, its inhabitants or language, and with orders to build a telegraph line from Suakin to Berber, some 250 miles away, a feat which he successfully accomplished. Indeed, economy, which often degenerated into parsimony, seems to have been the keynote to the whole history of these campaigns. It was largely responsible for the loss of the Sudan; it rendered the reconquest unnecessarily difficult. Incidentally it was economy which caused Gordon to stop the extension of the railway southwards from Wady Halfa and thereby, possibly, to seal his own fate. The story of the loss and reconquest of the Sudan is well known, but the author has much to say which will be of interest to the average reader. In particular, he evidently holds strong views on the methods employed to transport the expedition for the relief of Gordon up the Nile. Wolseley's previous experience in Canada caused him to favour water transport, but Colonel Sandes makes a strong case for the theory that reliance on boats, which were not immediately available, instead of on camels, which were, probably cost Gordon his life.

This part, after dealing adequately with the defence of Egypt during the Great War and the evacuation, and subsequent reoccupation of the Sinai peninsula, ends with the events attending the Mediterranean crisis of 1935.

Part II. is devoted to the more peaceful subject of civil engineering, and describes the part played by members of the Corps in the development of irrigation and communications and in exploration, survey, public and harbour works. We learn, in this part, of the genesis of the idea for the Suez Canal in the mind of Captain Vetch, R.E., who published a paper on the subject in 1843; of Scott-Moncrieff's restoration of the Nile barrage; of Kitchener's plans for a new Khartum; of the reasons which governed the selection of Port Sudan in preference to the well-established Suakin as the port of entry for the Sudan and of its construction by Captain Kennedy and Lieutenant Kelly, R.E. We read of the gradual substitution of wireless for line telegraph and of the extension of the railway to El Obeid. Above all, we read of the dangers and privations faced and

of the difficulties surmounted by those men who were responsible for the exploration of the Sudan and for the delimitation of its boundaries.

The outline of events, so adequately drawn in this book, is filled in with incident which is always interesting and often extremely amusing. Who, for instance, can fail to be thrilled by the story of Girouard and his band of boys, pushing out their crazy railway from Wady Halfa into 200 miles of unexplored and waterless desert, with the enemy on the other side? Or who can help being amused at the plight of the Egyptian telegraphist, marooned in some isolated post in the south, who wired that he was surrounded by lions, leopards and bears, and cancelled "bears" in his next message? In more pathetic vein is the story of another telegraphist, stricken with a mortal illness, apologetically announcing his approaching death and asking that the cost of the telegram might be deducted from his pay.

The book contains no bibliography, but the source of all information is given fully in footnotes. The maps are numerous and adequate, and the index all that can be desired.

The author has carried out a formidable amount of work in research, in obtaining first-hand accounts of events from men who took part in them, and in visiting the places of which he has written.

By all who are interested in Egypt and the Sudan, by all who are thrilled by the story of struggles against savage men and savage nature, and by all who delight in reading of great work well done, this book should certainly be read.

"The Times" Book of Egypt. 10" x 7½". Pp. vi + 139 + xv. Illustrations. London: *The Times*. 1937.

Two years ago the Egyptian Government invited representatives of the leading English newspapers to go out to Cairo as its guests and see for themselves the attractions Egypt offers as a tourist resort and the progress the country is making as an independent nation. "*The Times*" Book of Egypt has been compiled as the result of the visit made by the special representative of *The Times* on that occasion.

Appropriately opening with an article on the relations between Great Britain and Egypt since early times, with the text of the treaty which has placed those relations on the footing of equal allies, it gives a bird's-eye view of Egyptian history through the ages, a personal sketch of Egypt's boy King, a note on the British administrators who laid the foundation for the prosperity which Egypt now enjoys, and chapters on almost every phase of Egyptian life, economic, social, industrial and political. There are, in addition, special articles by such experts as Major Jarvis on the "Frontiers of Egypt," which are destined to play such a part in the future events of the Levant; Dr. Lawrence Balls on the "Source of Egypt's Wealth"—cotton; Mr. Butcher on the husbanding of the waters of the Nile, in which he tells the fascinating story of how the flood of this great river is turned to account and used to increase the productivity of Egypt's wonderful soil; Mr. W. R. Todd on the attraction of Egypt as a holiday resort—one of the best articles in the book—as well as chapters dealing with the intellectual development which Egyptian society is undergoing and describing how tradition is in eclipse and Moslem thought submitting to the reformer.

"*The Times*" Book of Egypt should enable the English reader better to comprehend the various facts of Egyptian character and mentality. In that it constitutes a good complement to *The English in their Own Country*, that admirable book from the pen of Dr. Hafez Afifi Pasha, Egyptian Ambassador in London,

which is helping his fellow-countrymen to realize something of English character and tradition. The two should together contribute to the consolidation of the links binding Egypt and England together, for, as Mr. Eden writes in the message printed at the beginning of the book, "The more the two countries grow to understand one another the more firmly founded will become the alliance and their friendship and the more rapid and lasting will be the benefits flowing from the treaty."

There are one or two curious omissions such as no mention of Lord Lloyd, whose pro-consulate was so full of activity, or of Ziwer Pasha, who in 1924/25, by his courage and capacity, saved a most delicate situation and earned the gratitude of both countries by re-establishing good relations. But these omissions do not detract one iota from the value of the book, which both in contents and production is fully up to the high standard associated with all publications which issue from Printing House Square.

H. M.

La Colonisation Italienne en Libye. Problèmes et Méthodes. Jean Despois. Larose—Éditeurs, 11, Rue Victor Cousin. Paris, 1935.

La Colonizzazione Agricola in Libia. Gian Giuseppe Durini Di Monza. "Realta," June, 1937.

Within the last two years both the European situation and the concomitant state of affairs within the colony have focussed a large measure of world interest upon Libya. The importance of the Italian experiment in an area adjacent to vital lines of communication, and among a community closely allied in religion and sympathy to millions of people under British administrative control, demand the close attention of the student of affairs.

The number of reliable publications in English on Italian colonization and administration in North Africa is negligible.

In September, 1911, Italy declared war on Turkey and sent an expeditionary force to Tripoli. A year later Italian sovereignty over Libya was recognized, although little was held beyond the coastal towns. The war years delayed effective control, and it was not until 1921, on the appointment of Count Volpi as Governor-General, that the occupation and pacification of the country was taken in hand, and a vigorous scheme for exploitation and development initiated. Tripolitania quickly submitted, but the last strongholds of rebellion remained active in Cyrenaica until 1932. With the state annexation in 1922 of all uncultivated lands in Tripolitania began a system of effective colonization. The establishment of agricultural banks, the building of roads, and the grant of over 75,000 acres in concessions by the time of Count Volpi's retirement in 1925 marked the initial epoch of adequate control, and culminated in the following year with the Duce's first visit. By the end of Marshal Badoglio's term of service as Governor-General in 1933 the acreage granted in concessions had risen to 250,000, and over 1,500 Italian families had been settled on the land. But Italian capital remained shy of enterprises in North Africa, and over three-quarters of the revenue of the colony was, and still is, subscribed from Rome. In Cyrenaica military operations restricted any appreciable colonization until within the last four years, but it is here that the Government hopes to establish eventually no less than 50,000 immigrants.

Monsieur Jean Despois, professor of history and geography at the University of Tunis and the author of several studies on North Africa, has, after a year spent in

Libya and Italy, published a work descriptive of the nature of the country, the measure of advance in the sphere of colonization and agricultural development achieved, and the many problems still requiring solution. Throughout the book he treats Tripolitania and Cyrenaica under separate headings, remarking on their past historical and cultural disparity and emphasizing their present physical and political differences. The early chapters sketch the outlines of the geographical and meteorological conditions obtaining in the two provinces; water supplies, climate and soils are discussed and compared, and the conclusion reached that the areas in Tripolitania wherein Italian colonization is likely to flourish appreciably are limited, whereas Cyrenaica, and especially the fertile Jebel Akhdar range, offers far greater possibilities both for cultivation and stock raising.

Professor Despois has viewed the problems carefully and impartially; he has criticized objectively, and rightly gives credit to the tremendous enterprise, hard work and courage that have gone to re-establish in North Africa the ancient granary and oil-press of the Roman world. "Les Causes de la Conquête de la Libye," he writes in his preface ". . . sont essentiellement politiques." "La mise en valeur rapide et le peuplement précipité d'une telle colonie sont fonction du régime de l'Italia d'aujourd'hui, de la politique de réalisation, de prestige et d'expansion qui est celle du fascisme." No visitor to Libya to-day can fail to be impressed by the wealth of public buildings and state hotels, the enormous mileage of first-class roads, and the vast extent of land recently laid under vine and olive plantations. Economically the colony has so far proved an expensive luxury and an industry over-capitalized. Politically it has proved invaluable, for it has grown within the last two years into an outpost on the route to Abyssinia of the greatest strategic importance.

Under a chapter embracing Tripolitania and entitled "Les Conditions Humaines" Professor Despois has devoted a brief three pages to "Les Italiens et les Indigènes," and later in the book he discusses equally shortly "Colons et main d'œuvres." His view of the sociological problem is governed purely by economic considerations. That the Italian Government regards the natives of Libya merely as a reserve of labour for the more rapid progression of its schemes of colonization rather than as a people to be developed along indigenous lines would hardly be disputed. It is unfortunate that Professor Despois has given no account of the system of administration as it affects the native.

Signor Gian Giuseppe Durini Di Monza pays tribute in his article to Professor Despois' book, and quotes a passage in which the author, discussing the conquest of Libya, emphasizes the purely political aspect of a venture in which, he declares, commercial ambition played no part. Signor Di Monza's article is chiefly valuable for its description of the several types of colonial holding and the measure of state assistance. He lays stress upon the hardships and difficulties of colonization and the need for further capital to develop the olive, vine and apricot plantations. He mentions the unadaptability of the Northern Italian and the failure of his agricultural methods, a point which the visitor in casual conversation with natives and colonists cannot fail to notice. His statistics are interesting, especially when compared with Professor Despois' sketch-maps.

That Italian rule has brought material and cultural benefit to the native population cannot be denied. First-class hospitals and schools have been built all over the country, improved methods of agriculture and cattle-breeding have been introduced, and peace has been restored. The native population will increase rapidly during the coming twenty years, and the Government is encouraging immigration from Italy. The present number of colonists is 30,000, and it is hoped that the figure may eventually reach 200,000. The native population to-day

exceeds half a million. The cultivable areas must remain strictly limited, and in proportion to the area of the whole colony extremely small. Will the country be able eventually to carry the population towards which technician and administrator are working?

The output of raw materials increases yearly. Will a country producing under such economic and physical disadvantages ever be able to compete in world markets?

G. W. BELL.

Finnougor Rokonságunk (Our Finnougrian Relations). By Zsirai Miklós (Nicolas Zsirai). Pp. 580; many text figures and two maps. Budapest: Academy of Sciences. 1937.

Owing to its admirable arrangement it is possible to give some idea of the contents of this book without knowing much Magyar. The author begins with general ideas about the science of languages and their classification, placing the Finnougrian group in its relation to others. He proceeds to an interesting analysis of Magyar, particularly the proportion of loan-words, showing that, though 45 per cent. of the root-words are borrowed, in the dictionary the loans fall to 35 per cent., and in actual usage to less than 12. After setting forth the sound changes running through the group, he gives pictures of the various racial types and discusses the relation of language to race. He places the original home of the Finnougrians, not in Asia, as did the earlier scholars, but in North-East Russia, and describes how they split up. Then follows an account of the Ugrian branch, or rather of the Magyars' poor relations, the Ostyaks and Voguls, with pictures of people, houses and things. So next with the Permian and Volga Finns, the Lapps and the Western Finns, ranging from independent nations like the Finns proper, treated in detail, showing all sides of their culture, and the Estonians, to miserable remnants like the Livs (1200) and the Vots (500).

The last part of the book deals with the study of the Finnougrians: in which the first name, the only English name in the book, is Alfred the Great, who gave Ottar of Helogaland's report on Biarmia. It is quite interesting to follow the way these nations gradually recognized their kinship.

Even without knowing Magyar one can make good use of the book, because every little section is furnished with an admirable bibliography, enabling one to pursue its subject in more accessible languages.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

And Nothing Long. By R. Macdonell. 8" x 5½". Pp. 328. Constable. 8s. 6d.

This is a book which is interesting throughout. The author started life as a journalist, for which profession he was, and is, well qualified. His life has led him far afield, but throughout he has regarded it as an adventure and makes even his account of a typical Victorian household interesting. Of Great-Aunt Anna, for example, a rigid Calvinist, he makes a delightful study.

Macdonell next became a bank clerk, and in that capacity made the acquaintance of a star of the demi-monde, who gave him the advice that "the going was too strong." At that juncture an uncle by marriage opportunely offered him a post on a Ceylon tea plantation, where he duly arrived and took up the position of a 'Creeper.'

While occupying this post he tells an excellent story of how a native, who had murdered a woman for spurning his advances, was acquitted by a jury for lack of

evidence. The father of the girl, however, demanded a trial by ordeal which Macdonell witnessed from afar through field-glasses. As a result the murderer, not daring to swear that he was innocent "by his son and the stone," confessed his guilt—and disappeared.

Our author next takes us to Russia, where he shrewdly notes that "the governing class were the officials drawn from the people, and paid to govern the country that aristocracy might not be bothered." After a brief sojourn in Moscow, he proceeds to Baku, where he takes up a post in an oil firm. There he was brought into close contact with both Armenians and Tartars. The former race was "bound hand and foot" by its secret society, which has caused many a massacre. Bomb throwing at Baku was quite common in those days, and Macdonell saw the Commander of the Garrison blown up. He gives the wise advice that, on such occasions, the best thing to do is to run round a corner, otherwise you are liable to be shot either by Cossacks or police. Passing through Baku at this period, even for a mere traveller, was always a bit of an adventure.

In February, 1905, two Armenian soldiers shot a Tartar who was under arrest. A few hours later they were both found dead, stabbed in their backs. Then followed a ghastly massacre of the unfortunate Armenians. In the following summer, organized by their secret society, the now well-armed Armenians, led by ex-officers, who had organized a machine-gun corps, attacked the Tartars and massacred them by hundreds.

Macdonell was appointed Vice-Consul—the British colony was over one hundred strong—and when the Great War broke out he wisely decided to send his family home. He was thus free to run the risks that were involved.

Upon the abdication of the Tsar, the British Financial Mission made great efforts to maintain the remnants of the army of the Grand Duke Nicolas on the Turkish front, and this involved large payments of money. Our author handed over his post to another Englishman and then proceeded to Tiflis. There he writes: "The old Imperial Russian Staff under General Lebidinsky still sat in Tiflis; it literally did nothing but sit, and nobody worried about it."

Money was now poured out, and Macdonell was employed in fetching the "mounds of paper roubles which were to be sent over from Persia to be distributed among those who said they preferred killing Turks to enjoying wine, women and song." Tiflis was always a gay place!

Among the regular officers who came from Persia was Captain Noel, one of the many splendid political officers who made their name during the Great War. With him on board, the train was hotly pursued by revolutionaries who fired volleys into the back of the train, but finally abandoned the chase.

With Noel, who suggested travelling under the ægis of the Sickle and Hammer, the little British colony in Grosney, on the northern side of the Caucasus range, was reached by Macdonell, and some of the women and children were evacuated and, later, were sent to Persia. Noel, who had returned to Persia, was captured by Kuchik Khan, a brigand chief, who was supported by enemy officers and armaments.

Macdonell's position in Baku, where he was once again British Vice-Consul, became one of extreme difficulty, but enough has, I hope, been written to excite the curiosity of my readers, who would be thrilled by his description of the two trials, at the second of which he was condemned to death *in absentia*, and by the epic of Dunsterforce.

OBITUARY

SIR HARCOURT BUTLER

THE announcement of the death of Harcourt Butler came as a shock to his many friends. He had indeed from time to time in the past year or two had a recurrence of the malady which he had contracted during his thirty-eight years' service in the East, but in each case he had weathered the storm successfully and been able to carry on all his old activities. It had been hoped that he had got over the last attack, and that with rest he would regain his strength. But the end came rather suddenly. Everyone who knew him will rejoice that he had been spared from becoming an invalid, and that his wonderful mind was able to carry on till the end.

When Butler joined the Indian Civil Service in 1890 hardly any of the Haileybury men were left in it. During his service as Assistant Commissioner and Assistant Settlement Officer in Oudh and afterwards as Junior Secretary of the Board of Revenue at Allahabad, he acquired a complete knowledge of the details of the revenue system in both Agra and Oudh, which was destined to be of the utmost value to him throughout his career.

During the earlier years of his service I was, though on the list of the same Province, away from it with the Government of India, and did not meet Butler till the spring of 1901. By that time he had impressed everyone who had met him, and when I then went to stay at Lucknow with Sir Antony MacDonnell, my old chief in the Home Department of the Government of India, he had, with Butler as his Secretary, just completed the report on famine relief and administration which is still the standard authority on the subject. MacDonnell was loud in his praise of the work done by Butler in preparing this report so speedily and thoroughly.

In truth, Butler was endowed with every quality that makes for success in the public service in India. A fine presence and a genial manner are certainly not less important in dealing with Orientals than elsewhere, and he succeeded in putting all those he dealt with at their ease. He had a brilliant intellect, boundless energy, a wonderful capacity for getting at the root of a matter, the ability to express his conclusions so as to be clear to all, and a very practical head in carrying them out. The conciseness of his style was remarkable. His official reports are classics. In his little work *India Insistent* and in the seventeen pages on "The Country, Peoples, Languages and Creeds" which form the first chapter of *Modern India*, a co-operative survey, edited by Sir John Cumming, he contrived to convey a general impression of India for which most writers would have needed a volume.

The opportunity of working with Butler never came to me till I took up the Lieut.-Governorship of Agra and Oudh in 1907 and found him Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow. He had interested himself in any number of local improvements, and threw himself energetically into the scheme, originated by his friend Raja Sir Tasadduq Rasul Khan, to establish a

Medical College at Lucknow to commemorate the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to India. Butler's influence in the collection of subscriptions ensured the success of the scheme, and the King George's Medical College and Hospital and the Queen Mary's Hospital were opened in January, 1912. Butler's activity in improving the capital of Oudh, and his interest in the well-being of the Taluqdars had made him as popular a District Officer as there ever was.

The evil results of turning out an unlimited number of graduates of the Universities of India, and thus of increasing indefinitely the number of an intelligentsia for whom employment could not be obtained, had made themselves felt. It was evident that something must be done to provide an alternative form of practical and technical education. I determined to call an Industrial Conference at Naini Tal in September, 1907, and Butler undertook the duty of preparing a note for the Conference which formed the basis of its discussions, and embodied the substance of its recommendations. The first step to industrial advance was the establishment of a Technological Institute which would undertake industrial research, and train the educated classes to be managers, overseers, foremen and investigators. Among the members of the Conference were business men from various parts of India, and it was no small achievement of Butler's to have evolved a scheme which met with such general favour among them as his did.

However, the India Office, then presided over by Lord Morley, fought shy of the expense involved in the establishment of the Technological Institute, and the scheme sanctioned did not include its most important part. It was not till some years after that a modified proposal was adopted which provided a very inadequate substitute for Butler's original idea.

In the autumn of 1907, just after the conclusion of this Conference, Butler was selected for the post of Foreign Secretary to the Government of India by Lord Minto, and he then left the United Provinces till, after having been Education Member of the Council of the Governor-General, he returned as Lieut.-Governor in 1915.

Sir Charles Crosthwaite was the Lieut.-Governor under whom Butler did some of his earlier service in what were then called the North-Western Provinces. Sir Charles had done yeoman-service in settling the administration of Upper Burma after it had been annexed. In the then calmer atmosphere of Agra and Oudh he was equally successful. Butler often told me that he regarded him as the best administrator of his time in India (an opinion in which I heartily share), and took him as his example. The achievement of Butler himself in becoming Lieut.-Governor and Governor both in the United Provinces and in Burma exceeds that of any other Member of the Service to which he belonged.

Butler enjoyed all forms of sport, and the opportunities for big-game shooting in Burma and the United Provinces particularly appealed to him. It was his confirmed opinion that "No doubt one does one's best work in the jungle. Its very quiet composes things." In the spring of 1919 he made a tour, at the invitation of the Prime Minister of Nepal, to the Birbhowli

Valley, through which the Sarju flows, the happy hunting-ground of Sir Jang Bahadur. It had hardly been visited by sportsmen since his time. Butler wrote in unreserve for private circulation among his family, extended by him to a few friends, of whom I was fortunate enough to be one, a most interesting diary of this expedition. In the course of fifteen days his party succeeded in getting fourteen very large tigers and tigresses. His diary justly closed with the remark, "There have no doubt been larger bags, but I believe that for the size of the tigers our bag is really a record."

Butler was a wonderful host, as those of us lucky enough to have enjoyed his hospitality at Lucknow and Rangoon can testify. His fondness for music added greatly to the charm of his entertainments. He leaves behind in the hearts of his friends in India a void which will never be filled. A common friend, not himself a Taluqdar of Oudh, wrote to me from Datia on March 4: "How terribly I was shocked to see in to-day's newspapers the death of Sir Harcourt Butler. I know how devoted he was to you. I can never forget his personal kindness to me, and it is difficult to bear his loss. The loss of such a dear friend is unbearable. The Taluqdars of Oudh have lost their great supporter." These words will find an echo in many hearts in India.

J. P. H.

It is regretted that, owing to lack of space, the notice of that great scholar and statesman Sir Reginald Johnston must be held over for another number of the Journal.



Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXV

JULY, 1938

PART III

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PUBLISHED BY

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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NOTICES

THE Annual Dinner will be held at Grosvenor House on July 14.

* * * * *

Two of the special unreported meetings arranged by the Council have been held and have proved successful. Admiral Usborne spoke on the problems of the Eastern Mediterranean on May 11, and a heated discussion followed. Admiral Sir Frederick Dreyer gave the anniversary lecture on June 8 on some British problems in the Far East. Both lectures dealt with matters of practical importance on which there is great diversity of opinion.

There have been two meetings at which coloured films of exceptional interest were shown. The first was taken by Mme. J. R. Hackin, and the notes of the lecture which accompanied it are given on pp. 446-7. Professor and Mme. Hackin had exceptional opportunities of seeing a large part of Afghanistan which is little-known to tourists, and their great experience and profound knowledge enabled them to appreciate the buildings and remains; they have already been able to add considerably to unknown or forgotten periods in the history of Afghanistan. It is hoped that M. Hackin may show more of the archæological films later.

The second film was taken by Mrs. Patrick Ness, who travelled from Burma to Bali with an appreciative eye and a well-handled camera. Mrs. Ness gave a clear commentary on the films as they unfolded, and a question was raised in the discussion by Mrs. Hopewell which will be followed up in the next part of the Journal.

* * * * *

The owners of 77, Grosvenor Street, have decided to pull down the old house, which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century, when the present leases run out in September. The Council has asked Sir William Beynon to help in the search for suitable premises, and owe him much for his kindness in viewing many possible quarters for the office. The choice is limited by the rent that the Society can afford to pay. Mr. Charles Crane has sent a princely donation of 500 dollars (£100) to cover the expense of moving, for which both Council and members are most grateful.

* * * * *

It would be of greatest help if members would remember to pay their subscriptions without a further demand. There are still over a hundred subscriptions owing from last year in spite of the reminders sent out. The reminders cost time and money, and the subscription does not allow of anything but the strictest economy if the activities of the Society are not to be curtailed.

* * * * *

Members are reminded that the Oriental Congress will be held in Brussels in September, and that there is to be an International Congress of Ethnology and Anthropology in Copenhagen from August 1 to 5.

* * * * *

The Council greatly regret the loss the Society has suffered by the deaths of Sir Wolseley Haig, of Lord Leigh, and of that intrepid missionary Mr.

R. C. Cumberland, who, after many years' residence in Dohuk, was killed by a Kurd on June 14.

* * * * *

The following new members have been elected to the Society :

Mrs. Archdale, L. O. M. Barstow, A.I.O.Co., Flight-Lieut. J. H. Becher, Colonel F. Bernard, Miss K. M. Beynon, H. N. Blair, Lieut., Black Watch, R. Bowen, Lieut., Royal Artillery, Major J. Campbell, H.B.M. Vice-Consul, Zahedan, E. Persia, the Countess of Carlisle, Mrs. A. M. St.J. Cooke, C. R. Corbett, G. Crabbe, Mrs. M. de Selincourt, Professor Wilhelm Filchner, Rev. H. W. Funnell, C.I.M., G. F. L. Gilbert, Lieut., Royal Artillery, Air-Commodore W. MacNeece Foster, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., D.F.C., Mrs. Gowan, Major E. Greer, Burma Rifles, Major H. J. Hare, 2nd Goorkhas, Captain Cecil Harcourt, R.N., W. Gordon Harmon, District Director, Chinese Government Salt Administration, W. J. Hasler, Export Credits Guarantee Dept., Board of Trade, Miss Audrey Harris, Michael Huxley, Editor, Geographical Magazine, Baroness Henrietta van Heeckeren van Kell, George Mansur, Instructor at Ramadi Intermediate School, Sardar Sahib Natha Singh, Supervisor of Works and Buildings, R.A.F. Dhibban, Wing-Commander C. P. Ogden, O.B.E., R.A.F.(ret.), Dr. R. Olzscha, Inayetullah Cemal Özkaya, Consul-General for Turkey, Captain R. F. Page, 1-19th Hyderabad Regt., Mme. B. Payen, V. K. Rangaswami, Assistant Commercial Officer, Bengal-Nagpur Railway, Miss M. Richards, W. H. Roberts, A.I.O.Co., Miss Mary Rowlatt, Captain D. W. Roy, Paymaster, Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, Dr. Ernst Schäfer, Flight-Lieut. D. Stephenson, Miss C. Waddy, Miss Helen Wilkinson, and the Commandant, Equitation School, Saugor, India.

NOMINATION FORM.



.....

 (*Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address*)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend $\frac{\text{him}}{\text{her}}$ for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

*His
Her* connection with Asia is :

THE PERSIAN GULF

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL G. DALYELL OF THE BINNS

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on April 6, 1938, before H.H. the Sultan of Muscat and 'Oman, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode in the Chair.

THE Persian Gulf is a curious part of the world, and those who are called upon to serve in it either fall to its extraordinary attraction—or hate it. Personally, I have always been attracted by it, and I think that its attraction is due partly to the almost haunted imprint upon it of the wild events of which it has been the scene from olden times, and partly that it is now one of the last meeting places of the present and the far past—Imperial Airways calls twice a week, but blood money is still paid; oil derricks lift their ungainly heads, but accession is traditionally by parricide.

I shall not ask you to look at the map often, but I would like at the outset to do so in order to emphasize why we attach so great an importance to the Persian Gulf; it is the western outpost of India and it is on the direct route, whether by the ancient desert post or by air, from Great Britain to India and Australia. It now has the further, though perhaps more temporary, value of oil.*

I do not propose to tell you of the early history of the Gulf, of the voyage of Alexander's ships, of the Dutch, or of the Portuguese—the Gulf has resounded through all time with the clash of nationalities and the strife of its own warring tribes. Although we first arrived on the scene some three centuries ago, and had varying fortunes, it was at the beginning of the nineteenth century that we became deeply involved in its life. We came as traders of the Honourable East India Company solely bent upon trade. We found chaos—to quote Lord Curzon :

“ there was constant trouble and disturbance; almost every man was a marauder or pirate; kidnapping and slave trade flourished; fighting and bloodshed went on without stint or respite; no ship could put to sea without fear of attack; the pearl fishery was the

* For map, see inside cover.

scene of annual conflict; and security of trade or peace there was none."

We were forced to intervene in order to safeguard our trade, and owing to the infirmity of Turkey and Persia, the only great countries bordering on the Gulf, we gradually became responsible for peace upon the seas, for security of trade, then for telegraphs, quarantine, post offices, lighting and buoying, and so on. In short, we created law and order, and made the Persian Gulf accessible to all upon their lawful occasions. We took no territory for ourselves, but were jealous lest others should do so to our detriment, for we became determined to keep the Gulf free from any foreign interest which might affect the defence of India. The task was heavy, and in turn we defeated, besides other aggression of various kinds, attempts by the French and the Russians, and finally the Germans, to establish naval bases which would have cut across our sea communications with India. In one sense, however, the task was easier than today, for we had a clear-cut policy known to the world, which may be summed up in Lord Lansdowne's pronouncement in Parliament in 1903:

"We should regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified port by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests and we should certainly resist it by all means in our power."

I would propose now to try firstly to describe briefly the situation in the Gulf in the immediately pre-war years, and secondly, to tell you something of the changed conditions today, and to give you some account of Bahrain, which is now the key of our position.

Well, for many years prior to 1914 we had pursued a policy of entering into exclusive treaties with the Rulers of the Arab Littoral from Kuwait to Aden, in order to ensure that they would not cede territory to any foreign Power which might be used as a base against us. I had the privilege to be present at the signing of the last of this chain of treaties, that of 1916 with Shaikh 'Abdullah bin Qasim al Thani of Qatar, which finally closed the door to such aims. A pleasant incident took place. The Resident produced the fair Treaty and ordered that it should be read to Shaikh 'Abdullah, who stopped the reader and said to the Resident, "Is that exactly what I sealed some months ago?" "Yes," replied the Resident, "these are the fair copies which have been made in Simla." "Oh, well," said the

Shaikh, "you tell me that it is the same and I do not wish it read—I will seal it at once."

Complementary to this chain of exclusive treaties were similar treaties and undertakings in regard to arms traffic, oil, pearling and sponge fisheries, post offices and telegraphs, and quarantine, and these with the policing of the Gulf, lighting and buoying, and a major share of shipping and trade, made our position a strong one. I was present in 1908, and again in 1913, at an exchange of calls between that great Political Officer, the late Sir Percy Cox, who did so much to create and secure that position, and the Persian Governor of the Gulf Ports, who said to Sir Percy on the second occasion, "I must congratulate Your Excellency on having, since I was here last, turned the Persian Gulf into a British Sea." Early in the war German orders to their representatives in the Middle East fell into our hands—they were directed to watch with special attention Sir Percy Cox, to whom the document referred in terms of the highest praise and stated that the Germans could hope to do nothing towards stirring up trouble in India through Persia till they had destroyed the political intelligence system which he had built up.

I am afraid that I have digressed, but I was politically born under Sir Percy Cox, and have always had an unbounded admiration of him and of his work—"Kākus" is and will remain a name of power in the Gulf, especially among the Arabs, who have the deepest respect and affection for his memory.

I think that I should make clear that some of our activities in those days were hardly consonant with the sovereignty of Persia. For example, at one time the Central India Horse had to be sent up to Shiraz, a battalion of Indian Infantry to be stationed at Bushire, and naval facilities were installed at Hanjam Island. But these actions were forced upon us by the very weakness of Persia itself, for the reigning dynasty was effete and the state of the south of Persia was chaotic—while the north was falling more and more into the hands of Russia. At all times our announced and consistent policy was to uphold the independence of Persia.

In these circumstances very heavy responsibilities were thrown upon Sir Percy Cox—indeed, it is hardly too much to say that the administration in the south rested largely upon his help. And I venture to think that we may justly claim that, though the Political Department of the Government of India was sometimes looked upon (and not only by the Persian and Russian Governments) as the root

of all evil, Persia did in truth receive from Sir Percy Cox and his officers very valuable assistance—and Persia always had their whole-hearted sympathy and co-operation in any effort that they made to put their house in order. To look at the matter from the lowest point of view—that of self-interest—the weakness of Persia did not suit us at all, for Russia could always do much more harm to our interests when Persia was weak than when and if she was strong and independent. Though the actions which I have mentioned were consequent on the weakness of Persia at the time, it is easy to understand the feelings to which memory of such developments would give rise in the Iranian official of the new régime; and, if I may here anticipate a future reference to that régime, I would ask our Iranian friends to forget that side of the picture and remember, firstly, our help in the past, which after all kept Iran intact, and, secondly, our present willing recognition of the new structure which is being raised. For example, we have removed the naval station of which I spoke—of our own free will as a gesture of friendship.

In those immediately pre-war days Germany was our great pre-occupation in the Persian Gulf, and it was not easy to defeat her schemes, so actively and powerfully supported by her Government—schemes for a port at Kuwait for the Baghdad Railway—for destroying our trade by her system of pooling expenses and profits among manufacturers, transporters, and retailers, which was so difficult to compete with without Government co-ordination on our side—and by sapping our influence in every possible way. Time does not permit of any detailed account of these German efforts, but one illustration may be useful and also shows how curiously the German sometimes slipped up over detail. Just before war broke out, the afterwards famous Wassmuss was German Consul at Bushire. At a tea-party he asked the Resident for Colonel Knox's initials. Now, Colonel Knox was our representative at Muscat, and Wassmuss had no consular connection with the Arab coast. The Resident telegraphed to Knox asking him if he had had any correspondence with Wassmuss, and, if not, to try and find out why Wassmuss wanted his initials. From this tiny source we unearthed an intrigue to foment trouble among the tribes in the Muscat hinterland, and so to immobilize the Indian troops then at Muscat. Whatever one may think of Wassmuss, one cannot but admire the amazing way in which he worked for his Government. I knew him, and he and I met on a mutual love for Wagner's *Ring*.

Then came the test of war—and our Arab friends (and I include the Shaikh of Muhammareh) stood by us. May I tell you a story illustrating the growth of these friendships? When the great Shaikh Mubarak of Kuwait acceded to the Rulership in a welter of blood, we demurred at the old practice of putting out the eyes of near relatives in order to preclude a counter-rising, but said that we would give them pensions and let them live at Bombay. Not unnaturally Mubarak suspected that we did this merely in order that we might have someone handy to install in the Shaikhdом if it suited us to do so later on, but the years passed by and there grew up a strong friendship and trust between Mubarak and ourselves—and we owe much to such officers as Sir Percy Cox, Shakespeare, and Knox, for it is in such circumstances more the personality of the local officer that counts than the power of his Government. This friendship survived the German intrigues, especially in trying to get a harbour at Kuwait for the Baghdad Railway, and culminated in Shaikh Mubarak's invaluable help at the landing of our troops in the Mesopotamian campaign. You who remember the horrors of DORA, and the difficulties in getting the Defence of India Act through the Legislative Council in Simla will be delighted at Mubarak's parallel legislation. He got up in his coffee *majlis* and, with a look at a Turkish emissary, said, "If I find anyone speaking or acting in any way whatever against the British Government, I shall execute him."

The end of the War found us in complete control of the Persian Gulf, and, partly through war weariness and partly through the pressing need for economy, our position was unfortunately rather taken for granted as something which would continue. But the Persian Gulf is truly a witches' cauldron that is always simmering and frequently boils over. We were quickly called upon to adapt ourselves to very new conditions.

To begin with—in place of Lord Lansdowne's simple and easily understood policy, which, and this is important, we were in a position to make good—we found ourselves guided by an idealistic desire to be friends with everyone, and, paradoxically, without the armaments necessary to give effect to a policy of friendship. I do not criticize this ideal of our policy of disarmament, but I feel that it is well to emphasize how very difficult it is to explain such a policy to the inhabitants of an area like the Persian Gulf who, to a man, go armed, and who live in the realism of the Old Testament—"an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, and for wounds retaliation."

Then there have been local changes in the Persian Gulf area, both political and what I may term mechanical. I will clear the ground first by mentioning the mechanical changes—that is to say, the coming of aircraft, the wide use of motor-cars, and the introduction of the radio with its attendant publicity. Gone beyond recall are the happy days when the local officer dealt with situations as best he could—and I would venture to suggest that he usually did so quite satisfactorily, though possibly with a slight tendency towards “Britain über alles”—now at the smallest crisis the ether quivers with words to and from higher authority. But one thought has always been a great comfort to me—the thought of our successors tormented in the hot weather by the faces of angry Secretaries of State peering at them out of the television! I admit that there are some advantages in a mechanical age—electric fans, ice, and a refrigerator, so that one need no longer fear one’s cook announcing, as mine did once after weeks of tough and skinny fowls, “There will be meat to-day, as a camel has died in the *sug*.”

Aircraft has, of course, revolutionized existence. Apart from getting letters only four or five days from home, I could visit Doha, the capital of Qatar, in forty minutes, instead of some twelve to eighteen hours by sea, and other places to match. Personally, I agree with the Arab view that haste is of the devil, but if one has been born into a mechanical age one may as well get all the use one can out of it. While on this subject, it may interest you to know that Mrs. Dalyell and I made the first night landing by Imperial Airways on the Arab Coast in November, 1932. It was an impressive experience, the landing ground crowded with the Shaikhs and their followers, many carrying arms and all in the dignified Arab dress, and the aeroplane coming down with magnesium flares burning from the wings. I may add that, being good Scots, our luggage included a haggis for St. Andrew’s Day.

Another change is in the matter of official calls. In Bahrain in the good old days the Shaikh used courteously to send his own white donkey, of the famous Bahrain breed, to fetch the Political Agent. Arrayed in full uniform and mounted upon this gaily caparisoned ass I used to proceed slowly through the streets accompanied by a suitable retinue: I had a small switch, and if I wished the donkey to go to the right I tapped his near shoulder, or if I wanted to go to the left I tapped his off shoulder—if I wanted to stop I leant forward and tapped him lightly on the nose. Now I get into my

Daimler car, but though I may have gained in comfort, I have lost romance.

I would like now to dismiss the mechanical changes, only asking you to bear in mind their ever-present effect, good or evil—as you like it—in two words “Speed” and “Publicity.”

To turn to the political changes, of which there are three of paramount importance—the establishment of a strong régime in Iran; Bin Sa‘ud’s creation of Sa‘udi Arabia and the substitution of ‘Iraq for the Turkish power at the west end of the Gulf, and finally, the widespread search for, and in places discovery of, oil.

In Iran an old and effete dynasty has made way for the present Ruler, who has brought about an amazing change in less than two decades. Slowly and surely His Imperial Majesty the Shah is transforming Iran into a modern state, and though naturally difficulties arise and setbacks may be experienced, one cannot but admire the ruler and his work. His Majesty’s most remarkable achievement is the establishment of law and order, and those who knew pre-war Persia will appreciate what this means.

I am now only concerned with the renaissance of Iran in so far as it touches our position in the Persian Gulf, and there, as in Iran as a whole, it is valuable to us, for an Iran able to manage her affairs relieves us of much anxiety and no little responsibility. Her navy looks after her coasts, and her administration no longer depends upon our help. While this development is most satisfactory, it has naturally not been reached without difficulties arising, but we have shown forbearance in these matters and have, in the interests of good relations, removed our naval quarters, stores, and so on from Hanjam Island and Basidu; and have discontinued our post offices and hospitals; we have conformed to new Iranian regulations over flying flags on consulates, and, in short, done all that is possible to fall in with the spirit of the new Iran. I hope and believe that the suspicion of others which often accompanies the re-birth of any nation will give way to a fuller understanding of our position and to cordial co-operation with us.

On the Arab side of the Gulf is the new state of Sa‘udi Arabia, in which law and order has been established to an extent never known in the old Turkish days. I should like, if I may venture to do so, to express my unbounded admiration for Bin Sa‘ud. There are few characters in history who have combined in their persons such courage in a military forlorn hope and such consummate statesmanship when

that forlorn hope had been wrought into a kingdom. Although we have, as must be the case, points of difference, I am sure that friendship between His Majesty and Great Britain will endure, for it is based in the long run on community of interest and on mutual liking and respect. But in both cases, that of Iran and that of Sa'udi Arabia, it would be unwise were we to forget that each has been built up by a dictator—and the time must come when the structure will be tested by the acid test of whether it outlasts its builder. To both has been vouchsafed time and the wisdom to plan for the future—more one cannot well say.

The establishment of the Kingdom of 'Iraq with our air bases maintained there under treaty has removed from the Gulf area the old Turkish territorial pretensions which used to give so much trouble along the Arab Littoral.

A new and disturbing factor has entered the life of the Gulf—oil. For some time all over the Arab Littoral the burning question of the moment has been oil. It all started in Bahrain, where in 1925 a concession was granted to a Major Holmes, who is well known in oil circles for obtaining concessions. Then our oil interests made an unfortunate mistake—they refused to take it up and eventually it went to Standard Oil of California, who have got, so far as can be seen up to date, an amazing field with no pipe line more than, say, five or six miles long and a deep water sheltered anchorage. It seems possible that the oil-bearing belt may extend from Kuwait along the Hasa Coast, and through Bahrain down the Trucial Coast to 'Oman. An Anglo-American Company is exploring in Kuwait, Standard Oil of California has subsidiaries working Bahrain and exploring the east side of Sa'udi Arabia, and British oil interests have concessions in Qatar, Sharjah, and Dibai, and are negotiating in other places along the Trucial Coast. In Bahrain, the Bahrain Petroleum Company have completed a refinery for dealing with 20,000 barrels a day. Oil has been struck both in Kuwait and Hasa, but I do not know how far it has been proved.

The competition for oil is not carried on on philanthropic lines, and is at times over-exciting. I would ask you to imagine, with sympathy, the feelings of that most simple of God's creatures, a Political Officer, when confronted by the Edgar Wallace-like atmosphere of big oil business.

Once, however, as at Bahrain, the contending for a concession had ceased, the Companies proved most anxious to co-operate and

to avoid embarrassing us in local matters. And I should like to take this opportunity of saying how much I appreciated the pleasant relations which existed between ourselves and the officials of the Bahrain Petroleum Company. As you can imagine, things were not always easy—for example, the question arose of compensation for accidents, and really our only guide was the blood-feud. Well, we came to the conclusion that a basis of litigation or even of blood-feud would be hopeless, so gradually there grew up an informal board of the Political Agent and Assistant Political Agent, the Adviser to the Bahrain Government, and the Chief Local Representative and the Field Manager of the Company. We used to meet as soon after any serious accident as we could get definite medical information about the extent of the injury—we took as a general guide the provisions of the Indian Workmen's Compensation Act and modified it on the merits of each case. Payment was then made forthwith through the Bahrain Government. We never had any disagreement, and I do not think that the awards were ever questioned. Apart from official relations, both Mrs. Dalyell and I have the warmest recollections of the friendships which we were privileged to make among all ranks of the Company, both British and American. I hope that our happy experience may be an augury for the success of the closer relations with the United States into which we are entering. As a lighter side of oil, I would like to tell you of a witty saying of His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad of Bahrain. The Company decided to christen the first well the "Edward Skinner Well," after the field manager, and asked the Shaikh to do it. They set up a twenty-foot high oil pipe at the mouth of the boring and proposed to break a bottle of champagne on it—luckily someone realized that they could hardly ask a good Muslim to do such a thing, so the breaking of the bottle was deputed to someone else. As the bottle crashed against the pipe, the pipe shivered and shook, and the Shaikh instantly turned to his followers and said, "Ah! You see what alcohol will do even with a steel tube."

The result of these post-war changes—political, naval, oil, and air—has been to shift the centre of gravity of the Persian Gulf to the Arabian shore, and principally to Bahrain, and I will try to tell you how we have adapted ourselves to these new circumstances.

In the first place, we have moved our naval stores, recreation grounds and so on to Bahrain, where His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad bin 'Isa Al Khalifah permitted us to buy land for this purpose and

also for air facilities. We acquired a very convenient and suitable area on a small promontory at the edge of the Khor Qal'aiyah, which provides our ships with a land-locked harbour with deep water only a few hundred yards from the jetty. It also gives us one of the best seaplane harbours on the eastern route, and not far off on Muharraq Island we acquired also land which provides the most amazing natural aerodrome probably in the world—dead flat congealed sand of a consistency which even flooding with rain does not affect.

His Highness gave his full approval to the proposal and afforded us every help. The burden of acquiring the land fell upon His Highness' Adviser, Mr. Dalrymple Belgrave, and his staff in the Bahrain Government Land Department, and we owe a real debt of gratitude to them for their tactful and kindly handling of their task, which included the actual acquisition of land, in some cases by cash purchase and in others by exchange of land, or a combination of the two methods—and also the settlement of difficult fishing and other rights. I believe that all concerned were fully satisfied, indeed pleased, with their deal, and on our side the cost was most reasonable. We also had the greatest help from the Bahrain Government Engineering Department, under Mr. Steele, in building our officers' mess, canteen, swimming baths, and so on. I would only add in this connection that in his formal communication to me on the subject, His Highness said that he regarded it as an honour to himself and to Bahrain to do anything possible for His Majesty the King. In the Gulf, even in these democratic days, it is to the King's Person that the Rulers look in important matters. When, not long ago, we acceded to His Highness' wishes that the stamps sold in the Post Office (run by the Government of India's Postal Authorities) should be surcharged "Bahrain," His Highness sent me a complete set of the new stamps with the request that they might be sent to His Majesty King George V. as he had heard that the King collected stamps.

While speaking of His Highness, it may interest you to hear his shrewd comment on the fifteen hundred million sterling defence programme—I told His Highness of it and the huge figures, especially when given in rupees, rather puzzled him. He asked, "Does this mean that you will have more warships and aeroplanes than anyone else?" I replied, "Yes, Your Highness, in general terms that is what it means." "Then," said His Highness, decisively, "there will be no war."

We have also arranged with the various Rulers concerned from Kuwait to Muscat (and beyond to Aden) for a chain of emergency landing grounds, for the Royal Air Force and Imperial Airways have used the Arab route to India for some five years, and land regularly at Kuwait, Bahrain, and Sharjah. It was easy to make these arrangements in places like Bahrain and Kuwait, but very much the reverse in such areas as the Trucial Coast and south from Ras al Hadd towards Aden.

Although it takes me outside the Gulf proper, I should like here to digress in order to tell you how much we owe to our distinguished guest of the evening, His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and 'Oman. His Highness is, as you know, an independent Ruler in Treaty relations with His Majesty's Government—indeed, our first treaty with Muscat takes us back to the year 1798. His Highness has always been a good friend of ours, and when the Empire Air Route was being established he at once gave us facilities at Gwadar for Imperial Airways, and later on we found his help invaluable when the Royal Air Force were making their chain of emergency landing grounds and petrol stores along the Arabian Coast from Aden to the Gulf, which involved difficult dealings with wild and ignorant tribes. Later on again, when we wished to withdraw our naval facilities from Hanjam, His Highness gave us cordial permission to install a naval rest base at Khor Quwai at the mouth of the Gulf. In another direction, we have to acknowledge the helpful co-operation of the Sultanate authorities in connection with the suppression of the slave trade. Before returning to my main theme, I would venture to say how honoured I feel at His Highness' presence this evening.

I alluded earlier to our difficulties on the Trucial Coast. Conditions there are not unlike those on our own border in the fifteenth century—indeed, I have found a study of early Scottish history invaluable in helping me to understand their somewhat mediæval ways. A real border incident took place the other day. Two men stole camels and were pursued by the Shaikh concerned. The pursuers came up to the men—and one surrendered, but the second showed fight. He took up a good position from which he could probably have killed at least some of his pursuers—then he suggested a compromise—that the Shaikh and his men should let him have a start of as far as they could see him. Then if they caught him, he would not resist; if not, he got away with the loot. The Shaikh accepted this as a reasonable proposition, and they sat down till he disappeared.

Actually they eventually came up with him and he was wounded—I never heard if he died.

Another yarn—and this may be helpful to the London Police who, I understand, have great difficulty in dealing with night clubs. One of the Shaikhs was going round at night and discovered that against his orders people were gambling in a house after dark; he at once burnt the house—but my informant was at pains to impress upon me that the Shaikh was a very humane man because, before setting the house alight, he had removed the gamblers.

As it is now for us the most important place in the Gulf, perhaps I should tell you something in particular of Bahrain. I first visited Bahrain in 1913, and was there for a time during the War helping to keep up communication with Bin Sa'ud, and I have been there again for the last four years. I have, therefore, myself seen the remarkable changes which have taken place. Shaikh 'Isa, father of the present Ruler, ruled for over fifty years and represented the Gulf of ancient times. If one suggested any improvement, however trivial, he would merely reply, "That is an innovation of which I cannot approve." I confess that I sympathize with him. There is one nice yarn told of his early days, when, on one occasion, he was rescued from trouble by one of our sloops. After two or three days when things had quieted down, he was landed, and as soon as people had got over their surprise at our returning him intact, they said, "Well now—you have been with these English for some days, what do you think of them?" "Oh!" replied Shaikh 'Isa, "they are a very warlike people—why, they are so warlike that they even cut up their food with swords and eat it with spears." I have a very soft spot for the old man, but his rule consisted in extracting all he could from everyone and doing nothing in the way of governing, so that eventually we were forced, in the interests of the people and of foreign subjects (for we are charged by treaty with the foreign relations of Bahrain), to persuade him to abdicate in favour of his son, who became "Deputy Ruler." Shaikh 'Isa died in 1932. His son and successor, His Highness Shaikh Sir Hamad bin 'Isa Al Khalifah, has, with the help of advisers for finance, the customs, and police, completely reorganized the government. At first his efforts were greatly handicapped by lack of funds, for the financial depression in Europe and America had reduced the pearl trade to sore straits, and, as the life of Bahrain centres round the pearl trade, customs duty and other forms of revenue all shrank. The crisis was, however, admirably met

—all the officials had a cut in their salaries and the Ruling Family made an equal cut in their Civil List. But fortunately the development of the oil industry has brought a revenue greater than even that of the palmy days of the pearl trade, and His Highness was quick to put this revenue to good use. The armed police, including sections mounted on camels, have been increased in numbers and better trained, and with their help real law and order has been established. Arms regulations are enforced, not to deprive respectable persons of their arms, but to enable the Bahrain Government to deal with wandering evil-doers and robbers from the mainland. The Law Courts work well and command general respect. Cases in which foreigners are concerned are tried by the Political Agent's Courts and mixed cases by Joint Courts, the highest being His Highness and the Political Agent sitting together.

Of course, court work in those parts of the world is much more paternal and less bound by the letter of the law than in more civilized countries, but I am willing to wager that our average of justice as opposed to law is quite as high.

Some of the cases are quaint—on one occasion long ago an Iranian came into my courtroom (there is free access for anyone) and said, "I have just seen the men who murdered my father in Linge—will you please help me." Now, as you know, Iran puts forward certain claims to Bahrain, and naturally I did not wish to get mixed up in a murder case on the Iranian shore, but in these paternal courts you cannot refuse a man help. So I sent *fidawis* (a kind of Bow Street runner) with him and told him to bring the men along. He came back about an hour afterwards to say that the men had gone off to the mainland and he could not bring them. I breathed a sigh of relief. A month later the man walked in again, "Do you remember me?" With a feeling of horror that the whole business was going to cook up again, I replied, "Yes, I do." "Oh! well!" he said cheerfully, "I followed those men to the mainland and they gave me back the rifle and binoculars that they took from my father, and I have forgiven them for killing him." On another occasion an old man came in and complained against a friend who was sharing his hut for having stolen his gold ring. The friend admitted it, but said he would give it back. I said, "Do you not think that it is a shameful thing to steal from your friend with whom you are living?" "Yes," he replied, "it was beyond measure shameful, but the devil entered into me." "Yes," chimed in the complainant, "the devil

entered into him, it is not really his fault." What *can* one do in such a case? I said, "Well! your friend has admitted that he has done a very shameful thing, but is sorry, and are you prepared to let him still be your friend and live in your house?" "Oh! yes, of course I am." And they went off quite happily hand in hand.

Before oil brought fresh opportunities of employment and good money into the Island, the depressed state of the pearl trade, with its unemployment, and poverty, gave cause for acute anxiety. His Highness has for many years taken a deep personal interest in the condition of the pearl divers, and has done an immense amount to relieve them from the old intolerable circumstances of their calling. In the old days the merchants and nakhudas (or captains of boats) used to keep often fictitious and always increasing accounts against their divers, which in practice, though not technically slavery, bound the diver to his service, and a diver's debt was carried on against his children. Now the old pearling courts, which were really almost a committee of pearl traders, have given place to the Government Courts, and the Bahrain Government insists that each diver has an account book open to inspection, and that any debt dies with him. I cannot tell you the difference that these changes have made in the lives of these poor and ignorant folk. Curiously enough, the very slump which so direly threatened the industry has hastened the reform of the conditions, because the rich man who held the divers in fee has lost his wealth, and every year more and more boats go out to the fishing financed on a share and share basis by the boat captains and divers themselves. I would only add that some of the old owners were good men who treated their divers reasonably, and they have my sympathy in their losses.

While on the subject of courts and law and order, I should perhaps mention that vexed question, slavery. Slavery no longer exists in Bahrain, and the Courts not only refuse to recognise any plea based on the principle of slavery, but punish any case which comes to their notice. Slavery still exists, however, in other places, but, except for occasional cases of the disposal of an individual or two, the trade has long since been stamped out by the vigilance of our ships and officers in seeing that the treaties on the subject are observed. At any time a slave can obtain manumission by placing himself under the protection of the British Political Authorities or of His Majesty's Ships. But although theoretically it is deplorable that one being should "own" another, I think that the domestic slavery system of

Arabia is sometimes rather misunderstood—there *are* cases of maltreatment, but, after all, we in this country have, and need, a society for the prevention of cruelty to children, and the vast majority of slaves have the status of family servant and friend, and, for instance, in a Ruler's family may easily become, so to speak, Prime Minister. They get their food and clothing and a little pocket money, and I do not honestly think that the ethical question of ownership bothers them much. Nowadays, paradoxical as it may seem, I have found that the slave is more concerned the other way, he fears that his master, from financial stringency, may free him and leave him to fend for himself in a hard world. One day our medical officer was sitting in a *majlis* after treating some people, and an old man said proudly, "I have a document from the British Government saying that I am So-and-so's slave." The doctor said that he could not possibly have such a thing as the British Government did not allow slavery, but the old man insisted that he had, and hirkled off to get it. He returned and displayed a manumission certificate. The doctor explained that this document freed him. The old man went into a towering rage. "By God!" he shouted, "you lie—everyone knows that this paper says that I am the slave of So-and-so, and that he must feed me all the rest of my life."

Education is always a difficult problem in the East, and I am glad to say that in the Bahrain schools every attempt is being made to turn out boys (and now girls) with an education directed to enable them to *do* something—for example, motor driving and mechanics, for which there is an opening in the oil field and in the numerous motor launches which ply along the coast.

His Highness is particularly keen that medical help shall be brought within the reach of all his subjects, and just before I left he was pressing on with plans, now made possible by oil royalties, to supplement the Agency and the Arabian Mission Hospitals with a large Bahrain Government Hospital, with a British doctor and lady doctor, and by travelling dispensaries.

Oil royalties have, as I have shown, brought riches and the opportunities for development to Bahrain, but I am glad to say that His Highness has recognized that mineral royalties should not be treated merely as income, and has decreed that one third of the sum received shall be the share of himself and the members of the ruling family, and that two thirds shall be paid into the Bahrain Government Treasury. Steps are being taken by the Bahrain Government

to establish a strong reserve fund and to organize the State and develop the land and agriculture in such a way that, should the oil royalties diminish or fail, the administration will be able to carry on. Bahrain is indeed in a fortunate position in the world—it is protected from outside attack by an ancient treaty with us, it has no debts, for some time to come, a sure revenue, and it has a simple mode of life. I hope that all good fortune may continue to attend my old friend and his Shaikhdom.

To sum up in one sentence—Great Britain has a line of staunch friends in the Rulers of the Arab Littoral, and as long as we retain those friendships we need have little fear for our position in the Persian Gulf.

One more word. I should like to take this opportunity of saying how much we in the Political Service appreciate the help that is given to us by the other Services.

I have carried away from the Gulf the happiest and most grateful memories of the personal kindness and official co-operation which I have received during my time at Bahrain from the Royal Navy, the Royal Air Force, the Merchant Service, and, the last comer to the Gulf, Imperial Airways. And we greatly welcome the interchange of visits, which air communication has made possible, with the officers of the neighbouring Foreign Office posts. In this way each can see something of the other's problems, and it is, I venture to think, a most valuable development. And, finally, it would not be right for me to close without acknowledging the great debt that I owe to my wife. She not only learnt Arabic, but succeeded in making firm friends of the wives of the Ruling Family in Bahrain and also of the Shaikhs along the Trucial Coast. She studiously avoided politics, but the fact of her friendship with their wives was of the highest value to me in my relations with the Shaikhs, for the power behind the veil is immense and cannot be reached by a Political Officer himself.

The Chairman said that as the hour was late he would not suggest a discussion, but thanked the Lecturer and His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and 'Oman for honouring the Society with his presence on this evening.

CENTRAL ASIA

By PROFESSOR W. FILCHNER

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 26, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., in the Chair.

When introducing the lecturer the CHAIRMAN said: There is no need for me to explain to this audience who Dr. Filchner is and what he has done. One of the greatest of Central Asian travellers, he has made great journeys through Asia, on one of which he has spoken already to the Society. His magnificent earth-magnetic calculations are as accurate as if they had been made under the most normal conditions instead of some of the most difficult and abnormal, in intense cold and intense heat, with suspicious and ignorant men round him, ready to see magic and harm in all that was strange to them, travelling in the hardest conditions. He is here to-night to tell us of his latest journey, for which the Leader of his nation has awarded him the National Prize and has accorded him the title of Professor. I will now ask Professor Filchner to speak.

IT is a great honour and pleasure to me to have the privilege of giving to this distinguished assembly a report of my last expedition to Central Asia. It also gives me a welcome opportunity to fulfil the obligation of expressing my warmest thanks to all those persons and organizations without whose help my travels could never have been carried out. To the explorer who makes his investigations in remote regions of the earth, often in danger of losing his life, often under adverse and enervating influences of country and climate, carrying out explorations and surveys which to the general public do not appear to be serving any useful or necessary purpose: to the explorer in particular, I say, it is a solace to realize that in his self-imposed solitude he is remembered by friends and well-wishers in civilized countries, and enjoys their protection and help.

Allow me, very briefly, to explain my scientific programme. During my first expedition in the years 1926 to 1928, I carried the surveyor's chain through the far western province of Sin-kiang, and through Tibet. The various stations were fixed astronomically at intervals of fifteen to twenty-five miles by geographical latitude and longitude, and their height above sea-level was determined. This first work was always followed by long hours at the magnetic theodolite, measurement of the magnetic elements at the fixed points, that is to say their declination, inclination, horizontal and vertical intensity. In addition, I was able at some points to carry out repeat measure-

ments, which could be used in connection with the secular variation, that is the investigation of the gradual change of the magnetic elements.

A glance at the map of Asia shows the route followed on the Expedition I made in 1926 to 1928. It started at Tashkent, passing via Kuldja-Tihwa (now Urumchi)—Hami—Suchow to Lanchow, the capital of the province of Kansu. It proceeded thence westwards to the Koko-Nor, entered Tibet, turned southwards to the eastern edge of the great Tsaidam swamp, over the Burkhan Buddha to Nag-chu-ka, one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Lhasa. It then led westwards to Leh in India on a difficult winter march via Shentsa-dzong and Gartok. An essential condition for the accuracy of the measurements was the comparison of my instruments with the standard instruments in Potsdam, Niemegh, and the Survey of India at Dehra Dun.

The results of the observations of that expedition, which are now available in tabulated form, show, amongst other things, that the Koko-Nor region is intersected by the zero Isogen, that is, it is a zone in which the declination changes over. The data further warrant the conclusion that, concurring with the results of barometric readings, the heavy Tibetan primitive mountains, rich in magnetite, lie at great depth. Finally, the data will be of practical use to aviation, engineering and mining.

The 1,750 mile long route took the form of a loop, and the results obtained by me were restricted to one line only; whereas I required data for the whole area of Central Asia. This necessitated my second expedition, which kept me there from 1934 to 1937. From Lanchow I followed a straight course from East to West, and midway across the loop of the first expedition, mainly from Lanchow westwards.

I left Berlin in May, 1934, and arrived at Dehra Dun in September in order to carry out my connecting surveys with the assistance of Colonel Thompson and his staff, and to compare the highly sensitive measuring instruments with the standard instruments of the Survey of India.

At the turn of 1934-35 I arrived at Shanghai. My application to the Chinese Foreign Ministry for permission to travel to Kansu, Ching-hai (Tibet) and Sin-kiang was refused, on the grounds that the Provincial Governments were not in a position to guarantee protection for foreign travellers. As a matter of fact at that time serious political tension existed in the districts which I had chosen for my observations. Kansu and Ching-hai reported numerous raids on

caravans by robber bands, fighting between Chinese soldiers and Bolshevik bands in Szechuan, rebellions in Cherchen, Khotan and Tihwa. This was not very cheerful news. However, I waited patiently and after months had elapsed received my reward. In July the Chinese Foreign Office gave me a passport for Kansu.

At the beginning of September all my preparations were completed. Twenty-seven stout cases held my equipment: medicine chest, presents, books, writing materials, soap, etc, and, in addition, surveying instruments, including astronomical and magnetic theodolites, a galvanometer, an earth-inductor, eight chronometers and a short-wave receiving set to enable me to pick up the time signals of powerful American and European stations and thus synchronise my clocks. A member of the Academia Sinica sealed my belongings. I was inoculated three times against spotted fever, and on the 15th September I travelled to Sian-fu via Suchow. The Governor of the Province, Shau-li-tse, told me that I should have difficulty in getting through as fighting was going on on the main road to Lanchow. However, as air traffic was not interrupted, I booked accommodation for myself and the measuring instruments. The aeroplane crossed the battle-zone at a height of 12,000 feet, and covered the 220 miles between Hsin-gan and Lanchow in two and a half hours. My luggage, which was taken over by military motor transport, arrived four weeks later in the capital of Kansu on the very day that I nearly lost my life when the local ammunition dump blew up. Bishop Buddenbrock, of the Steyler Mission at Lanchow, who had hospitably received me years before, did so again on this occasion, and placed at my disposal a cottage to live in, and to carry out the first extensive survey. The mission is located in the south-western quarter of the town. Just as the lorries arrived from the station yard with my baggage, and the Chinese soldiers had stacked the cases under my supervision, a frightful detonation occurred which shook the earth. It suddenly became dark, while dust and smoke enveloped shouting, helpless men. Stones and beams fell round us from the air. The ammunition depot of the town had blown up. It lay 300 yards away from the mission, just outside the city wall. Owing to the force of the explosion, the mission church partly collapsed; there were gaping crevices in the thick walls surrounding the yard, the doors and windows of my habitation were blown out and flew, like so much paper, across the yard. Scarcely anyone in the mission had escaped unhurt. All the soldiers assisting me in the yard had bleeding heads and hands. My short-wave

receiving set was damaged and rendered useless by the hail of stones. The chronometers refused to go. I myself in the midst of the débris remained unhurt as by a miracle. The town of Lanchow had suffered still more terribly. The first of the series of photographs taken of that evening give some impression of the extent of the destruction: rubbish, lumps of stone, beams and boards torn to shreds, and amidst the wreckage a large, undamaged figure of the Buddha. The south-east portion of the outer town had collapsed like a house of cards and buried, it was estimated, two thousand people. One hundred and fifty elders from the settlements in the district of Lanchow had assembled in the temple to attend a course in fortification and defence. It was ruined, and they all perished.

Ching-hai was my first important objective. In January, 1936, I left Lanchow, travelling westwards up the Sining-ho, a tributary of the Huang-ho; and after a twelve-day march arrived at the strongly fortified Sining, the sally-port to Tibet. Bishop Buddenbrock placed an interpreter at my disposal, who went with me to Khotan and Leh. In former years I had spent many days within the walls of this town, which is old, and has suffered numerous sieges, fires, famines and riots, and has seen streams of blood flowing in bitter struggles between Believers and Unbelievers.

At Tang-kar, a day's journey to the west of Sining, I formed my caravan, hired and bought camels, hired Mongols as watchmen, and people from Tang-kar as servants and drivers. They were an unreliable mob, as was proved only too soon. Tibetan women sewed tents for me and roasted 30 cwt. of *Tsamba*—i.e., barley meal. In addition, I purchased sugar, dried apricots, and tea in tablet form. Twenty-four beasts of burden carried the loads. A new short-wave receiving set, which I had ordered by telegram from the coast, arrived at the last minute. In Sining the Civil Governor, Ma of Ching-hai, issued a pass for me for his district, and gave me as escort on my way four strong Muhammadan giants in green uniform.

In the middle of April, 1936, the caravan was ready, and on the last day of the month the trek westward started. In accordance with ancient Asiatic marching rules, the animals of the caravan trot one behind the other in a long column. On each load there was a white triangular label with a Chinese inscription stating that we were travelling under Government protection. That is certainly not a "tabu" and scarcely means more to the roving bands than a particle of dust to be flicked off with the finger.

As I was always liable to be recalled to Nanking, I tried to place as much country as possible between us in the shortest possible time. In forced marches we skirted the Koko-Nor to the north, crossed over the south Koko-Nor mountains, and in six days reached Tsakha, a hamlet consisting of twenty farmsteads, housing a Muhammadan "General," and two dozen soldiers, besides Tibetans, Mongolians and Chinese merchants. Here, some of my servants and drivers had already had enough. They complained, and finally mutinied. The beginning and end of my journey were spiced with dangerous mutinies: stubborn, hostile, knavish and dangerous servants kept me constantly on tenterhooks, compelled me to keep watch at night armed, or bring guides to reason by cunning and trickery, since I was unfortunately dependent on them. I admit that I was obliged to resort to legal proceedings, and to have deserters recaptured.

The Mandarin of Tsakha, Manager of the Salt Office, an energetic, influential official, rendered me most valuable service, drove away three people, and gave orders to the competent judge, the Mandarin of Dulan, to punish the rebels. This was carried out very promptly and drastically by flogging and imprisonment.

Apart from the trouble with rebellious men in our own camp, there was the danger of surprise attacks by Tibetan robbers. When taking leave of Tsakha, the Mandarin gave me the cheerful information that caravans of an official character, which must have been directly behind us, had been ambushed in the Koko-Nor district. Shot Chinese salt officials and officers, wounded women and children, and burnt encampments marked the sad route.

Although China in the region of the Koko-Nor is slowly and steadily forcing its way westwards, in 1936 the influence of Nanking was scarcely noticeable in those parts of Mongolia about West Tsaidam, through which I journeyed. Mounted detachments of Muhammadan soldiers patrolled the Tsaidam from their garrison towns of Sining, Tsakha, Dzun and Dulan, rounded up horses and bought camel-hair. As they were fond of requisitioning on their own account, and imposed fines and filled their own pockets with enforced levies, they scarcely enjoyed a good reputation among the Tsaidam Mongols, and they were more hated than respected.

Dulan, five days' journey to the west of Tsakha, is the outermost Chinese outpost. Westwards of Dulan there are no more Chinese garrisons. However, the magnificent Mandarin of Dulan is a mighty

man. Thirty thousand people, mostly Mongols, are subject to him and his influence can be felt up to the water-shed to the west of the Ajak-kum-köl, that is, a distance of more than 620 miles. An example which shows how might and authority depend on the superior force of personality, for in Gobi (Kurlik), in Dzun, Barun and Teijinar, Mongol princes reside as direct chiefs of the tribal units. Of these, judged by rank and dignity, the Prince of Gobi (Kurlik) is undoubtedly the most important. But even the Prince of Gobi complies without a murmur with the wishes and decrees from Dulan or Sining. Only the Mongol Prince of Teijinar, the Wang-ye of Arakshatu in West Tsaidam, being farthest out of reach, seemed to yield only under compulsion to the might of Sining and Dulan, and to make up to the Soviets.

The Mandarin of Dulan, who came to my assistance in my caravan troubles, and took very strong measures, had five mutineers taken off to Sining, placed the ringleader under lock and key after giving him a severe Chinese flogging, and procured fresh drivers for me, besides giving me a letter of introduction to the Prince of Gobi, so as to lend the necessary support in carrying through the difficult negotiations which buying additional camels would entail. We left Dulan, and travelled over undulating country intersected by ravines in the direction of Golmo-Gobi, passing along a chain of dried-up lakes, on the swampy banks of which we sighted wild horses, wolves, hares, magpies and wild geese.

After a great deal of bargaining, I obtained at Gobi twenty strong camels from the Prince at a reasonable price. At the beginning of June we turned southwards over hitherto unexplored territory, climbed over an easy pass, and, after a last halt at a tiny spring, descended waterless slopes and passed through dry valleys to the eastern edge of the Tsaidam.

It presented a swampy plain as far as the eye could reach, and was about the size of Ireland. The horizon was a straight line. Only hunters and shepherds know the paths which lead to the southern edge. The Tsaidam is feared and avoided by caravans in summer, but in winter, when the treacherous bogland is frozen as hard as stone, there is a considerable amount of traffic. Small rivers, scarcely four to five yards wide, discharge turbid, brackish water into the swamp. They took us hours to negotiate, as the camels sank up to their girths in the bottomless clay beds. My drivers dragged the animals through the water with ropes, tied their legs together on the other bank, and

then rolled the helpless bodies on to dry ground, a procedure which exhausted both man and beast.

After days of miserable wanderings we reached the oasis of Tenkelik on the south edge of the Tsaidam. Here we found bush-forests and rich pastures, clear water and wood. A long rest renewed our strength. But it also blessed us with another mutiny. For days past it had been stirred up by Chang, a servant engaged at Dulan. The only reliable Mongol, who had been my guide from Gobi, remained loyal to me and frequently gave me timely warning of impending attacks. Chang, the evil spirit of the expedition, the chief mutineer, was a regular little devil, unrivalled in constantly devising petty annoyances, insubordinations and plots, and at the same time the most skilful driver of my pack animals, a man with a wonderful understanding of camels, and therefore almost indispensable to me. He deserted, and I had him recaptured. He struck work, and I compelled him to obedience with revolver in hand, up to Arakshatu. That was 140 miles' trek through dunes, steppes, tamarisk forests and swamps along the northern foot of the Marco Polo mountains. Daring ruffians provided distraction, and enormous swarms of mosquitoes added their share to enlivening the march. An unpleasantly large kind of tormentor; their stings are very painful and they made work a torture during the long hours at the measuring instruments. The animals suffered terribly and some of them succumbed to the persistent tormenting of these blood-suckers.

The reception accorded us by the Prince of Teijinar, who had pitched his camp at Arakshatu on the western edge of the Tsaidam, was not only very cool, it was even frosty. He showed openly his dislike for foreigners. Nevertheless, he was anxious to get modern rifles and ammunition from me. My impression, that he lacked the human qualities which his colleague at Gobi possessed to such a high degree, was strengthened by the remarks of his ministers and councillors, who were by no means fond of him. A white-bearded minister, who was kindly disposed towards me, willingly allowed himself to be photographed so that I could add to my small collection of characteristic Asiatic heads.

Another whom I photographed was a man wanted by the Soviets. His name was Borodishin, a White Russian who had once been a staff officer to General Anenkoff, fled in 1917 from Russia from the Red rulers, and for nineteen years had lived in Central Asia and led a miserable existence as manager of a store at Arakshatu. His most

ardent desire was to obtain a passport, his goal was England or the United States of America. He spoke Chinese, Sardi and Mongolian fluently, was liked by the Mongols, and had a wonderful knowledge of the country. He accompanied me up to the water-shed between Ayak-qum-köl and the Cherchen Darya. For the exceptional services which Borodishin rendered me I wished to recompense him with a neutral passport, which I hoped to obtain in Europe; unfortunately so far I have tried without success.

Pleased to have the Tsaidam behind us, we turned south-west towards the mountains in August, 1936. In the valley of Chölak-Akkan we ascended to pass over a flat depression between Alessun and Dacherukte; to reach the basin of the Ayak-qum-köl, the "lower Sand lake," which has no outlet. Rain had fallen and had swollen the river so that it was now a rushing, roaring torrent. The Chölak-Akkan, at the place where it leaves the mountains to flow through the desert belt to the western edge of the Tsaidam, has steep, often perpendicular, banks, 60 to 120 feet in height, which give the bed a canyon-like character. Occasionally in these wild gorges the river eats away the track and makes it dangerous, so that our camels had to be unloaded to enable us to lift and push them past projecting rocks that barred the way. Falling rocks from the flanks of the mountain endangered the caravan, but with remarkable sure-footedness both in ascending and descending, the animals successfully negotiated the pass over the gigantic ravine of the Chölak as far as Mussuto, after eight tiring days' march. There would be an occasional halt for a beneficial rest in that lonely world of mountains. While I was carrying out the magnetic measurements the Mongols would sit in the sand, twisting woollen cords into leading-ropes for the camels and mending the harness. The high steppe of Mussuto is a plain which has attracted Turkis, Mongols and Tibetans for years. They dig for gold here with moderate success. Even the loose sand on the surface contains gold-dust.

We moved on to Issik-Pakte, a place in the land of the Turkis, south of the Columbus range, and already located in the basin of the Ayak-qum-köl. Issik-Pakte is at the mercy of a small political display of military force, as there are differences of opinion concerning the course of the frontier. Here, Ching-hai endeavours to maintain its influence; the Tungan State of Khotan does the same, and numerous incidents prove that neither of the two states thinks of abandoning its claim. Now, however, the frontier is drawn much too far east on the

maps. Actually the region in which the source of the Cherchen Darya is situated, that is the water-shed to the east of Kasuk-Kakte Bulak, represents the boundary between the Tungan State and Ching-hai (Tibet).

Having arduous marches before us through the desert zone of northern Tibet, along the bank of the Ayak-qum-köl, marches which were rendered far more difficult by the high altitudes in which they took place, I left a good part of my stock of food at Issik-Pakte so that almost half the twenty beasts of burden could march unloaded. The Ayak-qum-köl is a salt lake. It lies more than 100 feet higher than the summit of the Gross Glockner. Sven Hedin sailed on it in 1900 and sounded its shallow depths. We travelled along the north bank towards the west.

At Yailak-sai we encountered Sardi hunters who gave us none too cheerful news. The frontier guard-posts had been withdrawn from Khotan to Kara-chuka. Charkhlik was in the hands of the Bolsheviks. Khotan and Cherchen were being bombed by Bolshevik aeroplanes, and the inhabitants of these towns were fleeing into the mountains. My companion, Borodishin, did not feel like putting his head into the lion's mouth. He returned to the Tsaidam. I, however, was inclined to discredit the accuracy of eighty per cent. of the reports, and to continue my march to Cherchen. We approached the watershed between Ayak-qum-köl and the Cherchen-Darya, and now looked back on the wide and shallow ascending valley which extends towards Gass-kül. After crossing small streams, which scarcely filled a hundredth part of their boulder-strewn beds, and gave indications of enormous quantities of water flowing at other times, we climbed the watershed and descended the Cherchen-Darya. At Kara-chuka the first reports of the Sardi hunters proved to be rumours without any real foundation. The reported frontier-post was not there, and I was glad to miss it. Sometimes we followed the river over rubble slopes and low passes, at other times the bottom of the deep-cut bed was our road towards the west. Steppe and waterless deserts had to be crossed, and the skeletons of camels showed us the way which was one day to lead us from depressing dead solitudes into the animated world of man and beast, trees, grass and springs. Bash-malghun was the oasis which, after a time of deep loneliness, gave us abundance, and appeared to us like a garden of Allah: Bash-malghun, the first Sardi settlement. Wells and rich pastures, a friendly welcome from the Aksakal of the place; rest, recuperation after strenuous marches, and

sheep roasted whole on a spit. All these gracious gifts were offered to us, the grateful guests. Beautiful, unveiled women, with regular features and almond-shaped eyes, brought us milk and butter. We were surprised by the un-Asiatic character of these people, who did not appear to be closely related by race either to the Mongols, the Tibetans or the Chinese. One is indeed tempted to class them with a European race, perhaps the Ostyaks.

On September 28th we left this hospitable place. We still had to surmount a very steep and rugged crag which separated us from Cherchen. The mountains sweep round the Cherchen-Darya in a wide curve to the south-west, and to shorten the way we decided to take the road leading right through the mountains. The short, steep passes made very heavy and exhausting going for the caravan, and I was greatly relieved when our cavalcade crossed the water-shed and we began the descent into a gently sloping little valley leading towards Muna-bulak and the plain of Cherchen.

The oasis of Cherchen is visible on the horizon for hours to travellers approaching it, and I was very uneasy as to how we should be received there. But my doubt was soon dispelled. The Aksakal of Bash-malghun had sent a messenger in advance to announce our arrival. On October 7th a troop approached us, led by an old man with a white beard. The men dismounted, saluted us in Mussulman fashion, and approached us. The leader was the British Aksakal of Cherchen, an Afghan and a perfect gentleman. He assured me that he had been waiting for the caravan for months. The British Consul-General at Kashgar had enjoined him to give us protection, help and advice to the best of his ability, and he, the Aksakal, made it a point of honour to do so. How glad I was to hear this message! Instead of mutiny and worry, peace and quiet awaited me and my work, a proper roof over my head and a refuge with kind people. I have seldom entered a town with such joy as I did Cherchen on October 7th, 1936. One of the most difficult parts of the journey was overcome, in spite of all hardships, and I no longer doubted that I should reach Khotan and Leh, and thus finish my expedition according to plan.

For forty days I was a guest in the house of the Aksakal. I went to see Selling, the general of the Tungan frontier garrison, and asked him to help me obtain a permit to proceed to Khotan, which could only be procured from the Padishah of Khotan. The latter made his authority felt by keeping me waiting six weeks for his decision.

Then I received the favourable reply that I might proceed to his capital. I even received permission to carry out my magnetic observations and to use a short-wave receiving set.

It seemed as if fate were anxious to teach us a lesson, and completely refute the reports of the Sardi hunters, which had forced Borodishin to return to Tsaidam. The Asiatic winter had already announced its arrival when we struck our tents in November, 1936, to leave Cherchen. My caravan had dwindled considerably, and my humble baggage bore no resemblance to the heavy loads a merchant's caravan usually carries. In addition, a strenuous march lay ahead of us, through sand and steppe, along the ancient road which ran by the Kuen-Lun mountains to the south-west. I reckoned it was a forty-days' march to Khotan. And yet that march resembled a little triumphal procession. At all the places we passed through crowds thronged to see us. In Chira we were greeted by a triumphal arch. Local dignitaries appeared in festive attire. Tables laid out with presents and choice dishes awaited us. In Keriya we were received by the most dashing general of the Tungan army, with open arms and wool-lined officers' jackets. His bodyguard and his quartermaster proudly told us what a reckless soldier the General was, and how he was an intimate friend of the Padishah of Khotan. This intelligence was very gratifying, and led me to paint in advance a rosy picture of my stay in Khotan. The bodyguard were interested in my astronomical instruments. They put their caps on sideways to enable them to enjoy an unobstructed view when looking through the telescope, and were as pleased as children at the movements of the sun in the field of the telescope.

Four days before Christmas, with the air of people who owned the world, we entered Khotan. The British Aksakal of the city received us very hospitably, and gave me and my interpreter a very nice room. We were at once announced to the Padishah, Ma-Ho-Shan, the head of the Tungan State, a well-built young man of about twenty-eight, well-groomed and with charming manners. During my first audience on the following day I felt he was well-disposed to us, which would certainly mean a pleasant stay in the capital. In the meantime the Padishah must very soon have found out that our passports were not in order. They were indeed valid for Tsing-hai (Tibet) but not for Sin-kiang. I had travelled many hundreds of miles on the strength of these doubtful documents, and knew only too well that one day they would be challenged. The courteous attitude

changed to one of considerable coolness, and I had an unpleasant feeling that this was about the end of all the benefits and recognition I had received. This threatening change was accelerated by a most untimely incident. The next night one of the highest Tungan officers was murdered quite near to our house. It was a political murder, and we, being newly arrived foreigners, were suspected of complicity in the crime. An officer brought us the order, couched in the sharpest possible terms, to leave Khotan immediately. Some hours afterwards the order was countermanded. During the night my camels were confiscated, and on Christmas Day we found ourselves prisoners in an inn, with barred windows and locked doors. Amidst this disaster one comfort remained to me; my notes, which I had often made under most difficult circumstances, were left me. But I was not allowed to do any measuring, write any letters, or take photographs. I now had months of leisure in which to work out my scientific results. Indeed, I even managed, with the greatest secrecy, to continue using my short-wave receiving set, an experiment which involved risking our lives, for had I been discovered we should have been given a short shrift and a long rope as Public Enemies No. 1!

Two Tungan officers were detailed to guard us day and night. They were men of lofty ideals who did not approve of violent measures, and made it clear that the Padishah was a just man, but not a ruler holding the reins of government firmly in his hands. He was surrounded by advisers who were both ambitious and hostile to all foreigners, and their intrigues were too much for him. As a matter of fact the Padishah was later overthrown, and, by the irony of fate, reached India as a refugee at the same time as I reached my goal of Srinagar.

At the end of January, 1937, my interpreter fell very ill with typhus and inflammation of the lungs. One of the officers guarding us, whom I had christened "the Gorilla" because of his enormous physical strength, nursed the sick man with touching care as well as he could. The chief inspector, Fu-kwan-shan, an unpleasant toady, refused to allow any medical aid or medicine. On March 1st the British Consul from Kashgar, Mr. Gillet, arrived with a doctor just in time to save his life.

We were bitterly tormented for a long time by the insecurity of our position: What were they going to do with us? and why were we not released? Our cup of misery was filled to the brim when the two officers were relieved by a new man, a devil in human form,

who made our life a hell. At the end of July, 1937, after seven months' confinement, we were suddenly released—that is to say, we were driven off with the words, "Clear out and be quick about it!"

Before I begin the description of the last stage of my journey, from Khotan, *via* Karakoram to Srinagar, allow me to describe briefly the political situation in 1936 and 1937 in Khotan and the Tungan area. In a word, it was an utter confusion caused by the clash of three opposing movements: union with Soviet Russia, loyalty to China, and finally, a group eager for an independent, autonomous state. The Chinese faction was the strongest. The Chinese national festivals and public holidays were strictly observed. The Padishah himself was regarded as a loyal adherent of Nanking, and often emphasized the fact that, as Commander of the 36th Chinese Division, he followed the instructions of Nanking unconditionally. With some psychological skill he had managed to select reliable and loyal generals, and appointed them as military commanders of the most important garrisons in the country. These were men like the energetic Selling of Cherchen and Liu-chang (with the rank of brigadier) in Keriya, the dashing officer who had met me on my entering the town. Only the west and the north of Sin-kiang had emancipated itself from the authority of Khotan. In Urumchi (Tihwa), for instance, the power was in the hands of a committee of three, composed of a Chinese, a Soviet Russian and a Turki.

The Padishah maintained communication with China, particularly with Suchow and Sining, by means of military couriers, who travelled in mufti and at the same time engaged in opium smuggling as a side-line. How hard the Padishah strove to build up a good fighting force was shown by the arms he had supplied, and the numerous manœuvres he conducted in person. On July 13th I was present at a night exercise. The east side of the Khotan fortress was to be stormed. Howitzers were placed on the top of the city wall, and live shells were fired across Khotan. There were both dead and wounded. On their way back from these exercises the troops sang or recited in chorus. The barracks in Khotan, as indeed throughout the Tungan State, were clean and habitable. In Keriya I saw very good parade grounds and athletic grounds with very high escalading walls. There the cavalry, mounted on white horses, exercised. Some of the troops played baseball enthusiastically. The infantry wore uniforms of grey or green material with name tabs on the left breast, leather or cloth boots anvas valises with rolled great-coats strapped on, peaked caps,

and carried spades, water-bottles and Russian, English or German rifles. The infantry wore red collar-badges, the cavalry yellow, and the artillery blue. Gun-detachments, machine-gun companies, and bombers all existed in the very heart of Asia. They seemed inclined to emulate European rearmament. There was, of course, no thorough military training, as already in the early summer large bodies of young troops and equipment had moved to the west and south. Soon rumours were current of heavy casualties caused by the Bolshevik hand-grenade attacks. The city began to lose its confident air of victory. Soldiers deserted, and many who were caught were publicly beheaded. Day and night, police and military patrols guarded the streets. The hostile feeling against foreigners, above all against Europeans, increased, and insults and abuse were not uncommon. As long as operations in the west continued, trade of every kind was at a standstill and prices soared.

On July 5th, 1937, we read the following official notice in Khotan : "Order has been restored, merchants may travel where they please." On July 9th, the Padishah returned at the head of his troops, and was received in triumph by the population. Shortly afterwards he left Khotan with his staff, and travelled by motor-car to Kashgar, very much to the astonishment of the inhabitants. Some weeks later, in Leh, I heard that the Padishah had arrived in Srinagar as a refugee.

I do not know how strongly developed Russian influence is to-day in Khotan. That it was steadily increasing from 1936 to 1937 was clear to many observers. The Soviet Union maintained a trading station in Khotan, and also had a local agent of the O.G.P.U. there. Five Soviet Russians, four officers and one medical officer, were already serving in the Khotan army. That there were Bolshevik advances taking place through Sin-kiang towards India was discovered by Tungan frontier officials, who seized large quantities of Soviet Russian propaganda, concealed in bales of goods in caravans going south. We ourselves had to negotiate later on with Kirghiz soldiers at Sanju Davan, who were registered at Tashkent as members of the Communist Party.

"Clear out! and be quick about it." With these kind words we had been set free to take the mountain road towards the south. This was on July 27th. I made all preparations without delay—there being no time to lose as the road is impassable in winter. Even in summer there are dangers in plenty. It is a "via dolorosa" and a "pathway of death" which, year by year, takes its heavy toll of man and beast by

snowstorms, avalanches, landslides, mountain-sickness and exhaustion. Skeletons of yaks, camels, horses, donkeys and sheep are the frightful milestones along the road, and cairns of rough stones cover the bodies of dead travellers and drivers. The road traverses a truly grandiose landscape. It climbs passes 15,000 feet in height, it crosses glaciers and regions of perpetual snow, follows the pebbly beds of mountain streams, and winds through rocky clefts so narrow that two pack animals cannot pass each other. The road has not been constructed according to plan. It has come into existence, just like all the great caravan routes of Central Asia, in the course of thousands of years. Only here and there has the hand of man laid bridges over streams, on which the traveller sets foot with mixed feelings; rocks have been hewn away, and the sides of the path supported by a wall of loose flat stones. The caravans take wool, carpets and skins to Leh, where they are exchanged for household articles for East Turkestan; they convey tools from China, tinned foods from Russia, and bicycles from Japan. Attempts have been made to use motor vehicles on the caravan roads, but the enterprise is a hopeless one, because in the face of such obstacles as nature has there set up the skill of the engineer avails nothing.

All our camels had died of exhaustion, and I had become so poor that I could only just afford the luxury of hiring a few donkeys and their owners as guides as far as Sasar, near the British-Indian frontier.

My first objective was Sanju, the headquarters of a Tungan general, who was in charge of the police patrol along the Indian frontier. At the foot of the pass are enormous slabs of limestone standing on end. The path did not lead straight upwards, but alternately descending and ascending, it wound its way through the mountains: there was first a sudden climb, then a steep drop down a gully full of boulders and stones, then we emerged for a brief respite into a broad valley, and finally, after traversing fantastic chasms and ravines, the path hurled itself upwards in dizzy bends to the Sanju Pass itself, which lies more than 700 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc. Each year takes its toll of thousands of horses, yaks and donkeys, and to the north as well as to the south, we came upon whole fields of skeletons, and the bodies of dead animals which had been washed down into the valley by the rushing water when the snows melted. At sight of them our animals shied and trembled violently.

We reached the Yurung-kash, at times an impassable torrent, with-

out any mishap. Its banks slope upwards sometimes at an angle of 70 degrees. In one part, high above the bed of boulders, a path had been made out of the fallen rocks. We followed the Yurung-kash along a broad, almost sterile valley, and on August 20th, 1937, crossed the Karakash by a light, swaying bridge, just above the point where the Shahidulla stream flows into it. The next day we reached the Tungan frontier guards at Yamen. Our passports allowed us to cross the frontier, and with light hearts we shook the dust of Sin-kiang from our feet and banished from our minds the dismal memories of our sufferings. India received us within its borders. The story of our passports did not lack its humorous side. When the hour of our deliverance dawned, last July, my interpreter and I were informed that there was no objection to our departure, provided we signed a declaration to the effect that the authorities who had detained us in Khotan were in no way to blame for our arrest. Neither were they to be held responsible in the event of our perishing on the way to India! We did not argue the matter, but signed, sealed and delivered the instrument.

After crossing the Suget-Davan we descended into the romantic valley of the Qizil-Yar. There, where the gleaming snow-topped peak of a rocky pyramid closed the end of the valley, the rocky ground forced the path up along the dizzy heights of the mountain wall. Down below thundered the mountain stream. The donkeys picked their way carefully and daintily, as though realizing that the slightest slip would mean certain death.

An obstacle which delayed us for hours was the Komdan Darya (river), which was swollen above the normal level. Two Ladakhi pilots helped us safely to the other side.

In the lofty mountain nest of Sasar we were forced to make a few days' halt. Already on the Sanju Davan it had become clear that we should have to keep a watchful eye on our donkey driver. He made several attempts on my interpreter's life, and at Sasar he quietly deserted us during the night. This was a severe blow, for there we were with all our baggage in the Himalayas, the Indian authorities still far away, and we had to set our teeth to keep ourselves from yielding to despair. However, one of the river pilots of the Komdan Darya came to our rescue. He rode on to Panamik with the interpreter and returned with pack-animals.

The closer we approached to the little town of Leh the more the road improved. We climbed up to Khardong and its monastery.

The inhabitants live in a very unfertile district, and yet they manage to conjure up fields of grain out of the stony bed of a desolate hollow among the mountains by means of skilful irrigation. From Khardong we proceeded smoothly and without undue delay towards our goal. We entered Leh before the first winter storms began to rage, and met with the same kind reception from the British Resident in Srinagar, the Charras officer in Leh, and the Moravian Mission, and the same loving care as I had experienced ten years before when I arrived as a beggar in the grim winter, from the East, from Tibet.

After eight days' refreshing rest, which were occupied with magnetic observations, we continued our march to cover the last stage of our journey. We went *via* Lamayuru, by the monastery of Moulbek, which, like monasteries in the mountain districts of India and Tibet, is built fortress-like on inaccessible rocky heights, to serve as shelter and defence against robbers or insurgent mountain tribes. On October 2 we entered Srinagar.

Whilst I was still a day's journey from Srinagar, the German Consul-General, Count Podewils, and his son and daughter, rode out to meet me and informed me, on behalf of the *Führer*, that I had been awarded the German National Prize. I was very pleased; but I was quite aware—and this I would like to stress—that this high award is equally due to all those who, through unselfish sacrifice, have helped me to complete my programme and bring the expedition to a successful end.

I feel that I cannot conclude this lecture without expressing my sincere and heartfelt thanks, due in equal measure to all institutions, friends, and well-wishers, both in England and in other countries. And I should also like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Birkett, of the British Embassy in Berlin, for having very kindly translated my lecture into English.

It is a great gratification to me to be able to speak in London, and to testify to the fact that, above all, it was due to the British authorities, who favoured me with their invaluable and indispensable support, that my travels were successfully completed, and that they were *Englishmen* who helped me and took my part to an extent beyond all praise: men of high character whose friendship, I am proud to say, I still enjoy.

It is my conviction that the bonds which link man to man, and which will continue to be forged a thousandfold in many places between Englishmen and Germans, have stood the test, and that they

will last and be a blessing to the relations between two great nations. (Applause.)

A MEMBER: Can you tell us whether the "Little General," Ma Chung-ying, has returned to Sin-kiang?

Mr. E. M. GULL: I think that perhaps I can throw some light on the question that has just been asked, a question which bears not only on Sin-kiang but on Kansu also. Ma Chung-ying has quite recently returned to Sin-kiang. Such, at all events, was the information telegraphed to *The Times* by its Delhi correspondent last February. It is anticipated, too, that he will be followed by his half-brother, Ho-shan. The striking fact about this is that, whereas a little while ago, Ma Chung-ying was an opponent of the Chinese authorities he has now apparently proceeded to Kansu, there to throw in his weight against the Japanese. The Moslems in Kansu are said to have experienced very liberal treatment at the hands of the Chinese Reds, and the latter, as you know, are now helping the Chinese Government in its resistance to the Japanese. Thus the repercussions of Japan's attack upon China in Central Asia have been similar to those experienced in China itself—namely, unification and consolidation.

The CHAIRMAN: Might I ask Dr. Kordt, of the German Embassy, to say a few words?

Dr. KORDT: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the very kind welcome which you gave me, and let me thank you as well for the invitation to attend this most interesting lecture. The great number of members of my Embassy who are present to-night will show you how much we are interested in Dr. Filchner's work, and how much we all appreciate the opportunity so kindly offered by your famous Society to be able to listen to him here in these historic rooms. I count it a special favour that one of my first social functions in this country should be to attend the lecture he has given us about his scientific discoveries. I am specially grateful to you, Mr. Chairman, and to your Society, that they have called upon my compatriot, Dr. Filchner, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for a number of years as a man devoted entirely to his scientific work. The scientist's work is hard and dangerous, but it is worth all the hardship it entails, for it shows new possibilities to mankind, and his efforts aim at lightening the burdens of his fellow-creatures. The scientist is the first ambassador of goodwill. And, speaking as a diplomat, I feel there is a strong link between my profession and

that of the scientist. The scientist travels all over the world, the diplomat does so too. The scientist's life is one of unrest, the diplomat's is the same. The scientist is devoted to a high ideal, and so is the diplomat. And this ideal, this our common aim, is to give our best, to work as hard as we can for the benefit of mankind. Let us all work together more and more closely. And may it be the diplomat's first aim to work for peace, so that the scientist may pursue undisturbed his peaceful aim for the progress of humanity. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: It only remains for me now to ask you to pass a vote of thanks to the lecturer. I know no one will contradict me when I say we have had the most interesting evening. I hope no one here was deceived by the almost casual way in which the Herr Professor referred to things that happened to him. Those who know most about how things are conducted in Central Asia best appreciate that Dr. Filchner carried out a very unusual scientific expedition under the hardest possible conditions. And his expedition and scientific work are now the envy of all scientists and travellers. (Applause.)

The slides will show you some of the country which Professor Filchner traversed, and I would have you remember that the journey was undertaken for scientific reasons to complete the work he had begun some years ago. His instruments and his notes had to be safeguarded and his observations taken under all conditions. Although he dwelled little on the great hardships on the journey and the anxiety occasioned by his detention and imprisonment in Khotan, it is only the few members who have had similar experiences will know what he has gone through.

We have heard to-night one of the best lectures ever given before this Society, the story of a great journey told in the most modest manner. Our best wishes will go with Professor Filchner when he sets off again on his travels. (Applause.)

SIAM AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST

BY COLONEL F. BERNARD, LÉGION D'HONNEUR

Lecture given on March 30, 1938, Admiral Sir Hugh Watson in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Colonel Bernard had given distinguished service to his country in Indo-China, where he had spent many years. Early in the century he had served as Chairman of the Commission for the delimitation of the Franco-Siamese frontier. At that time the Chairman was not very far away in Western China. He knew Eastern Asia and its many and difficult problems as few others, and the Society were fortunate in having him to lecture.

I AM very grateful to the Royal Central Asian Society for the honour they did me by asking for my views upon the problems of the Far East. I spent a large part of my life, certainly the best part and the most interesting, in Indo-China, but since the day I landed for the first time in that country I have witnessed so many things as to make myself very diffident when trying to foresee the future.

During the last fifty years, the countries of the Far East, all along the coast of the China Sea, have undergone tremendous changes and the balance of powers, the situation of the European nations in this part of the world, from a political and economical point of view, have been altered very seriously. In 1900, after the first Sino-Japanese war, on the eve of the Boxers' insurrection, nobody could have challenged with impunity the authority and the strength of these nations. They acted in perfect agreement, as soon as their common interests in the North of China were threatened, and they promptly and energetically put down the revolt. Since then, the Russo-Japanese war, the steady rise of Japan, the Chinese revolution, the world's war, the quarrels which divide the great European States have progressively paralysed their activities, and to-day they are looking on, passively and anxiously from afar, while in China the old Empire is crumbling to pieces.

It is impossible, of course, to imagine for both our countries a general scheme of action, and to show the successive steps we must

take to keep up our prestige and to preserve our possessions and our interests.

In the old days, everything was easier. We only had our own problems to tackle, our own difficulties to solve. As a rule, there was no connection, no interdependence between our particular dealings and the interests, material or moral, of every other country. During the nineteenth century, England has been left free to conquer India and Burma and to extend her protectorate over the Malay States, to found and develop Singapore and Hong-Kong; France has been left free to settle in Indo-China, and when some difficulties arose between our countries we have been able to come to an understanding between ourselves by private agreements.

To-day, every move in the East can be followed by tremendous consequences. All the States are bound together by intricate ties, and if someone fires a gun in a distant part of the world, the report is heard, reverberating and threatening, everywhere. I wonder if everybody in the political and diplomatical circles has ever foreseen that the results of the Italo-Abyssinian affair would be another Sino-Japanese war, more portentous and more sinister than the conquest of Ethiopia.

And, moreover, we cannot only take into account the practical interests of the nations. The materialistic views of the Marxists about the driving forces and the process of history so loudly and proudly proclaimed have never met with such striking contradictions as to-day. We are living again the days of the religious wars, not between Catholics and Protestants, but between the friends and the enemies of the League of Nations, and we are fighting not only against men or against doctrines, but against words. How can we, in such a period, devise a scheme and combine a policy, follow steadily a simple and straight line of action? The only thing to do is to prepare ourselves for any emergency, to get rid of our prejudices, to survey seriously and objectively the exact situation of the world, to look carefully for the weak spots in our defences, to help our friends, to strengthen our positions, and to realize, if possible, and as soon as possible in the Far East, this balance of powers which, in days gone by, when we were not dazzled by marvellous and idealistic dreams, was the surest guarantee of peace.

For England, France, Holland, to whose care the circumstances of the past have entrusted the well-being of the natives who inhabited their colonies, the first thing to do is to improve, by every means, the

bonds, material and spiritual, they have been able to create between themselves and their far-away provinces. Times are gone, and gone for ever, when the only purposes of the White Powers were to get from their colonies the biggest profits possible. To-day, to colonize is a duty, and this duty becomes every day more exacting. We know that the ultimate result of our rule will be to create new dominions, to give a new life to the people we have subjected, in such a manner that our strength be their strength, our security the guarantee of their security, our prosperity the condition of their prosperity.

And at the same time we must try to understand the real interests of the independent States of Asia, their wants, their aims, the principles which, up to now, have guided their governments, the means we can use to help them out of their difficulties and of their troubles, the part they can play according to circumstances to disturb, to maintain or to enforce peace in the Far East.

It is with this object in view that I have studied the actual situation of one of these States, Siam, and I will try to show what sort of connection we have established with it in the past, and we can try to maintain in the future.

You will perhaps say that in the present state of things it is not the situation of Siam which calls for your most anxious concern, and of course Siam is not as important as China and Japan, if only by its extent, by the number of its subjects or by its riches, but its position between Burma and the Malay States on one side, French Indo-China on the other, between Singapore and Hong-Kong, along the shores of an inner sea surrounded by British, French, Dutch, and American colonies, gives it a special importance, and, in the present circumstances, calls for our constant consideration.

Siam, like Japan and China, has been, till the middle of the last century, closed to the influence of the West. It opened itself after the treaties negotiated from 1855, first with Great Britain and after with France, the United States of America, Holland, and the chief European powers. It has been remodelled progressively like China and Japan, but every change has been realized in the most pacific way, without any internal troubles and without deadly struggles with the neighbouring States.

China, during the last forty years, has been devastated by an uninterrupted revolution, and every time the disturbances have been started by the people, or rather by parties hostile to the lawful Government, bound by a common resolve of destruction, and whose

leaders had acquired first in Europe or in the United States, and later on in Soviet Russia, some ideas or principles entirely foreign to the Chinese people. These internal convulsions have been followed by the disruption of the Empire. The provinces have been separated one from the other; their chiefs have fought fiercely to win the supremacy, and finally the whole country has been reduced to the anarchic state which makes it now an easy prey for Japan.

In Japan, as in Siam, it is from the top that the revolution has been started. The Governments have planned and directed every move, and their progresses have increased their strength. But, while Japan has asserted its position by two victorious wars, by an enormous growth of its industrial and military capacity, by its opposition to the European States, it is with the constant help of these last countries that Siam has been able to transform its whole political, administrative, and financial situation.

I have no intention, of course, if only to give to this lecture the excellence of brevity, to recall the whole history of Siam. It is, however, necessary to show how the actual Kingdom has been built, and how, after a long struggle, it has attained its present state.

It was in the middle of the thirteenth century that the Siamese, or, to speak more accurately, the Thais, of whose race they are only one branch, invaded the valleys of the Mekong and of the Menan rivers. Indo-China was then divided between three States: Pegou, in the west, the Khmer Empire, in the centre, and Tsiampa, in the east. The Khmer Empire is the best known and the most illustrious of the three, and Cambodia, the present heir of the past glory, is only a small part of the old Kingdom. The Khmer have left such monuments of their extraordinary genius as to give birth to a legend that, even now, after the researches of so many scholars and historians, you may hear repeated by some travellers. They say that in the distant past, an army of Aryan warriors left the North of India, invaded Indo-China, subjected to their rule the natives who live miserably in the country, and, keeping themselves far above and apart from these wretches, brought a new civilization, an administrative system, their own schools of scientists, sculptors, and architects, built marvellous temples, extended their sway upon all their neighbours, and suddenly, after a catastrophe of a magnitude without any parallel in the history of the world, disappeared, leaving the soil and the government to the slaves of the past.

There is no ground to such a tale. Indo-China has never suffered

the inroads of great armies, and above all of Aryan armies. The people who now inhabit the country are the same as in the olden time, and the actual King of Cambodia is very likely the lawful heir of the great Emperors of the past. But during many centuries there has been in the valleys of the Menan and of the Mekong a constant intercourse between the native Kingdoms and the neighbouring States. Tradesmen, travellers, adventurers, monks, artists, coming from the southern parts of India or from the Hindu Kingdoms of Java, Sumatra, and Malaya, have introduced their wares, their arms, their religions, and their arts in Indo-China. The Khmer Empire has been organized after their teaching. Thanks to their lessons, it has extended its sway from the sea in the south to the upper valleys of the big rivers in the north. In every province the Khmer have left marvellous monuments of their genius. Everybody knows to-day the beautiful temples of Angkor, but one could see many others in the most distant seats of the Empire, at Vien-Tian, Thakek, Bassac, Phimay, and there are many others still, lost in the desert, buried in the jungle, and they are the most striking because they suggest with an extraordinary strength the rise, the greatness, and the fall of the Khmer Empire. The most remarkable is, perhaps, the Sanctuary of Prah Vihear, built a thousand years ago, above the low plains of Cambodia, high up on the Dang Reck mountains.

The traveller who, leaving Angkor, journeys leisurely towards the north, follows during several days pathways through a flat country, nearly uninhabited, and he can see, to the limit of the horizon, the silhouettes of a kind of resinous tree, growing far apart from one another, covered with big leaves during the rainy season, leafless and blackened by jungle fires during the winter. Sometimes the path cuts a strip of a dense forest, which stretches along a stream or a chain of stagnant pools, and where all the wild beasts of the country find refuge after the rains. And, suddenly, the way is stopped by an enormous rampart, 400 or 500 metres high, and one has to climb through difficult passes, over big boulders of sandstone up to the top.

From the ridge, the ground falls down gently towards the River Semoun by successive steps. The temple is built upon one of these steps. To enter the precincts one must climb up a gigantic stairway and go on along a causeway, bordered on both sides by a balustrade, figuring the body of the Naga, the seven-headed snake, which is a characteristic of many Khmer monuments.

I am very likely one of the first Europeans, perhaps the first one,

who visited the Sanctuary. I arrived there in the first hours of the morning, through a very thick forest, and suddenly, in a clearing, I saw, very high above the top of the highest trees, the enormous heads of the Naga, red and blazing under the first rays of the sun.

The causeway which runs through the middle of the precincts, between very large tanks hewn out of the sandstone, leads the visitor successively to three temples. The tropical forest covers everything, but when one reaches the last temple, built on the brink of the cliff, one sees, thousands of feet below, the plains of Cambodia stretching out endlessly. In this district, where thousands and thousands of men have lived, worked, fought, and died, there is nothing left but the Sanctuary. One cannot see one village, one house, one spiral of smoke, but one may easily imagine that the people who built this extraordinary monument have been for the newcomers, descending from the high lands of China, formidable adversaries who struggled desperately for their country. The struggle has gone on during six hundred years.

It was under the pressure of the Mongols that, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Thai tribes left the Yunnan and began to move, by successive waves, towards the south. They followed two different roads. Some of them struck and crossed the Mekong, near the actual border of the Shan States. The others, to the east, reached the big river, near Luang-Prabang, and steadily followed the Mekong, first to Vien-Tian, and later on to Bassac.

The first ones founded the Kingdom of Siam; the others the Kingdom of Laos, or Kingdom of Xan Lang, whose capital has been alternatively Vien-Tian and Luang-Prabang.

It is impossible and it would be very tedious to record the history of the wars which, during so many centuries, have been fought by the Siamese, the Burmese, the Khmers, the Laotians, or the Annamites. A very short sketch is certainly sufficient for my purpose.

During the first part of the fourteenth century the Siamese, pushing their inroads all along the Menan river, drove the Khmers before them and, in 1351, established their capital at Ayouthia. In 1357, 1394, 1420, 1460, they plundered and ransacked the country around Angkor, and the Khmer kings, leaving their glorious citadel, removed the seat of their Government down the Tonle-Sap to Udong and Pnum-Penh.

Later on, the Burmese, under the leadership of two captains of genius, invaded Siam, first in 1569, afterwards in 1767, and ransacked and destroyed Ayouthia. But each time the Siamese, in spite of their

disasters, resumed the offensive, recovered their lost provinces, and, in 1772, built their new capital at Bangkok.

Ten years later, Chao Phaya Chakri, the founder of the actual dynasty, came to power and started anew the hereditary wars against Cambodia and Laos.

In 1828, the old Kingdom of Laos fell, Vien-Tian, the capital, was burnt down and thousands and thousands of captives ruthlessly driven to the far-away provinces of the Menan.

As to Cambodia, from 1830 to 1860, the Siamese troops invaded without serious opposition the districts of the Great Lake, but south of Pnum-Penh, on the banks of the Mekong, they met at last a more formidable foe, the Annamites, whose strength they had already experienced during the wars against the Lao tribes of Vien-Tian and Luang-Prabang.

Such was the situation in Indo-China when the French, in 1860, after the murder of the Catholic missionaries in Annam, sent an expeditionary force to Cochin-China, stormed the entrenchments built round Saigon, and took possession of the country.

Three years after, March 11, 1863, Norodom, King of Cambodia, asked the French Government to guarantee the security of his domain, and put himself under its protection.

From that time onwards a new period began. To the east as well as to the west, the Siamese did not find any more before them any Asiatic kingdoms, but two European powers, England and France, whose first duty was to protect the territories under their rule against the inroads of their neighbours, and therefore to settle once and for all the question of their frontiers.

In the west everything was easy. In 1826, after the first Burmese war, the British troops had already conquered the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, and, in 1852, they occupied the lower part of Burma.

In 1874, the Government of the Straits Settlements extended its protectorate upon the Malay States, up to Perak, and later on to Pahang.

In 1883, the whole of Burma was annexed to the British Empire. On this side, no discussion was ever possible about the boundaries of the British and Siamese territories, but only in some far-away districts, in the Shan States or in Kelantan.

On the French side, the situation was quite different, and was to become very difficult after the conquest of the Tonkin. The Siamese were encamped in some parts of Cambodia, as in a foreign country.

No treaties had ever acknowledged their rights. However, in 1867, the French Government, by an unhappy compromise, gave up the provinces of Battambang and Angkor, which were only to be returned to Cambodia forty years later, in 1907.

To the north, the frontier between Annam and Siam has never been settled. The small principalities, whose confederacy has made up the Kingdom of Vien-Tian, have been left, after the disaster of 1828, to live in a state of complete freedom, paying homage at the same time to the Sovereigns of Bangkok and of Hué. It would perhaps have been easy to come to an understanding if the French had not been entangled in the thankless task of clearing up the mountainous districts of Tonkin from the gangs of China robbers, who were plundering the country, and if, at the same time, Siam, by an incautious move, had not tried to strengthen its position by sending troops in the Laos, down to the first slopes of the Chinese sea. We have spent more than twenty years, twenty years of empty discussions and of useless quarrels, from 1884 to 1907, to settle, at last, the question of frontiers between French Indo-China and Siam.

However, during this difficult and uneasy period, the Siamese Government has never ceased to prepare and to carry into effect a complete programme of political, administrative, social, and financial reforms, and such a task has been fulfilled in a way we can perhaps take as a model, under the powerful impulse of a remarkable Sovereign, King Chula Long Korn.

King Chula Long Korn ascended the throne in 1868, but he took into his own hands the government of the kingdom only in 1873. He had been educated by an English governess, had travelled in India and Java, and made a special study of the administrative systems in the Western States. His first act was to promulgate a constitution. Up to this date, the rules of the Siamese Government were rudimental. The King was an absolute monarch, sovereign master of the life and of the goods of its subjects. The land was his. The people was divided into two classes: the one, free from any personal service, had only to pay to the Crown a part of his income, either in kind or in money; the other was taxable at the King's pleasure, liable to every sort of labour and service, military or other, without any restriction and without any control. And, besides these two classes, there was a third one, the slaves, prisoners of war, debt prisoners, or simply children forsaken or sold by their parents during the times of misery or of famine.

The reforms enacted in 1874 were drastic. Slavery was abolished, the sale of children prohibited, private property acknowledged, poll taxes and land taxes established, regular military service substituted for the system of the past.

To enforce such a body of reforms, the first step was to create entirely a new administration, and to impose in all parts of the Kingdom the unquestionable authority of the Sovereign. Siam was, till then, a confederacy of principalities, small or large, subjected to the rule of hereditary chiefs, bound together and to the King only by feudal ties and by the annual payment of a tribute. It was necessary to convert these principalities into provinces, to substitute for the hereditary chiefs officials specially trained and able to perform their difficult duties, to set up in every district the complicated machinery necessary to assess and to collect taxes, to enforce the law, to prepare and carry out the programme of public works, to connect by roads or paths the provinces and the chief centres to the capital, to dispense some sort of primary instruction, to institute special schools and universities.

To carry on such an enormous and difficult task, the King set up at once six Departments of State and a Privy Council. Later on, the management of public affairs was divided, on the same lines as in the European countries, between the Foreign Office, the Home Department, the Ministries of War, Finances, Trade, Agriculture, Public Works, etc. The uninterrupted and steady improvements of the general state of the Kingdom may be told by the increase of the budget. The public revenue amounted only to 14,900,000 ticaux in 1893. It rose to 45,500,000 in 1903, and to 70,000,000 in 1915.

Such a reconstruction of an old and backward Kingdom has taken more than thirty years, but it has met with tremendous difficulties, and we have been confronted by similar problems in our own colonies. There, as in Siam, we have been obliged to enlist a small body of men to govern the natives under our control according to their laws and their customs. We have found them at the beginning among the natural leaders and, later on, among the people itself, but, as in Siam, our first task and our first object have been to carefully educate and train them. But in Siam this work has been still more difficult than in some other countries like Annam, for instance, where we have found an administrative organization, a hierarchy of mandarins, a complete body of laws.

To solve these difficulties, King Chula Long Korn contrived a method which we can very well point out as a model, and which

united the benefits of the national independence to those of a protectorate. The King enlisted in the service of Siam the best foreign experts and put them as a body of permanent advisers beside the high officials, first in the ministries, and later on in the provinces and in all the big public offices, according to their abilities. But he chose them among the citizens of every European country: to the British advisers he entrusted the direction and the control of the financial departments and of the land offices; to the French, the preparation and the drawing-up of a complete digest of laws—penal, civil, and commercial; to the German, the construction and the working operations of the railways; to the Dutch, the irrigation works; to the Danes, the police; to the Italian, the building of palaces and public monuments. A Belgian, and, later on, four American advisers, had the great privilege of advising the King himself in every political and international emergency.

These counsellors have educated their Siamese pupils, after their theoretical studies in the schools and universities either in Siam or in Europe. In this way the officials have received a practical training, constantly adjusted to the circumstances of the day. Progressively, as the European masters have left their charges to their disciples, their number has diminished. Twenty years ago there were 300 or 400 of them. A few only are in office to-day.

Every nation in Europe and the United States have played their part, jointly and friendly, to substitute a modern state for the backward kingdom of the past. Every country has given to Siam its assistance, spiritual or material, technical or financial. The Siam of to-day is born, not in the throes of internal convulsions nor after hasty experiments, doubtful or clumsy trials, but steadily, peacefully, thanks to the disinterested co-operation of the white people. You will find there the characteristics of the Siamese progress, and it is in the same way, by the same means, that the material and economical development of the country can be promoted, if the Siamese and ourselves are willing.

But remarkable as have been the results of the new administration, there was still, a few years ago in Siam, a political anachronism which was bound to disappear in the natural course of events. The men who, from their youth, had been educated according to the ideas of the West, the men whose reading, travels, and their charges themselves had acquainted with parliamentary institutions, were bound some day to form themselves into a party and rightfully ask for some part in the government of their own country. These men could not

suffer the idea of a monarchy based on the divine rights of kings, and soon after the world's war they began to claim for a change in the constitution.

The events which, in June, 1932, took place in Bangkok, and whose consequences have been the setting up of a parliamentary monarchy, are known under the name of the "Siamese Revolution," but if the political change which took place in these days called in fact for such a big word, there was no loss of lives, no riots. It was not the people who, driven to despair by their sufferings and the abuses of their chiefs, tried to overthrow their government. It simply was, under the pressure of a handful of resolute men, military and civilians, that King Pradjadhipok decided to promulgate a new constitution, to create a legislative assembly, and to make the executive body of ministers responsible to the Assembly. You may appreciate the disinterestedness of the leaders of the Revolution by the simple fact that they did not ask to take the government and the public offices into their hands. They left the King to form a Cabinet where every department was entrusted to high functionaries and officers of the Crown. It was only a year later, after an ill-advised dissolution of the Assembly and an attempt to return to the old order of things, that the leader of the People's Party, Colonel Praya Bahol, with the army's support, enforced the dismissal of the Cabinet and accepted the charge and the responsibilities of the Government.

It is the same Ministry which during the last five years has been in power. It has put down easily, in October, 1933, a mutiny instigated by some obstinate friends of the past, and it has exerted its whole strength for the completion of the constitutional reforms.

I will not try to record and to appreciate the administrative and legislative work completed during these eventful years, but one must always take into account the inexperience of the Assembly, the conflict of ideas and principles, and also the personal struggles which sometimes gave rise, in foreign circles, to some misunderstandings.

I believe, however, that the constitutional Government is perfectly able to realize new improvements in every direction, and that it will carry on its task with the same steadiness, the same application, as the absolute sovereigns. I believe, and I know, that these men are actuated by a very strong national spirit, by an acute sense of the realities, and they have already shown, in the progressive enforcement of the new laws, a praiseworthy moderation.

The European Powers, which have already co-operated with Siam

during the period of the administrative reforms, may still co-operate with it in the same manner to promote its economic evolution.

It is the point I would like to stress. Siam is to-day a happy and privileged country. It has only two neighbours, France and England, and both of them are peaceful nations. They have no claim against Siam. They do not covet its territories or its riches. They are able and willing to guarantee its independence, and, moreover, they can put at its disposal, to ensure its material development, their technical and financial support.

Till now, the material progress of Siam has not been by far as striking as the political one. The area of Siam is nearly equal to France's, but there are only thirteen million inhabitants, and most of them are crowded in the lower and in the middle valley of the Menam. The peasant tills the soil in the same primitive way as in the last century. The main product is rice. In 1936, the total exports of Siam amounted to 150,000,000 ticals, of which 91,000,000 were rice exports, and out of the 59,000,000 left, there were 23,000,000 tin, 13,000,000 rubber, 5,000,000 teak wood, which production interests only a very small part of the population.

The products which, in the neighbouring countries, enrich at the same time the farmers and the State, are unknown or are only grown on very insignificant plots of land.

In Siam, there is practically no cotton, sugar cane, ground nuts or tobacco. In some districts, rice is the only crop; when it fails, the people starve, and it often fails when the fields are flooded by the rivers or the rains or when it slowly dries under the scorching sun. To extend the cultivated area, to increase the volume and the value of the crops, to build railways, roads, and irrigation works, to start and develop any peaceful undertaking, the Siamese will easily find in France and in England every kind of assistance. And such an association between Siam on one side, France and England on the other, would be, I am sure, favourably appreciated by those who believe, like myself, that in every part of the world the union of both our countries is at the same time the condition and the symbol of peace and prosperity.

But however peaceful we are, however rightful our designs, we will be able to do nothing if we are not strong enough for the small countries of Asia to feel safe under our protection or our rule, and for nobody to dare challenge us.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN: The lecturer has shown us the tremendous changes that have taken place in the Far East in the last twenty years. The Boxer Rebellion was while I was up in Western China, and how much has happened since those far-off days! The Russo-Japanese war, the Sino-Japanese wars, and the world war. The words used by the lecturer: "Prepare ourselves for any emergency," impressed me particularly. To put it on no higher level, some of our pockets may be affected by what may take place if we do not learn to adapt ourselves to changing circumstances. The Colonel's description of Siam to-day will give us reasons for doing so.

Colonel Bernard alluded to an English governess to King Chula Long Korn. I knew her years later in Halifax, Nova Scotia. My sister and I had a nursery, and the young Princes of Siam used to come to it.

Mr. HANCOCK: Has Japan any territorial designs on Siam? And if so, can the lecturer tell us what action would be taken in the matter by Indo-China? Also, has the ex-King of Siam still any personal prestige there?

The LECTURER: There is some talk about the influence of Japan in Siam. Commercially, of course, the Japanese are very strong here. They provide manufactured goods at prices with which it is difficult for the European Powers to compete. The buying power of the Siamese is very low. But I am quite sure that the Siamese are determined to keep their independence, and they have much less to fear on that score from France or England than from Japan. Siam wants to keep apart and independent, and she wants to take from England and France everything those two nations can give her to increase her power of resistance. But the situation may change day by day, and it is impossible to make any prophecies about the future, and what might happen if Japan conquers China.

A CHINESE GUEST: I would like, if I may, to ask two questions. First, to talk of what to do "in case Japan conquers China": there is not an earthly hope of Japan conquering China, it is more probable that the war will end the other way, and Hankow is preparing for the war to last for years. But I would like to ask, in case Japan fought the British Empire or France, would the Siamese step in with Japan against England and France?

The LECTURER: I do not think so. I do not think it would be good for the Siamese if they were to do so. They would lose their independent position, which is only threatened by Japan if the Japanese can advance and attack through China. My opinion is the same as that of the last speaker, that Japan will not conquer China.

Every European Power has tried in turn to get something from the different Chinese governments. I gave you the example of Siam, because it is the best example to-day of where the Western Powers can usefully co-operate with an independent Far Eastern Power. Suppose in the past that the white peoples, instead of quarrelling, had helped China in setting up a modern administration, good finance, and a serviceable army that was not divided by the chiefs of the different provinces, the Chinese could have resisted the Japanese better to-day. The Western Powers have their share of responsibility for what has happened. They tried, after the Boxer Rising, to cut China in pieces, and to take some parts in the north, the Yangtse basin, and the Yunnan area. Each wanted a harbour or sea-shore. China was an old country, which had always been cultured. If they had helped her to organize herself as a unified state, and had tried to make China an united and organized nation, they could have been of great assistance to her.

A CHINESE GUEST: When I spoke I was not thinking of Heaven, or of rational human beings. But as things are, surely Siam could only lose if she did not side with Japan?

Mr. DAVIES: One has seen the most persistent rumours in print about a project on the part of Japan to cut a canal across the Kra peninsula; is there any foundation for these reports?

The LECTURER: Many people have tried to cut the Kra Isthmus on paper; but I believe you will see that the cutting of such a canal would entail such enormous expense that the project, if begun, would have to be abandoned. It is much easier to get round from Penang to Hong-Kong by sea than to cut across the Malay peninsula. I am sure that will not be done.

Major AINGER: Arising out of other questions that have been asked, may I enquire how far the balance of trade with Japan is favourable to Siam? And how her trade stands with Burma and China?

The LECTURER: Siam's chief export is rice, and practically everything exported is sent not to Japan but elsewhere. But her import trade is with Japan, because Japan can produce certain articles she needs more cheaply than they can be got elsewhere. However, the

balance of trade is very favourable to Siam as a whole. Siam has no reason to be unfavourable to any other country.*

The CHAIRMAN said that the hour was late, and it only remained with him to thank Colonel Bernard in the name of all the members for his most interesting lecture.

* Siam's trade *vis-à-vis* India, Burma, China, Japan, and Java: Trade with India is negligible; Indian merchants in Bangkok—and there are several old-established houses trading there—deal nowadays almost exclusively in British, German, and Japanese goods. Trade with Burma is overland almost entirely, and, being mostly carried on with pack animals, is small; exports are cutch, lac, silk, and sundry manufactured oddments; imports: cotton piece goods, matches (from Japan), tinned milk (from Europe), and so forth. A certain amount of Siam teak goes out to the world through Burmese territory, as Burmese rivers provide the only means of transporting it. China provides a good market for Siam rice, of which a large quantity goes annually to Canton and its neighbourhood, via Hong-Kong. Imports from China are silk, tobacco, pottery, copper utensils; these imports are considerable, although the trade does not counterbalance the rice export. Japan exports to Siam a large and increasing quantity of cotton piece goods, nearly 30 per cent. of the total cotton import of Siam; also a good deal of iron machinery. But Japan takes from Siam almost nothing in return. Java has of late years become a considerable buyer of Siam rice, but sends practically nothing to that country in return.

SOME PROBLEMS OF A SEPARATED BURMA

By SIR HUGH STEPHENSON, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

Lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 16, 1938, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty this evening to introduce to you Sir Hugh Stephenson, who is going, out of the great extent of his knowledge, to talk to us about the new constitution of Burma. No one knows more about Burma than he. He went out to India in 1895, and spent most of his working life in Bengal, eventually becoming Governor of Bihar and Orissa. Then he went to Burma itself as Governor, and is now Adviser on Burma to the Secretary of State for India. So we could have no lecturer more conversant with the subject of this evening's lecture than he, and I will now ask him to speak to us.

THE separation of Burma from India was decided upon by Parliament in the course of its consideration of a new Constitution for India, and the provisions for that separation were included in the original Bill regulating the new Indian Constitution. This Bill was afterwards subdivided into two separate Acts, one for India and one for Burma; but the facts, firstly, that the provisions of both Acts are very largely identical, and, secondly, that they came into force on the same day, has, I think, considerably obscured the essential meaning of the separation, and has led to a confused idea that the separation of Burma is merely a part of the general liberalization of the Indian Constitution, and in no way differs in kind from the other details of the experiment of self-government in India which are contained in these Acts. I do not propose this evening to go into the question of the Reforms, as they are generically described, still less to discuss their merits or demerits. But I was Governor of Burma for three and a half years while the Bill to provide for its separation was on the stocks, and I want if I can to bring home to you some of the rather intricate technical and administrative difficulties that it involved, and to indicate briefly how their solution was attempted.

I won't discuss the advantages or disadvantages of separation either to India or Burma; this controversy was closed when, after the Burma Legislative Council had on three separate occasions refused to give a clear indication of their preference between the two alternatives offered

to them, Parliament definitely decided on separation. I will only say that, although while the controversy lasted I personally refrained from giving any public indication of my views, I have always held that separation was in the nature of things inevitable for this reason. As long as we were in the early stages of the programme that England had set before herself, to train India for self-government, it was possible to administer Burma from India with due regard to the special circumstances of the country or the special interests of its people. But as we reached the actual stage of self-government it became essential either that the interests of Burma should, in fact, be the same as the rest of India, so that in a Federation it should be reasonable and equitable that the will of the majority should prevail, or some special means of protection for the peculiar interests of Burma should be evolved. Historically, geographically and economically the interests of Burma are not the same as the interests of the rest of India as a whole, and the Simon Commission report showed that it was impracticable within the Federation of India to protect the special interests of Burma. Separation therefore appeared to be the only course.

Separation left Burma completely in the air. The nerve centres of the administration were all in India; the superior services were all India services; Currency, Post and Telegraphs, Customs, Income Tax, Defence, and many smaller branches such as Meteorology, Aviation, Geological Survey, and so forth, were all run by central services. These nerves were all cut by the act of separation, and India became, as far as Burma was concerned, a completely foreign country. The main problem was to realign the administration, rebuild the central services on a Burma basis, and provide for the continuity without a break of the economic and administrative life of the country.

The administrative difficulties were the easiest to solve. The Act cut India completely out of the chain between Burma and the Secretary of State and Parliament. At the other end, the provincial services recruited definitely for work in Burma were unaffected. The members of the all-India services could not, of course, be transferred to Burma against their will; but it was even more impossible to run the administration without them while the recruits to the now definitely Burma services were being trained to take their places. Also it was obviously impracticable to provide for all these men in the other provinces of India. They were offered the option of accepting service in Burma under the same guarantees as to pay and protection from the Secretary of State as applied in India or of retiring on a proportionate pension in the event

of suitable employment not being available for them in India. Those who accepted service in Burma (and practically all of them did), continued to be a Burma group in their original all-India service, but their connection with India was entirely severed. The branches of the central services in Burma were taken over as going concerns; it was necessary, of course, to arrange with India for the voluntary transfer or temporary loan of the personnel requisite to administer these branches until the new Burman services could be built up. It was also arranged that India should continue in certain instances, such as coastal and geological survey, to allow their central services to do work for Burma on an agency basis until separate provision could be made.

The financial problem was very much more intricate. It is easy enough to say that Burma shall in future take over the revenue collected in Burma, and pay all the expenses incurred in Burma, but this would ignore all the liabilities still outstanding incurred by India in the past, when Burma was still part of India, and this would be manifestly unfair to India. It is obvious that there was a very wide margin for claims on either side as to what should be taken into account in assessing this liability and the share of it that Burma should assume. For example, India claimed that the cost of the Burmese wars should be a direct charge upon Burma; while Burma, repudiating this, claimed that for years she had been contributing to the Central Exchequer greatly in excess of the central expenditure in Burma. His Majesty's Government decided to appoint an Advisory Tribunal, consisting of Right Hon. L. S. Amery, Right Hon. Sir Sidney Rowlatt, and Sir Walter Nicholson, to advise as to the basis on which a just financial settlement between the Government of India and the Government of Burma, when separated, should be made. This Tribunal, after hearing the representatives of the Government of India and the Government of Burma, advised that the basis of the settlement should be the principle that India was a single government which on the date of separation goes out of existence, leaving behind it certain assets and liabilities; they refused to delve into history or to enquire whether the terms of the past association had been mutually satisfactory or whether either party will gain or lose by separation.

The acceptance of this principle involved the ascertainment on the date of separation of the value of outstanding liabilities and existing assets. The liabilities included the whole of the debt of the Government of India, outstanding treasury bills, and cash certificates, savings banks deposits and the balances of various funds. The assets included

the railways and other commercial assets, sinking funds, reserves, and so forth, and under the heading of "dead assets" the buildings and other property of the Central Government which were not directly concerned with the commercial undertakings. On the recommendation of the Tribunal a Committee was appointed consisting of a representative from the Government of India and the Government of Burma, with the Accountant-General at the India Office as Chairman to work out this valuation on the lines laid down by the Tribunal as on the date of separation. This Application Committee, as it is termed, cannot complete its work for at least two years after separation.

The Tribunal's proposal, which was accepted by His Majesty's Government with the agreement of the Governments of India and Burma, worked out in this way. When the liabilities of the Government of India on the date of separation had been ascertained in accordance with the directions of the Tribunal, the value of the assets of the Government of India on the same date was to be deducted from the total, and the excess of liabilities was to be divided on a ratio basis between the two Governments. The Tribunal, after an exhaustive consideration of all the data which they thought relevant to a decision, held that the proper ratio in which Burma should contribute to the outstanding liabilities of India on the date of separation was $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Burma had therefore to pay to India $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the excess of Indian liabilities over Indian assets. But on the date of separation Burma took over the Indian assets localized in Burma, such as the Burma Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, and so forth; on the other hand, Burma assumed direct responsibility for some of the localized liabilities of India: savings banks deposits, provident funds, a share of the British War Loan, and so forth. The value of the local assets thus taken over in excess of the directly assumed liabilities had therefore to be added to Burma's total debt to India. The Tribunal decided that this total debt should be liquidated in forty-five years by annual equated payments to cover the principal and interest. As I have said, the actual amount of Burma's debt to India cannot be ascertained by the Application Committee for at least two years after the date of separation; meanwhile, by an Order in Council, Burma has been directed to pay to India in this and next year a sum on account fixed by the Secretary of State, which will be adjusted when the total debt is accurately known. In the coming year the amount fixed is 29,982,000 rupees.

The debt of Burma to India takes into account the future liability for pension payments. These are of two classes: firstly, those pensioners

who had already retired on the date of separation; secondly, the future pensions of those who were still in service on that date; the Tribunal decided that Burma was liable for its share of the pensionary liability incurred by the central services up to the date of separation. As this liability includes military pensions and military widows' and orphans' pensions, it is exceedingly complicated, and would only be liquidated after a very long efflux of time. The Tribunal therefore suggested that the present value of the pensionary liability should be ascertained by actuaries as at the date of separation, and should be liquidated by decreasing annuities over a period of twenty years as against the forty-five years of the general debt liquidation. The two Governments have, however, since agreed with the sanction of the Secretary of State to set off on the debit side Burma's share of this future pensionary liability in the case of officers who had not retired on the date of separation against Burma's share on the credit side of the value of the "dead assets" or general property of the Government of India. These "dead assets" would be exceedingly difficult to ascertain and value, and both Governments are satisfied that the cancellation is a fair deal. Burma will therefore only be liable for its share of the central pensions that were actually being drawn at the time of separation; and this share will be ascertained year by year, on the basis of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The Burma Government decided to continue to use the Indian currency instead of starting a coinage of their own. They have, with the consent of the Government of India, made an agreement with the Indian Reserve Bank, which has been embodied in an Order in Council, to continue to manage their currency for them and to perform all the functions as regards Banking, Exchange and so forth of a Reserve Bank of Burma. The agreement is to be in force for two years, and is thereafter terminable at two years' notice on either side. It is provided that distinctive Burma currency notes shall be issued immediately on separation, which will be legal tender in Burma only. Indian currency notes shall continue to be legal tender in Burma for at least two years after separation; and when the Government of Burma declare that they are no longer legal tender, they shall for a further definite period be accepted at par at specified banks or treasuries. The rupee and subsidiary coinage of India is to continue legal tender for at least two years after separation, but it is then open to the Government of Burma to introduce a separate coinage of their own to be legal tender only in Burma. There is no present intention of instituting this separate coinage.

This agreement with the Reserve Bank necessitated an exception to the main decision that the assets and liabilities of the Government of India should be ascertained and valued at the date of separation. Burma continued in partnership with the Government of India so far as the operations of the Reserve Bank are concerned; she must therefore continue to share in the profits and losses of the Government of India resulting from those operations. It is provided that a share of the Governor-General's bank profits shall be paid annually to the Government of Burma based on the ratio of Burma notes in circulation to the total of Indian plus Burman notes in circulation; while the profits and losses on the silver currency shall be deducted from or added to the total debt of Burma to India, in a ratio based on the circulation of the coins in Burma. On the termination of the agreement with the Reserve Bank a final valuation of liabilities and assets in regard to currency will be made and suitably distributed.

The next most difficult question was that of trade. Burma was annexed from India, it was governed from India, and it was within the Customs orbit of India, and therefore naturally, though a great deal of British capital was invested in Burma, it formed part of the Indian Trade Group. Separation meant that India and Burma became foreign countries to each other; their mutual trade ceased to be coastal trade, and became foreign trade to which the Customs duties on foreign trade automatically applied. Burma is an agricultural country which lives upon its exports; the Central Government levied excise duties on Burma's kerosene and silver, but there had hitherto been no Customs duty on the Burma-India trade. In the time of depression India had greatly increased its revenue duties on foreign trade, and had imposed protection duties on all manufactures that competed with her own, and these duties applied equally, of course, to Burma. It was inevitable therefore that an increasing proportion of Burma's total trade should be with India. At the date of separation India took 63 per cent. of the total Burma exports, and about 45 per cent. of Burma's imports came from India.

It was quite clear that Burma could not face the possibility of this trade with India, amounting to more than half its total trade, being thrown into confusion, or take the risk of having to find new markets in a very difficult world for such a large proportion of its exports. The principal exports are rice, oil and timber, which, taken together, constitute some 80 per cent. of its total exports. India takes more than half the exports of rice, practically the whole of the kerosene and petrol,

and from half to three-quarters of the timber. About 70 per cent. of the population of Burma are engaged in agriculture and another 10 per cent. in preparing Burma's natural products for export. It was essential to secure that this large proportion of the population should not be exposed to the risk of ruin by a failure in Burma's export trade; and this could only be secured by a trade agreement with India. The Government of Burma therefore entered into negotiations with the Government of India.

In these negotiations India was in a very strong position. Its past history had forced Burma into a position of dependence on the India trade circle. If Burma had been from the beginning administratively independent of India its trade might have developed in other directions, but as things were it was impossible for it to find other outlets for this 63 per cent. of its exports within a measurable distance of time, and the retention of the Indian market was vital. On the other hand, although Burma's trade was useful to India, it was not vital. The 45 per cent. of Burma's imports which came from India only represented some 7 per cent. of India's exports; this trade is on the increase, but it fairly constantly represents only 7 per cent. of India's exports. India, with its increasing population and the industrialization of that population, requires Burma's rice; but there is some tendency to increase the wheat consumption at the expense of rice. There is still room for a greater intensive production of rice in India, and Japan's increasing self-sufficiency in the matter of rice causes an ever-growing competition of Siam and, to some degree, of French China in the Indian market. Burma's kerosene and petrol are very useful to India, and in time of war might become essential, but the world competition in oil is very keen, and Burma only maintains its position by agreements and by a very slight preference in the Indian market. Burmese teak would be in a difficult position in the Indian market if it were exposed to unrestricted competition with Siamese teak.

It was at first thought that neither country could afford to do without some revenue duties on this mutual trade, and an agreement was suggested for a category of low revenue duties. But while these duties would bring in comparatively little to Burma, there was the danger that even a revenue duty might tip the scale against Burma's oil and timber, and if India threatened a revenue duty on rice Burma was helpless. Moreover, India's revenue duties had risen from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. in the last thirty years, and it was felt that even a revenue duty which started low down would be a constant menace.

The Burma Government therefore decided to press for free trade between the two countries for a sufficiently long period to enable Burma trade to adjust itself to future possibilities.

Apart from financial dependence on Customs duties for revenue purposes, the interests of Burma as an agricultural country with practically no manufactures seemed to lie in the direction of a safe market for its exports, combined with as cheap imports as possible, and *prima facie* the separation from India gave Burma the opportunity of regulating its Customs tariffs entirely in its own interests. Hitherto the protective tariffs in India had forced the Burman consumer to pay a high price for his machinery, steel, textiles, and so forth, the benefit of which went entirely to India. It was hoped and expected by Lancashire and by British export interests generally that they would, by means of agreements with separated Burma, be able to establish a stronger hold on the Burman markets, and the proposed trade agreement between Burma and India excited a good deal of controversy. But it was quite clear that India would not be prepared to guarantee Burma's position in the Indian market unless India's position in the Burma market was reciprocally guaranteed. It would be of no use to India to have free trade with Burma if it was open to Burma by reducing the tariff duties on foreign goods which competed with India, to undermine the privileged position which India held in the Burman market. The only proposal which the Government of India would look at was the maintenance of the privileged position of the two countries in each other's markets. On the other hand, Great Britain could offer nothing to Burma comparable with the advantages of a continued open market in India. Great Britain could not absorb Burma's rice, oil and timber, and although Burma would, of course, have preferred a greater freedom in regulating its trade to its own advantage, the Indian market was vital, and could be secured on no other terms than the maintenance of the existing position. The agreement with India had therefore to be accepted and was finally embodied in an Order in Council. Its provisions were that there was to be free trade between India and Burma, and the trade between these two countries would be regarded as coastal trade; where either country levied an excise duty on its own products it was at liberty to levy a counteracting import duty against similar products from the other country. As regards foreign trade, the duties in force on the date of separation could not be reduced or abolished by either country without the consent of the other, provided that duties on foreign goods, which at the date of separation were not produced or

manufactured in India, could be reduced or abolished by Burma on giving not less than two months' notice to India and *vice versa*. If the duty on any foreign goods was higher in India than Burma, then India could impose an import duty on such goods when imported from Burma, not exceeding the difference between the two duties, and *vice versa*.

This agreement secured to each country the relatively advantageous position it held in the markets of the other at the date of separation, but did not provide for any increase in those advantages. It left it open to either country to increase their duties on foreign goods, but not to decrease them without the consent of the other. The net result was that Burma was left with very restricted freedom in the matter of trade agreements with other countries, and to a considerable extent it stereotyped the channels of Burma's trade. But, in fact, it was the only course open to Burma.

It was at first proposed that this agreement should be in force for five years, and thereafter be terminable at a year's notice on either side. Largely as a concession to British trade interests, this basic period was eventually reduced in the Order in Council to three years. At the end of this period India will still be in a very strong bargaining position. Burma will not have had time, especially in view of its very restricted bargaining liberty with other countries, to develop new channels of trade to replace the Indian trade, and India will have obtained an even stronger position in the Burma markets. For example, in piece goods, even with the very heavy special duties on Japanese goods, Japan could undersell both India and England in the Burma market; it was only the imposition of the quota system that prevented this. Burma promised during the currency of the trade agreement to restrict the quota of Japanese imports into Burma to the figures of the year 1934 as long as India imposed a quota on Japanese goods. The Burma Government did reserve the right to divide this quota into categories which gave it some bargaining power. An agreement has since been made with Japan for the import of the full quota in return for exports to Japan of Burma cotton.

Trade over the land frontiers was exempted from the operations of this agreement, except that each Government was to consider the interests of the other Government and see generally that its privileged position was not materially affected. This trade at present is of very little importance; so far as Burma is concerned, the trade routes from China and Siam are very difficult and unsuitable for trade in bulk.

There are indications that the roads from China may be gradually improved, but the future of that part of the world is still very obscure.

One of the few bargaining counters that Burma held in the negotiations with India was the question of immigration, and for that reason the two agreements were settled together. Burma for its size is sparsely populated; it is a fertile country, and the philosophy of its people is to enjoy life, and labour is regarded as an unpleasant necessity which should only be allowed to interfere to a minimum extent with that enjoyment. When the great development of rice cultivation took place, particularly in Lower Burma after settled government had been introduced and the Suez Canal had been opened, there was need for a good deal more labour than Burma could supply for clearing and cultivating, and a large immigration, chiefly from Southern India, set in. The Burman preferred as long as he could afford it that this labour should perform for him the heavier tasks of harvesting and ploughing, while work in the increasing number of rice mills, work in the towns and on roads and railways and oil fields and in the ports was uncongenial to him. This Indian labour was cheaper, had a lower standard of living, and was seasonal. A certain number of these immigrants did settle on the newly developed rice lands; in fact, some of the very early grants by Government of these lands stipulated that Indian labour should be imported for the purpose. But for the most part there is an equalized flow in both directions. The Indian labourer remains in Burma for comparatively short periods up to three or four years at a time and then returns to his home; he may come back to Burma later on for another spell. Taken as a whole, it may be said that the number of Indian labourers in Burma at any one time is fairly constant, and, as they do not to any large extent bring their families with them, their population does not naturally increase in Burma. In the last ten years which cover the slump and the Rangoon riots the number of immigrants has tended to decrease; the number was 199,000 in 1937 against 324,000 in 1928; but all through this period the number of outgoing labourers has varied in correspondence with the incoming, and left the total numbers in Burma at any one time fairly constant.

Burma is therefore a valuable outlet to Indian labour; although this labour is cheaper, its standard of living is so much lower that it can save and remit to India very considerable sums every year, and the Indian contractors, Chettiar bankers and tradesmen remit a great deal more. In the years of prosperity Burma was only too glad to have this labour. But in the depression the Burman agriculturist had to do him-

self the farm work which he had hitherto paid the Indian to do and had to take to other forms of labour, earthwork, stevedoring, and many others which he had hitherto been content to leave to the Indian, and he found that in these fields the Indian undercut him. This was at the bottom of the very serious anti-Indian riots in Rangoon in 1930 and very strongly enforced the national cry of Burma for the Burmans and gave rise to a demand for the prohibition or restriction of Indian immigration.

On the other hand, it is certain that some Indian labour is essential to Burma, but the Government had no data on which to formulate conclusions as to the amount of labour that was necessary or the restrictions that would produce that amount of labour and no more. In order to give themselves time to investigate the subject thoroughly they put forward, as a makeweight in the negotiations for the Trade Agreement, a proposal that for the initial period of that agreement no fresh restriction should be placed on Indian labour immigration. This agreement is embodied in an Order in Council, while the Act provides that the previous sanction of the Governor is required for the introduction into the Legislature of any Bill affecting immigration, and the Instrument of Instructions directs him to confer with the Governor-General of India in regard to labour immigration.

The third major problem was that of Defence. Hitherto Burma, like the other Provinces of India, had relied on the Government of India entirely for external defence and very largely for internal security; it had now to make its own arrangements for both. Burma has a sea coast of over 1,000 miles stretching from Chittagong to the Malay peninsula. Its land frontier touches Tibet and Assam on the north and marches with China, French Indo-China and Siam. The northern portion of the Chinese boundary consists of lofty mountain ranges with few and difficult passes; south of that is a roadless stretch with mule tracks into Yunnan: the Chinese are anxious to establish a road system here which would eventually link up with the Burma railways, but though it has been discussed for many years, it has not advanced very far yet. Further south is the wild country inhabited by the Was, where in the last two years a boundary commission has been working to fix the boundary which was determined by the treaty with China of 1897; the boundary commission of that date failed to agree on the demarcation, and it was carried out by Sir George Scott alone, but was never formally accepted by China. The country along the French Indo-China and Siam boundaries would make the movement of even

small bodies of troops difficult. The nature of the external land frontier, therefore, precludes any great risk of invasion, but it does facilitate raids and irregular predatory incursions.

Within Burma itself there are large tracts of entirely unadministered country which will only be gradually absorbed. Quite recently the Triangle and the Hukawn Valley, which Sir Harcourt Butler visited in order to put down slavery, have been brought under a light form of administration, and that has brought us into more direct contact with the Nagas and other wild tribes, and the process will doubtless be gradually extended. In the administered area the Chins, Kachins, and other hill tribes need a firm hand to prevent them indulging in inter-tribal or inter-village feuds and raids. In Burma proper the internal security problem is mainly concerned with the suppression of violent crime, which is very prevalent, and the prevention of those outbursts of lawlessness of which the Rangoon riots and the Burma Rebellion are the most notable instances in recent years.

Before separation the Defence Force in Burma consisted of two battalions of British troops, three battalions of Burma rifles, plus a training battalion, a mountain battery and a company of sappers and miners. These, together with the auxiliary and territorial forces, were under the command of the General Officer Commanding, Burma. For frontier work there were six battalions of military police, plus a reserve battalion, the cost of which was mainly borne by the Government of India, and for internal security there were three battalions of military police. These military police were recruited from the military castes of India and from the Chins, Kachins, Karens and Shans in Burma and their European officers, generally two to a battalion, were obtained by secondment from the Indian Army.

The separation of Burma will not greatly affect the general defence problem, and *prima facie* the forces that were sufficient to deal with it in the past will be adequate for the future.

The difficulty that faced Government was the substitution for the Indian Army troops of a military force raised by the Governor of Burma under the authority of the Burma Act for the defence of Burma. This force would have no connection with Indian Army Headquarters. It was finally decided that this Defence Force should consist of two parts: (1) the Army in Burma under a G.O.C., generally responsible to the Governor, and (2) a Frontier Force commanded by an Inspector-General with the local rank of Brigadier directly under the orders of the Governor. The Army in Burma consists of—

Two battalions of British troops.
The Burma Rifles.
Mountain battery.
One field company of sappers and miners.
Auxiliary Force, Burma.
Territorial Force, Burma.

The British battalions offered no difficulties. They are directly on the Burma establishment and are paid for by Burma. The Burma Rifles, on the other hand, ceased to belong to the Indian Army and had to be re-enlisted in the Army in Burma; the rank and file have always been enlisted from Burma and consist of Chins, Kachins and Karens, and they will continue to serve on the same terms as to pay, etc., as before. It was decided that each of the three battalions should have its own training company for recruits, thus setting free the training battalion for conversion to a fourth battalion of effective troops, and it is intended to start immediately on raising a fifth battalion in which place will be found for the recruitment of Burmans.

The question of the officers raised much more formidable difficulties. They belonged to the Indian Army and could not be transferred against their will to the Army in Burma. At the same time, as the Burma Rifles were to be in future a purely localized force with a limited scope for field training, it was necessary to guard against a very real danger of stagnation and deterioration. It was finally decided to rely on a constant flow of fresh officers to keep the battalion effective on the same lines as had been done in the past in the case of the military police. Some of the senior officers were invited to volunteer to finish their service in the Burma Rifles; others were offered service in the Burma Rifles for varying terms up to five years. The rest were transferred to other units of the Indian Army as soon as their places in the Burma Rifles could be filled. In the future it is intended to have a pool of officers seconded both from the British Service and the Indian Army for terms of four or five years. On completion of this term they will revert to their regiments, but will be eligible for a further term of service at a later date. From this pool officers will be drawn for the Burma Rifle battalions, the Frontier Force, and the garrison battalions of the military police. They will serve on special terms, and the success of the scheme mainly depends on these special terms being sufficiently attractive to keep the waiting list of suitable volunteers full.

The mountain battery has been lent to Burma on payment for a period of three years. It was at one time considered, largely on the

experience of the jungle fighting in the Burma Rebellion, that artillery would not be essential for the Army in Burma, but more recent experience in the Wa country has shown that mountain guns are of the greatest use in this type of country. Before the three years are up the military authorities in Burma will have to decide in what form this artillery arm shall be provided.

A Burman field company of sappers and miners is now being raised by recruitment among Burmans, and as soon as it has been trained and is efficient the Indian company now on loan will be withdrawn. It is intended to recruit a second company from the same material as soon as possible.

The auxiliary services—Ordnance, Supply and Transport, Veterinary, and so forth—will be provided for by personnel seconded from the Indian Army until Burma has been able to build up these services for herself.

The Frontier Force, the other branch of the Defence Force, consists of the six battalions of the frontier military police, plus the reserve battalion, but their numbers have been slightly raised so that they might provide a training reserve for the garrison battalions. Now that they are to form part of the Defence Force with the Army in Burma, the suggestion was considered that their organization and equipment should be changed so as to make the whole Defence Force more homogeneous. Hitherto these military police battalions have been self-contained units; they run their own commissariat, supply their own transport, and to a large extent their own buildings; they have their own medical and veterinary officers. This organization has been proved in the past to be entirely suitable for frontier work, which consists of frontier posts, patrols and striking columns, and I was warned by a very high military authority very soon after I got to Burma not to let the military police organization be touched. To assimilate their equipment and organization into closer correspondence with the military would have added very greatly to their cost, and there was a very real risk that they might be rendered less effective for their own particular task. It may be that experience will show that some alterations are essential for the fighting efficiency of the Defence Force as a whole, but it is possible that the alterations might come in the Burma Rifles instead of or as well as the Frontier Force. In any case it was decided to await the teachings of experience.

The remaining three battalions of the military police are known as the garrison battalions and form the internal security force for Burma

proper. They will be under the control of the Government of Burma—that is, the Governor acting on the advice of his Ministers. They will draw their officers from the same pool as the Burma Rifles and the Frontier Force and on the same terms. With the exception of the headquarters and a small striking force, these battalions are split up into detachments serving in the various districts. But as the organization of these battalions is the same as that of the Frontier Force the men will be periodically attached to the frontier battalions for training, their places in the garrison battalions being taken by detachments lent by the Frontier Force under the Governor's orders.

These arrangements provided a self-contained Burma military or quasi military force for defence. Burma has no marine, and it will be a long time before it can attempt to build one. Meanwhile it relies as hitherto on the British Navy for general protection. The long coast-line is vulnerable to possible raids, but these to be successful must be swift and unexpected, and the only protection against these are the Rangoon Defence Scheme and the internal security forces. Burma has also no air force; the main vulnerable points by air are the oil fields and the oil refineries and depôts, and the aerodromes on the main air route to Singapore. For general air protection Burma depends on Singapore, together with the anti-aircraft defence that the territorial and auxiliary forces can put up.

Separation has certainly increased the cost of defence. In the coming year's budget 204 lakhs is provided for the defence services, and there is still a great deal of capital expenditure to come apart from the provision of an air force or marine. But this matter forms part of the financial difficulties of the future and is not within the scope of this paper.

These are the main problems that had to be worked out before separation took effect, and they were entirely separate from, and in addition to, the detailed arrangements that every Province had to make for the introduction of Reforms. There were, of course, many other comparatively minor complications—for instance, the alteration of existing laws to make them formally suitable to the new status of Burma, provision to give relief from income tax when the same income is taxed both in Burma and India, and many other details of a similar character. But I trust I have said enough to show that the separation of Burma from India was something more than a routine application of the general Reforms and involved considerations of importance to the Empire at large.

The CHAIRMAN: The lecture this evening has inevitably been technical because it was concerned with involved financial matters. The lecturer talked about defence. I was on the Viceroy's Council when all these changes were carried out. The military forces in Burma are largely recruited at present from the hill tribes, the Chins, Kachins, Karens, and so on. I would like to ask the lecturer, Is there any chance of the Burmans from the plains becoming presentable troops? Otherwise this country is still at present responsible for the defence of Burma.

The LECTURER: When the present Indian contingent leave Burma, except for the military police, some 10,000 strong, the only troops in Burma will be Burmese, but it is true that the greater part of them are drawn from the hill tribes.

Another MEMBER: Are the Burmese themselves beginning to develop military qualities?

The LECTURER: They are beginning to develop most of the military qualities except discipline. (Laughter.)

A MEMBER: That has always been the trouble. We recruited 700 Burmese in one battalion of the military police four or five years ago now. The wastage in the first few years was appalling: the outgoing of men was more than the intaking actually. Now there is still a large wastage, but they seem to be settling down better.

Sir PHILIP CHETWODE: I have not got my answer yet. When I was in Burma in 1891 and 1892 as a mere boy, before the lecturer came there, we tried having a Burmese engineer unit of sappers and miners. They make very good carpenters, but had no idea of sticking to a job, and would go off for a few days or longer whenever they felt inclined. We could not make them understand the meaning of discipline, and the Burman is so casual by temperament that I do not believe you ever will make him understand it.

The question of the Burmese Army is important, for when Burma gets complete self-government a great deal of power will inevitably be in the hands of the Army. And if that Army is largely composed of hillmen, who have a supreme contempt for the Burmese of the plains, there will be the makings of a difficult situation.

Now may I, as one of you, return a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Hugh Stephenson for his lecture on what is a very complicated subject indeed; and I am sure no one could have told us more than he did about the commercial and financial aspects of the separation of the Government of Burma from that of India.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE LACQUER INDUSTRY OF BURMA*

By A. P. MORRIS

Lecture given on April 13, 1938. Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the peculiar position—I do not know whether others in this room have it—of belonging to both the Societies which are collaborating in this meeting, the Royal Central Asian Society, and the humbler but still useful body, the Indian Village Welfare Association. It is rather a happy occasion that we have met for the first time in unison, finding in Mr. Morris and his subject a person and a question of interest to both Associations.

Mr. Morris was for many years in Burma, first of all as an irrigation engineer. He then became Provincial Art Officer, but after that he did great work at the Insein Technical School, and proved—what had hitherto been doubted by many people—that the peoples lying between India and China are not by any means either lazy or devoid of practical manual skill. I believe, when he first went to that school, the majority of the people were not of the Burmese race, but when he left the large majority were Burmese. That is a considerable achievement. The same thing has been done in Malaya. But it depends on having the right man in charge of it, the man who keeps them to their work, and at the same time is friendly with them and is keen on his job.

Now let us ask him to tell us about it.

THE subject of this paper is “Cottage Industries: With special reference to Burma.” Without taking undue advantage of the freedom left me by the title, perhaps I may be excused if I deal briefly with the general subject of cottage industries, their origin and development, before making special reference to Burma.

Cottage industries have, of late years, attracted a good deal of attention not only in India but also in this country and elsewhere. If we are to form any clear idea of their possible future, it is suggested that we must consider their past history and study their growth, firstly, in general terms, and, secondly, in detail for each particular industry.

On reading through the reports of efforts which have been made to foster cottage industries, it becomes obvious that there has been some lack of definition for the term. This is natural enough when we con-

* The lecture was given in co-operation with the Indian Village Welfare Association.

sider that the urge to take action may have had a variety of origins. It may have been due to a desire to improve the income of cottage dwellers; it may have been the result of a sense of discomfort at the displacement of locally made articles by imports; the narrowing demand for some form of skilled labour may have caused dismay; or, again, a belief that the old methods produced articles more beautiful than is possible under modern conditions of manufacture may have been the driving force. These are different lines of approach and may lead to different conceptions of cottage industries. The emphasis in this paper is on their economic value.

Perhaps the best classification would be those industries which do not include agriculture or domestic work and which can be undertaken in the village home as a part or whole-time occupation, without any necessity for factory organization. But a consideration of this classification will show that it is not a definition, and this is very significant.

For in Burma, at least, if we are to accept the scope of the investigations made by the Superintendent of Cottage Industries, a cottage industry may be undertaken in an urban area; and while an occupation such as potting may be limited to one or two workers in one area, elsewhere it may occupy the attention of a whole large village; from that to a factory organization is only a step in co-operative effort.

The importance of cottage industries is largely relative; the more primitive the life of a community, the more nearly we approach to an area in which cottage industries are of prime importance. In its simplest form presumably the family was a complete unit, able to perform all the operations necessary to its existence; but all development has involved a growing interdependence and with it a tendency to specialization. The need for implements for work in field and forest, and apparatus for domestic purposes, quite apart from weapons of defence and attack, produced a demand for craftsmen of particular kinds. The result of specialization was greater skill, and the reward of increased skill was enhanced receipts, whether in kind or in power is immaterial for the moment. This is the beginning of cottage industries.

It may be said of any industry that it had its origin in the coincidence of certain conditions. There must have been a craftsman with vision, there must have been the necessary material available, and there must have been an appreciative public. Without these three conditions an industry would never have been started or it would have died stillborn.

Similarly, the continuance of an industry and its growth depend on

a continued supply of materials and labour, demand for its products and adaptability to meet ever-changing needs. These are vital conditions as important to-day as in the past; if any one fails the industry will collapse.

Assuming the conditions necessary for its birth the nature of the industry will force its development along certain paths. If it calls for particular skill, hardly acquired, the tendency to specialization and whole-time occupation will be more marked than in the case of an occupation easily learned.

Among the whole-time occupations the demand within the economic radius of distribution may be insufficient to support more than one craftsman; the village blacksmith is a case in point. On the other hand, factors may appear which encourage grouping, as, for instance, in pottery; for, except in the lowest grades of work, to reduce the expenditure of fuel large kilns are necessary. This need reacts in grouping the potters, for one man cannot easily fill a large kiln in a reasonable time.

The tendency to grouping is not new in Burma; there have for a long time been well-established villages of potters, ironmakers, lacquer workers, wheelmakers and others, which illustrate this natural trend. When such a whole-time industry grows, one of two things must be happening:—either the radius of distribution has increased or the output has become more popular within a restricted area.

Difficulties of distribution restrict this tendency, but of late years the motor-car has been such a potent agency in the reduction of time-space that the convenient radius of distribution has been widened, and this must encourage grouping.

Almost inevitably growth necessitates repetition work, while with the introduction of repetitive work and the demand for quantity, the use of mechanical appliances will receive emphasis. We hear a good deal about the dulling effect of monotony, and there may be some limit beyond which monotony becomes undesirable, but if an industry serves a social purpose, surely one of its functions is to make available to a wider and wider circle any particular article manufactured. Moreover, as an industry grows it draws in an increasing number of workers, and not every worker possesses initiative and imagination; far from it. It is doubtful whether it would be a social advantage to have too many innovators in an industry. If we are to judge by the natural tendencies exhibited by industrial workers, monotony is not the evil thing it is sometimes represented to be; there

is much less effort required, much less wear and tear in doing the same thing over and over again, and the worker who works for a return welcomes reduced wear and tear.

Indeed, the outcry against monotony often has its origin among good folk outside the industry who, themselves restless, would impart this restlessness to the craftsman. Certainly within an industry the movement is towards repetition as the path of least resistance; it follows the natural law of minimum effort for maximum effect. This can be illustrated from any natural industry.

Left to itself it will go still further; it will develop all the features of a Ford car industry, one worker will concentrate on a particular item and pass on the partially finished article to another. For instance, in the umbrella industry in Mandalay the work is subdivided: one man cuts the spools, another makes ribs, another sticks, and so on to the final assemblage, and this has developed from choice as the most convenient way of dealing with the matter.

Thus the trend of the cottage industry is towards larger industrial groups. The search for economy of effort or its corollary, greater production for the same effort, will encourage a gradual concentration, and it becomes a question whether it is necessary or desirable to resist it.

The industrial revolution drove workers into large factories, partly because it was only possible to supply power in comparatively large units. It is interesting to speculate whether in the fact that we can now transport power cheaply and make small units of power available, per the electric motor, in individual homes, we may have a means of reducing the necessity for large factory buildings.

This would not apply to heavy industries, where concerted action is necessary, and it would not greatly retard the grouping tendency; it might be more pleasant for the worker, though it is open to question whether it would really increase domestic felicity for the worker to carry on his manufacture by his own fireside.

There is an advantage in some degree of grouping from the point of view of marketing the material. Salesmanship has a tendency to sell itself at an overestimated figure, but salesmanship and all that goes with it in the way of distribution and delivery is a special craft for which the producer of the goods often has not much ability.

The part-time occupations suitable for cottage workers become, therefore, more and more limited in number. Generally speaking, they will be occupations requiring comparatively little skill, occupa-

tions which will not be hampered from a trading point of view by an irregular flow of output, and possibly they will be most likely to succeed where the output will be used by the craftsman himself or herself or in a comparatively small circle of distribution. Weaving, basket-work and mat-making are examples of such industries in Burma.

This is not a pessimistic view, but in supporting the growth of cottage industries it is necessary to face facts if we are to avoid misfits.

But if these cottage industries are subject to the ordinary laws which govern industrial development and wax or wane as they succeed or fail to be of service to the community, why worry?

It cannot be denied that cottage industries have shown a general decline during the last few decades, and a good deal of time and effort has been spent on their encouragement and revival.

This effort has been made on various grounds which may be classed as economic, social, æsthetic, and sentimental.

The strength of the urge to preserve cottage industries on economic grounds varies widely. In Burma the agricultural season is short and for a great part of the year there is little to do. The reward of agriculture under these conditions may have been sufficient when the amenities of life were fewer, when the standard of living, so measured, was lower, but the reward is now insufficient to supply the demands of the agriculturalist. Yet half-time employment cannot hope to secure the same wage as whole-time employment under equal conditions of skill, hence for these people some extra occupation is desirable. This applies particularly to the dry zone of Burma. It is true of other Provinces as well, and the disappearance of secondary occupation in the villages is regarded as a disaster by those who are concerned with village life in India.

It does not, of course, follow that the only remedy for the meagre income of the villagers, measured by modern standards, is to be found in part-time and secondary occupations. If the agricultural department are successful in widening the Burman's outlook and can find in other crops, or possibly in stockbreeding, sufficient occupation for the whole year and a sufficient remuneration, the economic need for subsidiary industries disappears. At present the Burman agriculturalist is perhaps too inclined to put all his eggs in one basket.

In a country such as England, on the other hand, the economic demand for a revival of subsidiary industries might be—just zero. For *if* it be true that mechanization has brought manufacturers to the saturation point and that the solution of *our* unemployment

problem is to increase the leisure time of the employee, then obviously while some form of occupation for that leisure time may be desirable, it must not have the effect of reducing demand for the products of the existing industries. The revival of subsidiary industries will be rather in the direction of providing a hobby. In Sweden, apparently, home industries have survived in this form, much time being spent in those pleasant leisure-time occupations which enhance the appearance of the home, with possibly some local interchange of the products of their hobbies; this is all eminently desirable and can give much satisfaction to the individual, it will stimulate æsthetic feeling, but it partakes more of the nature of a social development. In England the main outlet seems to be not so much in the house as outside; to those who can look back to the condition of small homes at the end of last century, the difference in the gardens is a striking and encouraging sign that increasing leisure need not be the downward path to degeneracy.

This reason for the preservation of cottage, or, to use a wider term, home industries, is more of a social question, and a very important question too. The social, intellectual and moral value of hobbies is inestimable and the economic value fades into relative insignificance, but discussion of this aspect is outside the scope of the present paper.

There is a special feature in the social value of cottage industries which, if not peculiar to Burma, can at least be urged as a cogent reason for encouraging them in parts of that Province. Mr. English, the father of co-operative effort in Burma, wrote :

“I take it that one of the chief causes of crime in this Division (the Irrawaddy Division) is the fact that it is a one-crop area in which one-yoke cultivators can hardly make ends meet. They consequently require subsidiary crops to eke out a living. Further, subsidiary industries would, while improving their economic condition, keep agricultural labourers employed throughout the months when agricultural employment cannot be got.”

The womenfolk are at the bottom of the trouble; they will not look at a young man who has not got a bit of raiding to his credit. It is the off-season in agriculture which provides the idle hours which Satan is said to find so useful to his purpose. The condition was at one time not unknown on the marches of Scotland and Wales. The more even distribution of the working season and the permanent invasion of England by tribes from the north and west have been responsible for a decline of such practices in this country. This lack of occupation in the off-season does, however, provide a social problem

in Burma as urgent as the provision of right occupation for increasing leisure time in England.

The tendency to grouping in whole-time industries already mentioned makes for urbanization of population, with its defects. While we are learning by grim necessity that urbanization is undesirable if carried far, I suppose that some measure of urbanization will take place even for the agricultural labourer, who will, as roads improve, seek an urban home, travelling to his work each morning by mechanical means; indeed, this movement might proceed faster were it not that flocks must be moved and milked and we have not yet bred cattle on wheels. In this urbanization Burma is, if anything, in advance of England, for the agriculturalists collect in villages and there are no outlying farms.

As a transition measure the preservation of cottage industries may be urged on both economic and social grounds. For as a craft moves from its early stages to its development as a great industry it is more important to preserve the craftsman than to evolve a scientific adviser. Heredity plays as large a part in manual skill as in any other form of skill, and any training or education scheme which discourages continuity in hereditary craft ability does a social disservice to the community.

The æsthetic demand finds its justification in the fact that all craftsmanship at its highest results in the production of objects with æsthetic appeal; a master craftsman will tend to produce an object which has æsthetic value.

If, however, this æsthetic appeal is put in the foreground, the tendency will be to seek revival of a declining craft by the provision of an art school and to expect too much from such a provision. For an industry does not live on show pieces only. The real master craftsman is, in fact, a sport, or freak, appearing as an occasional phenomenon among a mass of ordinary workers, and unless the industry can support this mass of workers the chances of a genius appearing are reduced in proportion to the reduction of the mass.

This applies to the isolated workers also, for it is only an occasional village blacksmith or other craftsman who will produce works worthy to endure.

Again, a master craftsman is only likely to have the real qualities which make his work admirable if he has been through the mill, starting with the simplest products, the utilitarian objects by which the industry earns its daily bread. For it is by long experience, and

but little by teaching, that he acquires that knowledge of the touch and feel and appearance and smell and taste of his material which must become ingrained and intuitive before he can launch out into original work. Dreams only come true when the dreamer has a background of intimate personal experience.

Far be it from me to deprecate the provision of art schools, but they can hardly be expected to be very effective in the preservation of an industry.

Some mention should be made of art and craft exhibitions. The annual exhibition of arts and crafts held in Rangoon was started by Mr. Tilley in 1885, and continues to be held. This has provided a great deal of assistance to craftsmen in a Province such as Burma, where the craftsmen are scattered in many cases away in inaccessible villages. They secure a market for their best wares, and this gives a fillip to the industry.

From the æsthetic point of view the result is somewhat mixed. A good many suggestions made by visitors are not altogether successful. The woodcarver is induced to produce much-carved tables which are veritable dust-traps and most unsuitable as tables, or chairs which—since he never sits on a chair himself—appear as prickly monstrosities that can only be sat on at the user's peril. The same remark applies to other crafts. It is striking how necessary it is that the craftsman should be familiar with the use of the article which he makes. One instance may be mentioned: a metal worker was asked to produce some fish knives for a dinner service, and although he was shown one and given a sketch the result was useless, the handle being far too thin and uncomfortable to hold, while the whole object was out of balance. Yet the same man produced a betel-nut cutter which was admirable in every respect.

The sentimental point of view is the most difficult to define, the most elusive when it comes to pinning it down to a logical argument. One might often accuse it of being, quite unintentionally, selfish. It may arise from a dislike of some political standpoint and find its expression in an attempt to drive the villager back to the spinning-wheel, regardless of the fact that he will be poorer in the result; it may arise from patriotic motives and inhibit the villager from obtaining imported articles quite regardless of the fact that the villager, if left to himself, would buy those articles because they save him time, trouble and money. It may express itself in an admiration of some rustic cottage and demand its preservation, although this means that

someone else will, by living in the cottage, be deprived of some of the amenities of more modern structures; or the picture of an old woman sitting at her lace pillow, peering at her work by the light of a candle focused through a glass globe, may seem too attractive to resist, and a return to lace pillow work is advocated *as an industry*, although the earning power under these conditions may be less per day than would be obtained by other means per hour.

Yet if one wants to raise money for the support of a movement, the sentimental bait is the most effective, whether the appeal be to private individuals or to governments; indeed, public bodies are more susceptible than private individuals.

From a general consideration of the conditions which mould cottage industries may we now turn to a detailed consideration of certain specific cases.

First of all, I propose to take the case of the Burma lacquer industry, for it is an industry which we can trace through its most primitive stages up to an advanced degree of development. It has both an utilitarian output and, in its best wares, a measure of æsthetic appeal: it has appreciable economic value as a subsidiary industry, for it is the mainstay of many part-time and some whole-time workers in a comparatively arid region: its preservation should make a sentimental appeal to the Burman, for in some of their forms the products are unique: and it is in danger of extinction.

The story of the industry starts with a need for better containers. All communities are faced with a need of vessels for storage and transport; this problem is as important to-day as it was in the past.

The primitive community in Burma had at its disposal basket-ware, probably, even at a very early date, crude pottery, and, as an alternative, especially for liquids, lengths of bamboo and other natural objects hollowed out. To this some early inventor added lacquer-ware. He found that the grey juice exuding from the bark of a certain tree applied to his basket-ware turned black in drying but greatly improved the ware. Smearred on to the work this material, called *thitsi*, acted as an adhesive and preservative, strengthening the joints, helping to hold together the weak parts, stopping unravelling, protecting the material from rot, and even acting as a waterproofing.

It does not need very much imagination to see what an improvement this was, what an advantage the new ware must have had over the old, and once prejudice had been overcome we can see the inventor or his imitators waxing comparatively opulent.

Of course, there would have been detractors of the new ware, especially among the other workers. The æsthetically minded would compare the dingy colour of the new ware with the clean beauty of the old slivers of bamboo or reed. Social economists would point out that *thitsi*, by giving greater lasting value to the wares, would produce unemployment, and technical experts would be called on to find some reason against the use of *thitsi*—some probable slow poisoning of the community. But the thrifty housewife, while deploring, with other gossips, all these changes, would introduce one or two of the new vessels into her home, maintaining that a hard-working woman must do the best she can, though, of course, the headman and his set ought not to encourage any novelty that would take the bread out of the mouths of poor folk.

No live industry stands still, and further improvements were made. By mixing the *thitsi* with ash or other fillers a soft putty was obtained which could be wiped over the surface of the basket-ware, filling the interstices, and converting it into a watertight vessel. The desire for better markets or the instinct of a craftsman to improve his output, whichever you will, but probably both, led to progressive changes. The coarse filling was smoothed over and a coat of pure *thitsi* was applied, giving a glossy black surface. From this to the use of pigments was a natural step, first in the way of self-coloured surfaces and then as patterns. Alternatively the *thitsi* putty was moulded to give a fluted surface reminiscent of the gourd which the craftsman was accustomed to use as a hollowed vessel. A different and probably much later method of ornamentation was a sgraffito design, formed by scratching the polished surface with a sharp scribe, and these scratches were filled with pigment forming either monochrome designs or, by successive series of scratches and different pigments, polychrome designs. The simplest of these sgraffito designs is an obvious attempt to produce on a smooth surface the high and low lights of a basket-work texture. It is exceedingly interesting to note how conservative natural design is, returning again and again to memories of earlier forms. The smooth surface was better from the point of view of usage, but rather monotonous in appearance.

The work described so far is all carried out on a framework of basket-ware, which sets some limit to the shapes available; rectangular boxes and similar shapes being difficult in this type of framework. In Mandalay, particularly, a branch of the industry developed in connection with the furnishing of *phongyi kyaungs* (monasteries) in the provision of chests and cupboards. To carry out this work it was

necessary to resort to a wooden base to which the lacquer could be applied. The craftsman accustomed to basket-weaving got rather out of his depth and the carpentry was generally very poor. The lacquer-work mostly took the form of moulded designs in *thitsi* putty applied to the prepared timber surface and was generally gilded. Often this was enriched with pieces of coloured mica or glass, producing very ornate work. From this to architectural work was a natural step, and on this bolder work the crude carpentry was less of a defect, but the lacquer-work was chiefly relegated to a secondary place as an adhesive for the glass mosaics and a framing round the individual pieces. In its own atmosphere and surroundings much of this work is exceedingly attractive, though it may be entirely out of place when translated to a European drawing-room. There was, however, in 1918 a beautiful monastery some miles south of Mandalay in which lacquer had been used with great delicacy for the moulded panelling, and from a European point of view the beauty was all the greater for restraint in the use of gilding. This monastery was in ruins and rapidly going to pieces in the jungle; it has probably disappeared by now. Yet when the Archæological Department asked for permission to save some of the panelling as museum pieces and thus keep a record of good work, permission was refused by the Burman trustees, who on religious grounds preferred to let nature complete the destruction. It is all the more to be regretted because there is no other similar example in a state of repair.

One other form of lacquer deserves mention: this is a smooth lacquer-work in gilded design which is used for small objects such as boxes and trays.

The output, as will be seen, varies widely in scope and quality, and enough has been said to show that the industry is important. A majority of the articles were widely used by the Burman—they were, in fact, domestic utensils, such as drinking vessels, platters, boxes, small low tables and the like—and while the more attractive articles gave an outlet for the master-craftsman, there was enough routine work available to provide occupation for several thousand workers, most of whom treated it as a subsidiary industry. The work was, moreover, subdivided, and the basket-work foundation was in many cases done by people who did not finish the application of the *thitsi*.

Yet the industry has failed to raise the lacquer worker to a position of a well-paid craftsman, with the natural result that the craft is in danger of extinction—not immediately perhaps; but if other occupations

pay better the younger generation will seek these more remunerative fields.

It is doubtful whether lacquer workers ever did make a good living; the labour of production is great, but the decay of the industry is due to certain causes, some of them general to village industries and some particular to this craft.

As a craft lacquer-work presents difficulties from the modern point of view. *Thitsi* is a wonderful material, it is acid- and alkali-proof, and a *thitsi* surface of a tray or other object is not marked by a hot plate or water jug. But each coat of *thitsi* takes about five days to dry, and a really good piece of lacquer-work may take several months to make owing to the pauses between each application. This means that either the craftsman must be paid in advance of final production, or he must wait a long time for the reward of his labour. In an industrial system such as that obtaining in village industry in the East the result is almost inevitably a low wage. In a factory, payment of wages in advance of realization of sales is usual, but even so it is seldom that sales lag several months behind the wage payments.

Again, the craftsman is more conservative than the purchasing public; he does not move so readily with the times. The Burman has had brought before him other wares—simple pottery, enamelled iron, and Japanese lacquer—which suit his present needs and purse better than the old-fashioned local lacquer; at least he seems to think so. It is probable that in the long run they are not so durable, but low cost will generally win against lasting value to-day. This is all very sad, but all industry must be prepared to face competition from alternative articles.

To help the lacquer workers, who are tucked away in rather inaccessible areas and consequently may need some information about competitive articles, two lacquer workers were brought down to the Government Technical Institute near Rangoon, and there they turned out novel articles to test whether their manufacture could be undertaken. The articles were comparatively simple. Toilet sets, wash-hand-basins, etc., were made in lacquer, and certainly there seemed some chance of these being a success. The jug presented a difficulty as regards the handle, not because a good solid handle was impossible, but because of that inherent difficulty in getting a craftsman to make an article which he does not understand himself. When the idea was passed on to the villagers they produced jugs with weak and entirely unsuitable handles, and looking back it seems obvious that it would have been better to make water pots rather than jugs. These would

probably have been quite as marketable and much safer. The price at which these articles could be produced was competitive. The men even produced a very successful and attractive bath tub, but this was a more ambitious effort. There were, however, quite a number of small objects of a type to meet modern local demands, which could be introduced to the lacquer workers as better paying propositions than their ordinary wares.

As a result it was proposed that this work should be extended by providing a centre of information in the biggest of the lacquer-working areas. The suggestion was that there should be an experimental station combined with a school for young craftsmen. The school was to be linked up with the ordinary system of elementary village education. The ideal would have been to put a master lacquer worker in charge, but none with sufficient width of outlook was available, and a young Burman who had received some engineering training and had subsequently shown initiative in working for himself instead of the Government was put in charge. He had two trained lacquer craftsmen and a carpenter on his staff, as well as a schoolmaster for ordinary educational work. It was quite a small affair and might have done well, but although it is still in existence the initial intention seems to have been forgotten to some extent. What is more obstructive to good results, it has lived continually under a threat of extinction: each year, according to the reports, the closing of the school has been mooted and a grudging sanction for a further year has been given. These conditions do not foster progress. For some reason the education authorities loaded the curriculum with English as a subject. The Principal, after several years, was given Irish promotion and his pay was cut by 25 per cent. In spite of this something has been accomplished in the way of helping the craftsman to adopt new ideas and to simplify his work. It seems to me that too much attention has been paid to the "art" ware end of the work and too little to the production of utilitarian products which will keep the industry going. This is natural enough on the part of a staff who had to comply with a demand to make a splash at the annual art exhibition, but it displays some lack of vision on the part of the higher control. I would venture to suggest that the effort to create an export market is not in the best interests of the industry at first—it should first seek to meet the market at its doors; an overseas market is much more difficult to obtain against local competitive articles in that market.

Some of the action taken may not be so pleasant to record, for

experiments have been made towards replacing *thitsi* by synthetic surfacing materials which will not have the same merits. This is distressing, but one must admit that setting sentiment aside it may be a right course. The aim is to provide occupation for workers with a particular type of skill, and for the popular market it may be necessary to explore the possibilities of other surfacing materials. It is a change, but one which preserves continuity in craftsmanship.

Lacquer is not by any means the only industry which has received or deserves attention. A good deal of effort has been made to revive the weaving industry. This is an industry of old standing, and practically every young woman used to weave simple cloth. The loom generally used was a narrow loom with a hand-thrown shuttle limiting the width of weave to about 22 inches, which in its turn had an effect on the designs of Burmese dress. Both cotton and silk were woven and the Burman used quite a lot of silk; but the silk yarn was imported, home-grown silk being unobtainable for religious reasons.

The weaving industry can be practised in the home, and it is remunerative without sales in that it saves expenditure of funds by providing a material for personal use by the craftsmen.

In 1912 the Saunders Weaving Institute was opened near Mandalay to provide instruction. One of the early changes made was the introduction of a fly-shuttle loom in place of the hand-thrown shuttle. This made it possible to double the width of weave and to increase greatly the output. No objection can be raised to this, but it should be noted that it was a change in the direction of reducing labour by the improvement of mechanical processes. It would be a very dead craft which did not accept improved tools and machinery as they were offered.

The Institute, under a Principal from India, has undertaken the training of weavers in the Institute itself; it has also sent out travelling instructors to help to establish local schools and classes. It has a technical section dealing with testing and other work. As a specialist institution it has been of great value to the Province, and can take credit for having accomplished much to preserve weaving as a part-time industry.

Yet weaving is said to be in a bad way. The Superintendent of Cottage Industries in 1936 reports:

“Weaving still forms one of the most important of cottage industries by providing an important subsidiary occupation to the cultivator's family during the off-times when he is not engaged in agricul-

tural work. Machine-made imported cotton cloth has largely replaced the hand-woven product, and hand-loomers are not so much in evidence in villages as in olden days when every village maiden wove all the requirements of the family. The demand, however, still continues, and those who can weave either save something on their domestic needs or earn some extra money in their spare time. The only difference is that in these times the weaver makes no profit. He earns merely the wages of his labour."

That last phrase is repeated from a previous report. It is not quite clear what is meant or expected.

There are several other village industries in Burma with which there is no time to deal in detail. Each must be considered on its own merits, and the remedy will vary from case to case. Fine grass mats—very acceptable in Burma, though not much use for an export trade—small ironwork from Pyawbwe, the mother-of-pearl industry of Mergui, the stone workers of Pakokku and elsewhere, and many other cases provide opportunities both as subsidiary industries and also as the nucleus from which groups of workers might be drawn for more ambitious development.

We now come to the thorny problem of why cottage industries are failing to secure adequate wages for the craftsman and are as a natural consequence unpopular with the rising generation. I have already suggested that they never were very remunerative; but the relative remuneration of other occupations has risen, leaving them behind.

An *ad misericordiam* appeal to the public to support cottage industries is futile. It may be effective in producing an apparent stimulus such as we see at sales of work, where one dreadful example circulates from sale to sale collecting funds for charity in its course and so fulfilling its purpose; but that is not exactly helping an industry. External support if given must be justified, for an industry should exist by its own vitality and cannot live by artificial respiration.

At the outset it was suggested that three conditions were necessary: an adequate supply of craftsmen and materials, adaptability to meet changing circumstances with suitable methods and products, and an appreciative public. If any of these fail the industry must die.

Each of these terms needs some expansion, and by an appreciative public is meant one which will demand the wares in sufficient quantity and be willing to pay sufficient for them to make manufacture worth while.

Cottage industries suffer from certain disadvantages as compared

with organized factories quite apart from any question of mechanical processes. As they extend, or try to extend, all the intermediate stages between production and realization on sales become more and more important. Isolated or semi-isolated workers are at a disadvantage in the matter of collection, packaging, delivery, the obtaining and filling of orders, and the various processes which, in a factory, are the functions of the sales and accounts staffs. But any disadvantage under which an industry labours has to be paid for, and since the public will not willingly pay for it, and since it is questionable how far it is legitimate to make the public pay by expenditure of public funds, the cost comes back as a reduced remuneration.

The tendency to-day is to turn to the co-operative system as a life-line, and co-operation is not unknown in Burma. Co-operative credit societies started on their career in Burma about thirty years ago, but it was not until a good many years later that production and sales societies came into being. It must be admitted that their history makes melancholy reading; they had hardly time to get into swing before the world slump set in and one by one they have failed. There is one point which stands out in the yearly reports, and that is the reiterated statements that supervising officers were so busy winding-up old credit societies that they had no time to help foster the production and sales societies which needed help and advice. The doctors in fact were so busy in the mortuary that they had no time to care for the living. Further, as soon as an officer showed ability he seems to have been given the chance of a better post elsewhere. We cannot blame the individual, but the fostering of such a movement does need understanding and enterprise, and these come with experience. Frequent changes delay the course of progress and each delay deals a blow at the task of educating the craftsmen in business methods.

It is said that the Burman village craftsman cannot be educated in business ways. I do not believe it for one moment; the same remark has been made about the Burman as a soldier or as an engineer. It was suggested at a recent meeting of this Society that the Burman will not submit to discipline. I cannot claim personal experience in training the Burman as a soldier, but I do know something about training him as an engineer. Success in that direction, moreover, was not attained by spoon-feeding methods: the Insein Technical Institute provided a harder training than most; indeed, its success was largely due to an early elimination of the worms. Much depends on selection and the hereditary aptitude of the student.

It will, however, facilitate discussion to return to the lacquer industry as a specific case, for the conditions vary and the remedies differ in consequence from industry to industry.

The lacquer industry had its sales and accounts staff, for some of the wares were taken round the local bazaars by the worker or his family, some were taken over by merchants, who might be master-craftsmen, and they were sold in the bazaars of the larger towns such as Mandalay, Rangoon, and others. It is not fair to throw all the blame on the merchants and to accuse them of rapacity; they often had to advance money on poor security before the goods were made, and even if they took over finished articles they were often faced with considerable expense and delay in selling them. The output of the lacquer industry is too great for local sales by the craftsman's family, but the gap between the craftsman and his public is rather clumsily bridged and the toll is heavy.

Because times have changed too rapidly for the craftsman, some external help may be advisable to aid him in changing to more suitable wares. The lacquer school at Pagan was intended as an experimental station, and the Principal, with some higher assistance, might well do more to evolve marketable wares and test the demand for them. I suggest that the emphasis has been too much on art wares and a search for an export market. Art wares will not keep an industry going and the export market is a difficult market. Experiments in new articles for manufacture are a justifiable public charge at present; they need not involve much expenditure—indeed, it was intended that so far as making the articles and determining the construction were concerned, this would be the real work of the instructors and their pupils. My experience of the Burman craftsman is that he is quick on the uptake and able to adapt his ideas. A local bureau such as was suggested would be more effective than a central training institution of all industries, which is liable to be filled with students having no hereditary craft. Personally I consider that this emphasis on heredity is right and logical, though heredity may be physical or social; it may be the heredity of parentage or the heredity of early and continuous environment.

However unpalatable it may be to those who look on, the substitution of new materials in place of *thitsi* and bamboo must be tried, for it is the industry and the livelihood of the craftsman which is at stake. Some of the cheaper wares may thus be diverted, but *thitsi* will retain a place in the industry for the higher class wares.

A production and sale society gets nearer the ideal of co-operation than a mere credit society. It may be necessary to risk some funds to allow of purchase from the craftsman of a supply of the new wares which have been established as having a marketable value. To that extent the Superintendent of Cottage Industries must be responsible for backing his fancy with Government funds. Once an article finds a ready sale official action can fade out; it is not necessary to antagonize the normal methods of sale, official efforts should only be directed to opening up new channels or acting as escapes when the natural channels tend to silt up and obstruct flow.

Cottage industries have a survival value: directly as a means of providing subsidiary industries for part-time workers in need of part-time remuneration, and indirectly as a source of craftsmen for more organized industries. But if an industry is to survive it must justify its existence by providing an adequate remuneration to the worker, and it must also justify its existence by being of service to the community.

The survival of skilled craftsmanship is a subject about which people are inclined to be pessimistic, but personally I cannot feel that the evidence supports the theory that the proportion of master-craftsmen in relation to the whole population is any less to-day than it ever was. There may be a greater proportion of the population working on the outskirts of crafts and comparatively unskilled, but modern machinery does not destroy skill or discourage imagination. For from the most primitive times onwards, from the introduction of the first potter's wheel, the first simple loom, the first feather and bamboo blower for the bronze worker's furnace, the first flint artifact for scraping a pelt, the master-craftsman has been inventing and improving machines and tools to lighten his physical effort and perfect his out-turn, and he never can and never will, so long as he progresses, cease at his best to be an artist and a dreamer of dreams that come true. But that is another story.

A MEMBER: What is *thitsi*?

Mr. MORRIS: *Thitsi* is the juice obtained from a tree (*Melanorrhœa usitatissima*). An incision is made in the bark, very similar to the incision made in the bark of a rubber tree, and the juice is collected. It is an ugly, grey, evil-smelling juice, but as it dries it turns a beautiful jet black and gives a wonderful surface.

A MEMBER: What is the foundation they use in Burma to their lacquer-work?

Mr. MORRIS: The foundation work in all cases shown here was basket-work. There are different ways of making basket-work. You can weave your basket or wind it, according to the type of article. The first coats of *thitsi* help to strengthen the basket-work and prevent unravelling.

A MEMBER: It is all basket-work foundation? Nothing else?

Mr. MORRIS: The earlier work was, until they began to use wood-work, as described in the paper.

A MEMBER: There is no papier mâché?

Mr. MORRIS: No; that is one of the things that has been introduced recently, and it may be a useful development.

A MEMBER: How do they get the pale colours if it is black to start with?

Mr. MORRIS: By mixing with pigments. I have not anything here in painted designs; these are all sgraffito designs. The surface is scratched, the pigment is mixed with a little *thitsi*, and rubbed in and polished over. This red surface is a mixture of material which is the dragon's blood of the Chinese. It is mixed with *thitsi* and painted on as a paint. It is such a strong colour that it will even go over the black of the lacquer. They are mostly natural mineral pigments, but indigo is used for blue.

A MEMBER: Will not the keeping alive of the cottage industries depend on export, and how are people to get to know about them? Very few people really ever come across these things except at bazaars.

Mr. MORRIS: I agree that there is room for export, but generally speaking the export is for these fancy wares, and the fancy wares will not keep a body of workers going; you want the other as well. That is my contention.

We tried to interest home producers. Of course, there are practical difficulties, difficulties of the gap between an order and the time when it is filled when you are dealing with village workers. This is one of the very great difficulties. It is a gap which, as I suggested, could only be bridged by the Superintendent of Cottage Industries accepting an order and backing his fancy with Government funds. He would have to be a good salesman and know whether the goods were marketable.

A MEMBER: With regard to what the Chairman said about the Burman expressing himself in his particular style, I suppose the Anglo-Saxons used to express themselves by painting themselves with woad.

Yet we came to wear clothes, and I suppose are civilized and the better for that.

Mr. MORRIS: I have never known a craftsman who could not express himself, and express himself very forcibly. I think that the master craftsman had plenty of room for expressing himself in these wares, but the bulk of the wares were utilitarian things and there was no question that the bulk of the ware was wanted for use. When the master craftsman comes into the field he produces something beautiful.

A MEMBER: I think also that Burmese lacquer-work will stand a hot pot being put on it. In that it has a distinct advantage over the Japanese lacquer-work. I bought several things at a training school. They declared that they would stand heat and that they had a Japanese who had taught the process to the men. But I found that the dumb waiters and trays, if you put a teapot on them or hot-water jug, after the first two or three times were marked. I imagine that must have been inferior workmanship.

If any of you visit the British Industries Fair you will see sometimes there a very fine display indeed of village industries from India, but to what extent that really is a commercial success I do not know.

Mr. MORRIS: The point you raise about the lacquer-work is exceedingly interesting. The fact is that the lacquer-work can be finished with a final coat of material which is a wood oil of sorts and which gives you a polished finish, but that finish will not stand a hot plate.

On the other hand, in my own house, the dining-room furniture—which was built under my direction—is finished as lacquer-ware without a final application of wood oil, and you can put a hot plate on that. The best Japanese work, too, will not mark, but if they finish it with the cheap material I can understand it. *Thitsi* will stand alkali and acid, and it is the only anti-corrosive paint I know.

A MEMBER: How would prices compare with the other lacquer-work?

Mr. MORRIS: It all depends. I have always pressed people who want to send it home to get simple and plain lacquer-ware, which is comparatively cheap. But they will send home more ornate work, which is more expensive in the country of origin and too expensive to find a ready market at home.

Sir JAMES McKENNA: What about the work made with a horse-hair basis?

Mr. MORRIS: That is a very interesting product. *Thitsi* is a

wonderfully flexible material. They put it on to a framework with basket-work, not made of bamboo but of very thin slivers of bamboo and with horsehair as the weave. The great attraction is that if you get that you can squeeze the two sides together and it will not crack. It is indeed a wonderfully flexible material, but I always like people to try that on their own pieces and not on mine, because naturally you can go too far.

Sir JAMES MCKENNA: That is the luxury lacquer, is it not?

Mr. MORRIS: Yes, it is very expensive. A piece of lacquer like that has had to have twenty or thirty coats and has taken six or eight months to make.

A MEMBER: It is copied from Fu-Chow.

Mr. MORRIS: I would hesitate to say that, because it goes back into the dim past; but possibly it has the same origin.

The CHAIRMAN: It is not very often that we are able to listen to a paper which combines philosophy with economics and is also tinged with humour.

What struck me about Mr. Morris's way of approaching the subject was that he was dealing with an economic question, but he does not content himself with merely examining whether such-and-such an article can be put on the market, but tries to go deeper and to discover what is in the minds of the people who are producing it and under what conditions it can appeal to the people themselves who make it as well as to the consumer who buys it. I think those two points of view are not very often examined at the same time.

I found this address particularly interesting because I, too, for many years had the difficult task of trying to organize, with much less technical knowledge than Mr. Morris, a number of co-operative societies of small craftsmen, and was faced with exactly the same problems. He speaks of the difficulties of competition with machine-made goods, the reluctance of the people themselves to use the old-fashioned things because they are no longer fashionable, and the very great difficulty in finding a new market overseas by export.

I would have suggested from my own experience—and, as Mr. Morris has pointed out, the experience of every person and every art is different—I would have suggested that he perhaps underrates the possibilities of an export market, provided you are not proposing to establish a vast world industry. When you speak of an industry and whether you can find an outlet for its products, the question is, how large is the industry? If it is a small one, an export market can

possibly be made, as has been done in British Malaya with some of the sarongs and silk products there or with Kashmiri goods and certain of the craft products of Africa.

On the other hand, there remains this difficulty also that unless the people can switch over their production for home consumption to the things that their neighbours now want, can make baths or basins or whatever it may be instead of the old-fashioned water-pots, it is improbable that they can live on the export market alone. Also the exported product tends to become standardized, or sometimes fantastic. That may be seen at Jaipur with regard to the native brass-work, and at Benin in West Africa, where the same model of brass mask is made which was probably given to them by the Portuguese three hundred years ago, and it does not vary. It has a limited fancy market, but the bulk of the local people do not want it.

What is needed is that the Government should try to persuade the people who are producing handicraft goods to make what is now the new fashion of the people around them.

I remember another place in Africa where rather heavy wooden goods were made. For reasons good or bad the missionaries considered that these things were identified with unchristian cults, and they will not and the Government will not support the industry; and yet those same goods could be taken and applied to non-pagan purposes. For instance, I saw a little Christian church built just beside these woodworkers, and the panels had been brought out from home, whilst there was first-class work just beside them. That is the sort of thing that seems to me to be absurd.

I confess I am a little open to Mr. Morris's attack of being a sentimentalist in the matter; but it is not only sentimentality. I do feel that by their crafts a people express themselves. There is something real in their crafts and something worth keeping. I think they lose something if they substitute for them the use of imported bicycles and gramophones. Those of us who have that sentiment should continue the struggle to divert the activities of the craftsmen to new uses which may be serviceable to the people around them. (Applause.)

Sir JAMES MCKENNA: May I second the vote of thanks to Mr. Morris for his extremely interesting talk. I do so with strong personal reasons, because very many years ago I was the Provincial Art Officer in Burma. The Provincial Art Officer's work and duties were, in my case, in addition to a very large number of other appointments. When, after my return to Burma from India, I was administrative head of arts

and crafts again, I was extremely glad to find that the services of my old friend, Mr. Morris, were available, and that he was Provincial Art Officer.

Mr. Morris had a distinguished career in Burma, first as irrigation engineer and then as head of the Insein Technical Institute.

In addition to that he carried out the development of the arts and crafts of Burma on a thoroughly sound basis.

With reference to the struggle between art and utility, I think we are in rather a vicious circle. With all deference to Mrs. Morris's washhand basin, out of which the young Morrises seem to have got a good deal of fun, I am sure the ordinary Burmese lady would much prefer an enamel basin, first because it would be less likely to crack, and secondly it would be cheaper. You are always up against the competition of European imports equal in quality and cheaper in price.

Commercialization, of course, is the enemy of fine art. The Burman does not want these artistic things; he wants utility. The range of European buyers cannot support the æsthetic.

I have very much pleasure in seconding a very hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Morris, and I am very glad to meet him again. (Applause.)

Mr. MORRIS: I thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen. It is very difficult to deal with this subject in the time available; I could only deal with certain aspects.

Specimens of Burmese lacquer were shown by the Lecturer to illustrate his points.

THE LANGUAGE REFORM IN TURKEY

By A. A. PALLIS

SINCE the establishment of the New Régime in Turkey, linguistic and historical studies have been very much to the fore in that country and, in recent years, have engaged the special attention of Ataturk himself.

The Ottoman Empire, which had inherited the traditions of the Abbassid Caliphate and the Turco-Persian Empire of the Seljuks, had fostered the development of a peculiar Osmanli-Turkish language and style in which the primitive speech of the Turkish tribes was submerged under a thick layer of words of foreign origin—mostly abstract terms borrowed from Arabic and Persian.

For centuries the culture of the ruling classes in Turkey was based on the study of the Arabic and Persian languages, Arabic being the language of theology and law and Persian that of “belles lettres,” especially poetry. The constant study of the Koran, the Ḥadith (the Traditions of the Prophet) and the Sheriat (the Sacred Law), and of the works of the great Persian poets—Firdauzi, Nizami, Hafiz and Saadi—reacted on the Turkish language, as spoken and written by the educated classes, as profoundly as familiarity with the Greek and Latin classics on the formation of the languages of Western Europe since the Renaissance.

In the nineteenth century the influence of Panislamism, an idea much encouraged for political reasons under Sultan Abdul-Hamid, was yet another factor which helped to render the predominance of the Arabic over the native Turkish element in the language even more marked.

Until the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 the vocabulary in use in literature and the Press was literally stuffed with Arabic and Persian words. One has only to look through the pages of any Turkish literary production of that period—as, for instance, the memoirs of Kiamil Pasha, Grand Vizier and Turkey’s “Grand Old Man” during the latter part of the reign of Abdul-Hamid—and count the words to see that the proportion of Arabic and Persian words to Turkish is about seventy per cent.

Even the speech of the ruling classes was affected by the prevailing tendency. Decorum and fashion made it incumbent, in good society and official relations, to employ a ceremonious and pompous diction in which Arabic words were preferred to Turkish, and even Arabic constructions and whole phrases were mingled with a curious baroque effect to which Macaulay's criticism of Horace Walpole's frenchified style would have been eminently applicable.

This mania for employing unfamiliar words of foreign origin—unfamiliar as far as the great mass of the people were concerned—naturally carried with it serious practical drawbacks. Not only the common people, who were for the most part illiterate, but all those as well who did not belong to the educated or official caste, had great difficulty in understanding, not to say mastering, this highly artificial jargon.

Already during the nineteenth century there had been an attempt on the part of certain progressive spirits to react against the growing artificiality of the literary language. Namuk Kemal, Sinassi and Zia Pasha in the reigns of Abdul-Mejid and Abdul-Hamid had proclaimed that Turkish poetry ought to emancipate itself from its subservience to Arabic and Persian models, and seek inspiration from the native sources of popular Turkish ballad-poetry as preserved among the Anatolian peasantry. Fatih Ali Khan, a Caucasian Turk, had also submitted a memorandum to Sultan Abdul-Mejid, recommending the simplification of Turkish orthography, without daring however to go as far as to propose the substitution of the Latin for the Arabic alphabet, a reform which would have shocked the religious prejudices of the time.

After the Young Turkish Revolution of 1908, Hussein Jahid, one of the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress and editor of the *Tanin*, at that time the leading Turkish daily, started a campaign in favour of the simplification and Turcification of the language by eliminating all Arabic and Persian words for which there existed Turkish equivalents still in common use. Besides the purification of the vocabulary, he also advocated the adoption of a simpler literary style. In his articles he substituted short sentences, after the French model, for the interminable periods and cumbrous phraseology of the old Ottoman literary diction.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the reformers, however, the State, steeped as it was in religious traditionalism, remained impervious to these ideas until the fall of the Empire.

It required the revolutionary and modernizing genius of the great founder of New Turkey to give practical expression, as in so many other matters, to the innate craving for linguistic reform.

The first reform, of far-reaching and resounding importance, was the introduction of the Latin alphabet in 1928.

The next step was to attack the language problem.

In 1932, with the object of systematizing the study of linguistic questions, came the institution at Ankara of the *Türk Dili Kurumu* (Turkish Language Association), which had already been preceded a year previously by that of the *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (Turkish Historical Association). This body was placed under the patronage of the President of the Republic, with Sami Rifaat as Chairman and Rushen Eshref, one of the best-known Turkish writers of the new school, as Secretary-General. Later on the Association was placed under the permanent chairmanship of the Minister of Education, thus emphasizing the close connection between linguistic and educational reform.

The Association pursued its task with great vigour under the direct impulsion of Atatürk himself, who took a personal interest in its labours. It started by organizing an investigation of the dialects spoken throughout the country with the object of discovering Turkish equivalents for 1,300 words of Arabic origin in common use among the educated classes of Stambul.

The material collected was published in the Society's bulletin—the *Türk Dili* (the Turkish Language)—of which twenty numbers have appeared so far.

In 1934, the Association published a dictionary, in two volumes, called *Tarama Dergisi*. This contained some 6,000 Arabic and Persian words commonly employed either in the spoken or written language, together with their Turkish synonyms. These synonyms were collected from a great variety of sources both written and oral, the latter including practically every Turkish dialect spoken inside or outside Turkey.

The written sources drawn upon were of two kinds—original texts in Uighur, Turki, etc. (e.g., the famous Mogul Emperor Babur's Memoirs, which are in Turki) and also the linguistic works of foreign scholars such as the Turkish dictionaries of Radloff, Katanov, and Pekarski, as well as the 125 volumes of Kashgari's *Diwan-i lughat-i turk*.

The oral sources were, in the first place, the living Turkish language as spoken in various parts of Anatolia to-day, and, secondly,

the dialects spoken by peoples of Turkish race in Russia, Siberia, Central Asia, and Turkestan, such as Uighur, Turki, Yakut, etc.*

This was followed by another publication—the *Karshilik Klavuju*, or Gradus of Synonyms—in which a number of Turkish words were suggested as substitutes for corresponding Arabic or Persian words hitherto employed.

In 1935, a sort of linguistic referendum was organized through the medium of the Press, the public being asked to vote on the merits of the various new words, the adoption of which was proposed in the above publication.

The results of the referendum giving the words approved were published in the *Çeb Klavuju* (Pocket Gradus).

The Association, which to-day fulfils the functions of an Academy, has a large number of correspondents throughout Turkey and is also in close touch with the Academy of the Soviet Union at Leningrad, which specializes in the study of Oriental languages.

The Secretary-General of the Association is a well-known Turkish man of letters, Necmi Dilmen, who is the soul of the movement and enjoys the confidence of Atatürk.

Although the adoption of the new vocabulary has not been made compulsory, it has already penetrated into official nomenclature. Thus the Ministry of Education, for instance, has officially substituted the new Turkish form *okul* (derived from the Turkish *okumak*, to read) as the word for a school in place of the time-honoured *mekteb* (derived from the Arabic *kataba*, to write), and *okul* now appears on the boards over the entrances of all primary and secondary schools. Similarly, the Arabic *muellim* (a teacher) has been replaced by the neo-Turkish *öretmen* (from *öretmek*, to teach).

In military terminology the old Turkish word *subay* has been substituted for the Arabic *zabit*.

In theology, the name "Allah," which for centuries has resounded from every minaret throughout the Islamic world from Morocco to Chinese Turkestan, has been changed to the old Turkish *Tanrı*.

The new school has borrowed its political terminology from the

* According to the enumeration given by Sir Lucas King in his edition of Babur's Memoirs, the Turkish-speaking peoples include the Yakuts of Siberia, the Tatars of Kazan and Astrakhan, the Bashkirs, the Nogais of the Crimea and Caucasus, the Kirghiz, the Kara Kapaks south of the Sea of Aral, the Uzbeks of Central Asia, the Sarts of Bokhara, the Moghuls, the Uighurs of Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, the Turcomans, and the Persian Turks of Azarbaijan.

Mongols of Jengiz Khan, whom the present Turks claim as their ancestors.

The Grand National Assembly which, under its Turco-Arabic title of *Buyuk Millet Meclisi*, figured so prominently in the early days of the Turkish National Movement has been rebaptized *Kurultai* (since changed to *Kamutai*), the name of the old Mongol Assembly which used to elect the Khakan or Grand Khan. The Ministers who formerly bore the Arabic title *Nazir* are now called *bakan* (from Turkish *bakmak*, to look after).

Ataturk himself, who latterly has developed a great interest in all linguistic and historical questions (during the Historical Congress held last year at Dolma Bagché he followed all the discussions with keen attention, and it is an open secret that he devotes his leisure moments to compiling a new Turkish grammar for use in the schools), has made several personal contributions to the new vocabulary. It is he who suggested the words *Kamutai* for "assembly," *açi* (from Turkish *açmak*, to open) instead of the Arabic *zawiya* for "angle," *toplay* (from Turkish *toplamak*, to collect) instead of the Arabic *ijmal*, for "addition," and others.

The principal adherents of the neo-Turkish language movement are to be found, naturally enough, among the ranks of the Popular Party (the party founded by Kemal Ataturk which governs Turkey to-day). The party has set the example by re-drafting its statutes in accordance with the new linguistic principles.

Prominent among writers of the new school are Rushen Unaydin (now Turkish Minister at Athens) and Falih Hatay, editor of the *Ulus*, which is the official organ of the Government.

Several congresses have already been held to discuss linguistic problems connected with the Turkish language. The first of these was in 1932, the second in 1934, and the last in 1936. The Academy of the Soviet Union was represented by a number of distinguished Orientalists, including Samouelovitch, Meschaninoff, and Gabidoulin (the last-named a Turk).

The Association aims at gradually bringing the new nomenclature into general use through the medium of the schools by adapting the text of the school books to the reformed vocabulary.

Needless to say, the movement has its opponents, especially among the men of the older generation who are imbibed with the ideas and culture of the past. Among the critics is Hussein Jahid, who, although himself one of the original champions of the simplification of the

language, hold that the movement has gone too far in the other direction. Not so long ago a series of articles appeared from his pen in the literary review *Fikir*, in which he condemned the iconoclastic zeal of the advanced wing of the Reformists in wishing to obliterate all traces of a past, covering six centuries, by eliminating from the language every single Arabic word, notwithstanding the fact that many of these words, through constant usage, have become completely turkified. His view is that greater discrimination should be exercised and only those words dropped which have not yet been assimilated.

Another aspect of the reformist movement which comes in for a great deal of criticism is the tendency to substitute French words for Arabic in cases where no suitable Turkish equivalent is available. Thus, for instance, the Arabic *Dar el-Funūn* (lit. House of the Sciences), which was formerly the official title of the University of Stambul, has been changed to *Istanbul Üniversitesi*. The neo-Turkish words *şef* (Fr. chef) and *tez* (Fr. thèse) also belong to the same category of borrowed French terms.

Less open to criticism is the substitution, in scientific terminology, of words of Greek and Latin origin for the Arabic equivalents formerly in use—*e.g.*, *matematik* instead of *ilm-i riyazi*. Obviously there are great practical advantages in adopting the scientific nomenclature in use throughout the Western world. This is a point of view which, although much discussed, has not yet been accepted in the Arabic-speaking countries—*e.g.*, Egypt.

It is not for a foreigner to express an opinion on a question which demands a very thorough knowledge of the Turkish language both spoken and written. The experience, however, of other countries where similar linguistic problems have arisen would suggest that, whereas it is both feasible and justifiable to wish to eliminate foreign words which, having been artificially introduced into the language through the influence of the literati, have not been absorbed, those foreign words which through centuries of popular usage have become part and parcel of the language should be spared.

Opinion in Government circles and the Press, which at the beginning was inclined to favour a radical and indiscriminate elimination of all words of Arabic or Persian origin, seems of late to have somewhat cooled. The influence of the reformist movement on Turkish "journalese," as evidenced by the language of the principal newspapers, still appears to be very slight, and an analysis of the vocabulary of practically any newspaper article chosen at random would probably

show that more than fifty per cent. of the words employed are still etymologically Arabic—a proof of the difficulty of modifying forms of expression which have been consecrated by the usage of centuries.*

* In the spelling of Turkish words I have adopted, as a general rule, the new Turkish orthography of the word, even though this does not correspond to its English sound. But, in order to spare the printers, I have written “sh” instead of “s cedilla.”

THE FRENCH ARCHÆOLOGICAL DELEGATION TO AFGHANISTAN

Short notes of the lecture given with films of Afghanistan taken by Madame J. R. Hackin of the French Archæological Delegation in 1936 and 1937, and explained by M. J. R. Hackin, Director of the Musée Guimet, on March 27 to a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the India Society, the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland in the Chair.

ALTHOUGH the researches made from 1923-1934 by the French Archæological Delegation in Afghanistan had as their principal objective the exploration of Buddhist sites, that is to say Balkh (Teppe-Rustam) Paitava, Hadda, and Bamiyan, its members had always hoped to be able to complete their programme by an archæological survey of the Afghan portion of ancient Seistan. In 1930-1931, M. Barthoux reconnoitred the country as far as Peshawaran. In December, 1934, M. Carl, M. and Mme. J. R. Hackin and an Afghan foreman took the same route to examine the possibility of an archæological survey in the Chakansur district. December was devoted to this task and visits were made to the ruins of Peshawaran, Kala-i-Gawak and Kala-i-Fath. The knowledge gained from these investigations with what was known from the reports of Sir Frederick Goldsmid, Sir Henry MacMahon and the tales of British travellers from Christie and Pottinger to Sir Aurel Stein—including Dr. H. W. Bellew, Sir Charles Yate and his brother, Col. A. C. Yate, the books of G. P. Tate and the historical studies of Professor E. Herzfeld (*Archæologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*)—enabled them to start with the maximum information on their task.

The expedition was planned during 1936, and wishing to dispense with that tiresome and impracticable beast, the camel, which would be a burden during periods in a stationary camp in the waterless desert north of Kala-i-Fath, they chose a six-wheeled motor vehicle with special tyres and a high clearance, thus insuring the transport of personnel, food, etc., and being sufficiently mobile for survey work also. The funds only provided one of these cars, and camels were used to settle the camp quickly at Sar-o-Tar.

M. and Mme. Ghirshman, with two Afghan workers, had shortly before joined the Delegation. At Nad Ali, a little distance from the

Iranian frontier on the site of the ancient city of Zaranj, M. and Mme. Ghirshman, with an Afghan, made their camp, the mound Surkh-Tag being their objective. MM. J. Meunie and J. Carl, Professor and Mme. Hackin, and an Afghan, worked at Sar-o-Tar, with Kala-i-Fath as base camp, M. J. Boniface managing supplies. The reconnoitring party communicated by means of flares at night while surveying the district north of Sar-o-Tar. They worked from Nad Ali to Chigine, Chehel Bordj, Chakansurak, and Noken Kalat. The relief maps were made by M. J. Meunie, the contour maps by M. J. Carl, and photography and sketches by Mme. Hackin. The relief maps made at Sar-o-Tar show interesting details of the architecture at the time of the town's Muslim occupation. Shafts sunk under the citadel showed remains of the Sassanian period, and the plan of the ancient portion resembled that of the palace of Ardeshir at Firouzabad. The pottery they found dated from the prehistoric painted pottery to the Muslim Ceramic of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries.

At Nad Ali, M. Ghirshman excavated to a depth of 12 m. 50, finding arrowheads, armour and painted pottery, some of it richly embellished, dating from about 1000 B.C. The expedition's excavations and survey were only preliminary to the researches they hope to make in 1939-1940.

An expedition was also made under very difficult conditions to a site to the north-east of Kunduz, on the territory of ancient Bactriana. It is hoped that at some later date M. J. R. Hackin may show the film of this expedition and slides of the monastery. The plan of the building proved most interesting, the method of transforming the round dome to the square base was inspired by the Iranian rather than the Indian method of dealing with this difficult problem. The walls of the cells held traces of a painted polychrome ornamentation and the design was important. Much work still remains to be done, and comparisons must be sought in the works of the Soviet archæological survey on the right bank of the Oxus.

Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode proposed and Sir Richard Maconachie seconded the vote of thanks to M. and Mme. Hackin for these beautiful films.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE TRANS-JORDAN TRIBES

By MAJOR J. B. GLUBB, O.B.E., M.C.

AN article appeared in the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL for April, 1938, under the title of "The Bedouin of Trans-Jordan." The author was Mr. E. Epstein. Many of the facts and figures contained in Mr. Epstein's article were correct, and witness to the thoroughness with which he has studied his subject on paper. But I cannot help feeling that the spirit and the conclusions of Mr. Epstein's article are erroneous. Negative criticisms are, however, unfair and unconvincing. Instead, therefore, of attempting to contradict Mr. Epstein's conclusions, I propose to sketch my own picture of the economic conditions of the Trans-Jordan tribes, and to leave it to the readers of the Journal to draw their own conclusions.

Bedouins and Semi-nomads

We must first clear our minds somewhat as to the meaning we propose to give to the word "Bedouin." It is, of course, notorious that all the Northern Arab countries—Trans-Jordan, Syria, Palestine and Iraq—have for centuries past been recruited by nomadic tribes which have migrated from Central Arabia. These tribes at first continue their nomadic lives in the deserts bounding the cultivated area; they gradually reduce the distances of their annual migration, and increase the numbers of their sheep at the expense of the camels. Later they become interested in agriculture, abandon camels altogether and eventually become complete agriculturalists; they retain their tents probably for a considerable time. The process of transformation of a pure nomadic camel tribe from Central Arabia into a group of agriculturalists still living in tents occupied in the past an average period of about three hundred years. But many such tribes continue to live in tents for several centuries longer. Indeed, the tribe itself and tribal organization usually disappear before the members abandon tents and take to stone villages.

Certain factors have made the last twenty years a period of exceptionally rapid change, not indeed in Trans-Jordan alone, but likewise

in Asia, Europe and America. But the gradual transformation of camel nomads into sheep breeders, sheep breeders into tribal cultivators and tribal cultivators into non-tribal villagers has been going on for thousands of years. At all times, therefore, tribes have existed in Trans-Jordan in every stage of this metamorphosis, from the completely nomadic camel breeder to the completely sedentary cultivator. Indeed, the different sections and families of the same tribe may often be seen in different stages of sedentarization. To divide the inhabitants of Trans-Jordan into rigid groups of nomads, semi-nomads or settled is therefore difficult, for all these types of life shade off imperceptibly one into the other. Generally speaking, however, we may classify the following tribes by name :

Nomadic : Beni Sakhr, Huweitat and Sirhan.

Semi-nomadic : Beni Hasan, Hejaya.

If we accept what is, I believe, the true definition of " Bedouin "—namely, purely nomadic tribes living by camel breeding—we must admit that there are no Bedouin in Trans-Jordan. All the tribes mentioned above own land and cultivate it. If we stretch the meaning of the word " Bedouin " to include tribes which own land, but themselves migrate to the desert for at least part of the year on camels, then we may include the Beni Sakhr, Huweitat and Sirhan. No possible stretch of the word " Bedouin " could be made to include the Beni Hasan.

Means of Livelihood

Let us now examine the means of livelihood of tribesmen in the various stages of change from camel nomads to village cultivators. Their products may be divided into three classes : (i.) Camels; (ii.) Sheep and their by-products; (iii.) Wheat, barley and maize.

Let us consider how world conditions since the War have affected the market for these different products.

Camels.—Cars, railways and aircraft have reduced the demand for camels for long-distance transport. Mr. Epstein, however, falls into a common error in supposing that this fact has destroyed the market for camels. There is still a large demand for camels for agricultural work during harvest time, transporting grain short distances over the fields, from the land to the threshing floor. But it is not usually realized that the principal market for camels is not for transport but as butchers' meat, particularly for Egypt. The greatest danger to the

Arabian camel breeding industry is not from competitive means of transport, but from the competition of the Sudan camels in the Egyptian market for butchers' meat. Still, there does not seem to be much wrong with the camel breeding industry—this year, for example, camels are worth more than they have been for the last nine years, and far more than before the War.

Sheep.—Sheep have advantages and disadvantages when compared with camels. The following are the advantages:

(1) The camel owner has too many eggs in one basket. A camel represents a comparatively large amount of capital. If the camels are in good condition and their owner meets a merchant and makes a suitable bargain, he may realize a considerable sum of money and be well off for some time. But he cannot always realize small sums for current expenses. Sheep, on the other hand, nearly always find a market, and the owner can take one or two into a town and dispose of them whenever he wants to meet current expenses. Thus the camel man, though possibly his capital is worth more than the equivalent sheep man, cannot always realize it in cash. When the camels are thin or the market unfavourable, he must tighten his belt and hang on, rather than sell his valuable capital assets at a loss. Under similar circumstances the sheep man can sell two or three sheep to tide him over.

(2) Sheep have marketable by-products, whereas camels have practically none. Thus, without selling his capital, the sheep man derives periodical income from the sale of wool or oil.

But sheep have very serious disadvantages as compared with camels. The chief of these is the readiness with which they die. In years of bad rainfall or of excessive cold, sheep die in thousands at short notice, whereas camels have much more resistance. Two successive years of bad rain are usually required before camels begin to die in large numbers. Sheep, on the other hand, often die as a result of a mere miscalculation. Fat sheep in fine condition will die in hundreds on a hot day if made to march too far without water, or on a cold day, if a blizzard strikes them at night. Camels will not die in large numbers like this in a few hours.

Camels are thus in many ways a safer investment than sheep, but the breeding of camels requires a harder life. The breeding of sheep is more precarious, but requires less hardihood and endurance. Thus when a tribe changes from camels to sheep, the fact is evidence of an increasing desire for luxuries and an unwillingness to face the rigours

of desert camel breeding, but it is not necessarily an advance in prosperity.

Agriculture

The easterly and southerly portions of the cultivated area of Trans-Jordan are farmed by Arabs who live more or less under tribal conditions. The northern and western areas are covered with villages, and cultivate olives, grapes and orchards. Little or no tribal organization remains in these village areas, and they do not therefore come within the purview of this paper.

The tribal cultivated areas produce principally wheat and barley. Methods of agriculture are improving greatly of recent years, and a considerable number of mechanical tractors, ploughs and harvesters are now in use. In this connection it is interesting to note that the first mechanical plough was imported by the Beni Sakhr, whom we have classified above as nomads!

But more remarkable, perhaps, than the progress made in the introduction of agricultural machinery has been the extension of the cultivated area into the fringes of the desert. The progress in this direction is remarkable. As far as the eye can judge there is now no land worthy of mention still uncultivated, which has been cultivated in the past. This does not perhaps seem to be a very remarkable statement at first sight, but it must be remembered that Trans-Jordan is not a savage country, now for the first time being brought under cultivation. It is a country of very old civilization. In Roman times, it was a land of towns and cities and smiling countryside. Past travellers have often remarked on the ruins of ancient cities, now lying in the desert. This state of affairs has virtually ceased to exist, and the cultivation has everywhere reached the limits of Roman cultivation. It is sometimes rather primitive cultivation, but it is improving rapidly and represents great progress on the state of affairs which existed a few years ago.

Economic Changes

Of course the years which have elapsed since the Armistice have seen great changes, not only in Trans-Jordan, but in the whole world. The most remarkable economic changes in Trans-Jordan have been caused by the opening up of that country to the world. Before the late War, the exports and imports of Trans-Jordan were very small, owing to lack of communications and the low state of public security. The effects of the opening up of the country to trade are twofold :

(1) It brings in money, and a diversity of necessaries and luxuries, formerly unknown, become available. The inhabitants wear better clothes, learn to drink tea, buy watches and eau-de-cologne, and travel by motor-coach instead of by camel.

(2) On the other hand, the facility with which food products can be exported, and exchanged for manufactured goods, means that no grain reserves remain in the country. Even in years of bumper harvests, all the grain is sold and the villagers buy new clothes, furniture, bedding or luxuries. If the harvest in the ensuing year is bad, there are no grain reserves in the villages to tide it over.

Not only so, but in good years the inhabitants have become used to foreign luxuries. When bad years come, they cannot afford to buy these luxuries and complain of the fact, although a few years ago such luxuries were unknown to them.

Thus in a country where agriculture depends on a fickle rainfall, freedom of trade has made for an increase in the use of luxuries and a lack of food reserves. A rather unstable feeling of ups and downs in good and bad years results. The freedom of trade, however, has compensated in other ways for the instability it has introduced. While the facility of export has caused food reserves to be sold, the entry of Trans-Jordan into the world market has made it possible to import food. Formerly, if the crops failed in Trans-Jordan and Syria, the prices soared. This is not so to-day, as local crop failures have no effect on world prices. Even in famine years in Trans-Jordan, Indian rice and Australian flour can be imported at about the price which it would fetch in Trans-Jordan in years of plenty. Thus the people in bad years may have to buy food, but at least they buy it at normal and not at famine prices.

In very bad years, the Government has also rendered material assistance. Mr. Epstein quotes figures stating that the Government gave £900 to the Huweitat in 1935 and £250 to the Beni Sakhr. I do not know where he obtained these figures, but I expect that they are quite correct. These sums were given as gifts. The free distribution of money or seed, however, is not greatly favoured by the Trans-Jordan Government, owing to the ease with which it can be abused. Mr. Epstein does not mention the much larger sums expended by the Government in relief work, when gangs of men whose crops had failed were employed on road work. Nor does he refer to the Agricultural Bank, which is certainly a small one, but should be mentioned in an impartial survey.

Export of Livestock

So much for the export of grain and measures to relieve crop failure. Somewhat similar factors have recently commenced to operate in the matter of the export of sheep and camels, but their effect is not as yet quite as clear as is the case with grain exports, because public security has only been established in the desert since 1932.

In the old days of tribal raiding, tribesmen were unable to leave their tribes and purchase or sell animals in distant countries, because they were certain to be plundered *en route* by hostile tribes. This distant trade was therefore in the hands of merchants who bought all over Arabia and exported their purchased flocks to Syria or Egypt. As the livelihood of the tribes depended on these merchants, however, the Bedouin code protected them from tribal attacks. The result was that much of the profit went to these middlemen and not to the Bedouins themselves. The establishment of public security in the desert has changed this situation. The tribesman is now able to take his animals through other tribal areas and sell them himself.

Again, while camel merchants were formerly immune from murder or plunder under the Bedouin code, they were not immune from the payment of tribute to every tribal chief through whose territory they passed, or from the hardships and dangers inevitable in desert travel in those days. Only the hardiest and most daring were willing to engage in the trade. Now, however, the desert is not only safe, but no tribute is paid by merchants to the tribes, and frequent police posts provide water, shelter and resting places. The merchants can even send private telegrams from Government police posts far out in the desert, and ask the market price of livestock, communicate with their partners in the cities or order taxis to come out to meet them. As a result, the number of merchants has increased enormously, and vast flocks are purchased annually in the desert for export. These facilities for export of livestock have produced the same results as those for export of grain.

The ease with which animals can be converted into cash has possibly led to a reduction in the size of flocks as it led to a reduction in grain reserves. But it has placed more money in circulation and made available better clothing, bedding, tea, sugar and other luxuries formerly rarely found amongst the Bedouins.

The Bad Years

Mr. Epstein quotes figures showing the reduction in the number of sheep owned by the Beni Hasan tribe. These figures are doubtless correct, but statistics are notoriously misleading, and this is a case in point. The years 1932 and 1933 were record years for drought, and thousands of sheep died. On the other hand, 1937 and 1938 have been bumper years. The sheep statistics in Trans-Jordan (and I remember that in Iraq it was the same) proceed in a surprisingly regular rotation. The flocks increase year by year by a varying percentage for, say, eight or ten years. Then a year or two years of drought arrive and the sheep die in thousands, and in a few months are reduced by a half or two-thirds. Then the slow process of increase recommences, year after year, until another year of disaster arrives.

Now, Mr. Epstein's low figure for the sheep of the Beni Hasan is for 1934, the year after two successive years of drought. In any case, Mr. Epstein's article seems to be intended to prove that tribesmen cannot live in modern times, owing to world conditions, without foreign capital. But the reduction of the Beni Hasan sheep was due to an act of God—an exceptional drought—and droughts have been a recurrent feature of Arab life from times before history. I visited the Beni Hasan sheep camps only three months ago and found them all in fine fettle. They have had an excellent year, and informed me that if the rainfall of 1939 were as good as that of 1938 they would regain the prosperity which they had enjoyed prior to the droughts of 1932 and 1933.

No statistics exist for the years before the war in Trans-Jordan, but indications are frequently met with, in conversation with Arabs, which show that famine and drought have been features of Arab life for thousands of years. Indeed, past droughts seem to have been more serious and more tragic than any which we have experienced. The first historical reference to bad years is probably that in the Book of Genesis, chapter xlii., when Joseph's brethren went down to buy corn in Egypt. Freedom of trade and Government assistance do indeed render such bad years as 1932 and 1933 much less tragic than formerly was the case. But it is, I believe, quite wrong to build a theory of the progressive impoverishment of the Arabs on two years' drought in 1932 and 1933.

Bedouin Agricultural Settlement

When the nomadic tribes were still semi-independent and raided one another in the desert, only members of powerful tribes could venture into the desert at all. Non-tribesmen or members of weaker tribes would soon have been plundered and ruined. But there has not been a raid in Trans-Jordan since 1932, and public security in the desert is better than in the cities. Many people thought (or still think) that, as soon as raiding ceased the nomads would abandon the desert and settle down to agriculture. These people seem to imagine that Bedouins went out into the desert in order to raid, whereas in actual fact they went into the desert from economic necessity. Nomads, shorn of their romantic habits, are economically sheep and camel farmers. The remarkable and rather unexpected fact is that, since public security was established in the Trans-Jordan deserts nomadism has greatly increased. The truth is that, during the winter, the upkeep of camels and sheep in the village area is very difficult. There is little room to graze because of the crops. The sheep cannot go far across the hills, as a cold blizzard away from shelter may kill them. To keep them in outhouses and feed them is very expensive. At this season, however, the desert is warm and sometimes has green nutritious grass. Formerly only members of strong Bedouin tribes could venture into the desert, but now it is equally safe for all. No sooner did the villagers and fellahin realize this than they began in increasing numbers to send their flocks into the desert for the winter. Not only so, but for the past two years, fellahin flocks have passed right across the Trans-Jordan desert and have wintered in Saudi Arabia.

One of Mr. Epstein's most unfortunate errors is his statement that the boundaries between Syria, Trans-Jordan and Saudi Arabia have limited the movement of nomads. The opposite is the fact. Tribal movements in the old days were rigidly limited by fear of attack. Now tribes can wander freely all over Arabia without fear of molestation; and not tribesmen alone, but even fellahin and townsmen send their flocks, unescorted, into Saudi Arabia.

In raiding days the population of Trans-Jordan, and other Arab countries, was divided into Bedouins and non-Bedouins. The former lived on camels in the desert, the latter never ventured into the desert at all. These two sections of the population showed distinctive characteristics and were often in active hostility. Since the abolition of raiding, most of the nomads in Trans-Jordan have taken up patches

of cultivation in addition to their stock-breeding work. Simultaneously many of the fellahin have commenced to migrate into the desert in winter. Thus the future tendency may well be to break down the barrier between Bedouins and non-Bedouins. This development might have great advantages. Firstly, it would tend to eliminate a dangerous line of cleavage, often leading to hostility between two sections of the population. Secondly, it might ensure a safer livelihood, for no man would have all his eggs in one basket. A bad year for camels may be quite a good year for sheep, or a bad year for sheep a good one for wheat. If most of the tribes possessed both flocks of livestock and cultivation they would be less exposed to ruin or famine.

Summary of Economic Factors

May I summarize the conclusions which we have reached on the subject of tribal economics as follows:

(1) From time immemorial, nomadic tribes have migrated from Central Arabia and percolated into the northern countries, where they have gradually become fellahin. The fact that this process is now going on under our eyes does not indicate a breakdown of Arab society.

(2) Trans-Jordan tribesmen live on the sale of camels, sheep, wheat and barley. It is a mistake to think that modern means of transport have killed camel breeding. The most important camel market is for butchers' meat. Sheep always do, and presumably always will, enjoy a ready market. Public security in the desert has given an added fillip to the export of camels and sheep. Moreover, Bedouins are beginning to export their own animals, without selling them to middlemen as was formerly necessary.

(3) Modern export facilities result in the sale of all surplus food stocks after every harvest, and, with the cash produced, manufactured articles are purchased. Thus the Bedouins and fellahin now enjoy many luxuries which they formerly did not know, but, on the other hand, the food supplies in the country are probably less than formerly. This would seem to threaten danger in famine years. On the other hand, cheap food can now be imported when required, so that a local drought no longer causes famine prices, and an organized government is able to relieve distress by public works.

(4) To illustrate the progressive diminution of tribal flocks, Mr. Epstein has chosen the year 1934. Now the years 1932 and 1933 were

record years of drought, in which thousands of sheep were lost. The year 1934 succeeded these two famine years, and the number of sheep were at a low record. But years since 1934 have been good, and 1938 is a bumper year. Flocks have again increased since 1934. Arab stock breeders have always been exposed to these vicissitudes, which do not prove the progressive impoverishment of the tribes.

(5) A remarkable result of the establishment of law and order in the desert has been an increase of nomadism. Formerly nomads were nomads and villagers villagers, and the two groups differed widely in many ways. Now nomads tend to take up cultivation and cultivators tend to become semi-nomadic. This tendency to increasing homogeneity seems to be a beneficial one. It also means that an increasing number of Arabs will derive their income from several sources, thus making their livelihood more secure.

(6) I therefore venture to suggest that Mr. Epstein's verdict that the economic condition of Trans-Jordan tribesmen is critical is over-hasty. It is true that their economy has changed a good deal since the Armistice. They have acquired a taste for many luxuries formerly unknown to them, and they live in greater physical comfort. If at times they cannot afford some of these luxuries they now begin to complain, although these articles were almost completely unknown to them twenty years ago. Their desire to buy imported luxuries and manufactured articles has caused them to spend more freely, and they no longer accumulate such vast flocks of animals or huge reserves of grain as formerly. Perhaps an appearance of thriftlessness results—but similar phenomena may be observed not a hundred miles from Charing Cross.

(7) Of course the tribesmen may seem poor to many Europeans, though they are richer than before the war. But this poverty is not peculiar to the few Arabs who live in Trans-Jordan. They share it with the hundreds of millions of the poorer inhabitants of Egypt, Arabia, Persia, India and China. Indeed, the tribesman of Trans-Jordan is probably financially prosperous compared with most Oriental peasants.

Economics and Public Security

The last thing which I desire is to enter the field as a protagonist of any policy or party. We must endeavour therefore closely to adhere to our subject—the economic condition of the tribes. Mr. Epstein considers that the introduction of foreign capital is necessary

to them. Now if there is one moral which we are constantly hearing proclaimed to us from the housetops it is that prosperity is built up on confidence. The limits of cultivation in Trans-Jordan have been extended, the standard of cultivation has been improved, tribesmen have been digging new wells, building storehouses, enclosing gardens. Why? Because, for the last few years, they have acquired confidence in the permanence of law and order; they believe that, if a man takes land and improves it, he may count on eating of the fruits thereof. If a breakdown of public security were to take place, this constructive work by tribesmen would cease. This is our first point: progress depends on public security—the tribesman must believe that, if he develops land, wells or buildings, he will be able to enjoy the fruits of his labour undisturbed.

Secondly, nationalism may be an irrational, destructive force, but it exists, and will continue to exist for many years to come, until mankind develops some other fad. Given the existence of these virulent nationalisms, we know by bitter experience that mixed nationalities almost invariably lead to trouble. At the moment when these words are being written, critical situations exist in three countries—Czecho-Slovakia, the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, and Palestine. In every case the crisis has been caused by mixed populations. Surely the idea of introducing mixed populations in such countries as are still homogeneous is madness. The entry of foreigners into Trans-Jordan would lead to a deterioration of law and order, and we have just seen that public security is the very foundation of economic improvement.

I venture once more to recall my readers to the subject under discussion—the economic situation of the tribesmen. I do not wish to state that the importation of foreign capital into Trans-Jordan might not be for the profit of the capitalists. It would probably increase the total revenues of Trans-Jordan. It might be for the general benefit of the human race. But let us be quite clear and honest—it would not be for the benefit of the tribesmen. Perhaps the tribesmen are few and unimportant and should be sacrificed in the interests of bigger stakes—but let us not pretend that it would be for the good of the tribesmen.

Conclusion

I venture, then, to suggest that the idea that the tribesmen of Trans-Jordan are suffering a progressive impoverishment is unwarranted.

The manner of living of the Arabs has changed somewhat since the last war, as it has in almost every other country in the world. Actually they enjoy many more material comforts than they did before the War. They appear to me to be advancing steadily in prosperity.

Mr. Epstein bases his theory on statistics for the year 1934. The years 1932 and 1933 were years of drought, and thus 1934 was a very low year for animals, whereas the years since 1935 have enjoyed increasingly good rainfall. Arabia has always been liable to periodical years of drought, and the occurrence of such years in 1932 and 1933 proves nothing.

The introduction of foreign capital is suggested as a means of conferring material benefits on the Arabs. I do not think that this result would ensue. Public security is, in Trans-Jordan, the basis of all progress in prosperity, and the introduction of foreign capital would almost certainly weaken law and order.

English people often seem to rely on the bestowal of material prosperity as a means of conciliating others, and consider that, in promoting it, they are conferring the greatest benefit. This belief is often a profound miscalculation. Human beings, in the last resort, cannot be won by money. The introduction of foreign capital would not benefit the tribesmen of Trans-Jordan even if it gave them increased financial prosperity, because it would introduce a smiling, simple people to the hell of race hatred. It may be necessary to do such things to gain higher or greater objects, but it is an error to suppose that it would be helpful to the Arabs of Trans-Jordan.

REVIEWS

Nadir Shah. A critical study based mainly on contemporary sources. By Laurence Lockhart, B.A., Ph.D. With a Foreword by Sir Denison Ross. 10" x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 344. Illustrations and maps. Luzac. 1938. 21s.

Nadir Shah, the Afshar adventurer, drove the Afghans and Turks out of Persia, and ascended the throne of that historical land. He then conquered the country that now constitutes Afghanistan, and, descending into the plains of India, captured Delhi. To these conquests Khiva and Bokhara may be added, while, during his reign, he inflicted crushing defeats on the Ottoman Empire. These campaigns, which took place in the middle of the eighteenth century, produced important repercussions far and wide, and concluded the period of great conquests by Asiatic armies in Central Asia and India. The period was succeeded by the advent of Russian and British armies in Asia, which thenceforward played the major rôles, advancing respectively from the north towards Persia and Afghanistan and from the Indian Ocean towards the same countries.

Nadir Kuli, destined to be compared with Napoleon, was the son of a poor tribesman of Kubkan, whose village I identified many years ago in the district of Darragaz, which now borders on Russian Turkestan. When approaching manhood, he was enrolled among the armed followers of Baba Ali Beg, the Afshar ruler of neighbouring Abivard. His rise was rapid, and his position as chief of the bodyguard was assured by becoming the husband of two of his master's daughters; upon the death of Baba Ali, in 1723, he succeeded to his estates.

Ever ambitious to rise, Nadir Kuli entered the service of Malik Mahmud, a Sistan chief, who, taking advantage of the capture of Isfahan by the Afghan Ghilzais, had carved out a principedom for himself in Khurasan, which he ruled from Meshed, the capital of the province. Speedily involved in a plot against Malik Mahmud which failed, Nadir Kuli, having fled to Abivard, collected a body of armed followers, and, seizing upon various forts in the neighbourhood, gained both power and wealth.

In 1726 Tahmasp Mirza, the last of the Safavi princes to possess an army, appeared on the scene, and Nadir Shah, getting rid of rivals, became his all-powerful general. He captured Meshed by the treachery of its defenders, and, using Khurasan as his base for some three years, recruited and disciplined a regular force. During this period he attacked and won the submission of the Abdalis of Herat after some hard fighting.

In 1729 he felt strong enough to attack Ashraf, the Afghan ruler of Isfahan, and of other Persian provinces. The two armies met at Mihmandust (near Damghan) on September 29. The Afghans charged the Persian centre, but were met with a heavy musket fire, while the Persian artillery inflicted severe casualties. Upon a cannon-ball killing Ashraf's standard-bearer, the Afghans broke and fled, thus giving Nadir his first victory over them. The Afghans retreated on Isfahan and were again defeated with the loss of their artillery to the north of the capital. They then fled to Isfahan, which they hurriedly evacuated, and took up a position at Zargan, a stage to the north of Shiraz. In this battle the *coup de grâce* was administered by Nadir, and the Afghans fled towards Kandahar as hunted refugees, but few managing to reach their homes.

During this period of the eclipse of Persia, Turkey had seized various

provinces. In 1730 Nadir marched at the head of his victorious troops and drove the Turks from Burujird, Hamadan and finally from Tabriz, without encountering serious opposition, since Turkey, at this period, was in the throes of a revolution. Nadir, hearing that civil war had broken out among the Abdalis of Herat, decided to leave the Turkish question temporarily and marched eastward to settle the Abdali troubles.

While his victorious general was dealing with the rebellious Abdalis, whom he ultimately subdued, Tahmasp, in 1731, unwisely took the field in person and marched on Erivan. Turkey, meanwhile, had recovered from the recent revolution and despatched a powerful force which defeated Tahmasp with heavy loss, capturing his artillery and baggage. Tahmasp thereupon signed a treaty by which Turkey recovered her Persian provinces. This disaster enabled Nadir to depose the Safavi prince in 1732, and he thus became the *de facto* ruler of Persia.

The campaign with Turkey was then resumed, but Nadir was beaten decisively by the celebrated Topal Osman. This defeat proved his greatness. Wasting no time in recriminations, he immediately distributed large sums of money to enable his men and recruits to be well equipped, and, so strong was his personality and the enthusiasm he inspired, that within two months he marched against Topal Osman at the head of a newly raised army to avenge his defeat. That veteran general had received no reinforcements to make good his heavy losses, and was unable to support the Persian attack, his army being cut to pieces and he himself being killed. As a result of a treaty signed in December, 1733, Turkey relinquished all the Persian territory which she had conquered. She, however, evinced no haste to ratify this agreement.

Accordingly Nadir, who had been urged by a Russian Envoy to agree to attack Turkey if that power attacked Russia, seized Darband, the port to the north of Baku. He then advanced to meet a powerful Turkish army at Baghavand, where he gained a decisive victory on June 18, 1735. As a result of this second victory Erivan was handed over to him and Tiflis welcomed his army.

Having by these successful campaigns defeated the invaders of Persia and recovered all her territories with the sole exception of Kandahar, Nadir decided to hold a great Assembly on a plain bounded on the north by the Kura. At it he was offered the crown, and, after repeatedly refusing it, yielded finally and was crowned Shah with due pomp and ceremony.

Nadir's next objective was to recover Kandahar and to avenge on the Ghalzais the capture of Isfahan and the overthrow of the Persian Empire. Kandahar, with its immensely thick walls and its large supplies of food, offered a difficult task to Nadir, who was unprovided with heavy artillery. He was, however, able to capture Kalat-i-Ghalzai to the north and to subdue the neighbouring districts, while he surrounded Kandahar with a ring of forts. In January, 1738, he commenced a series of attacks on the city, and, hearing that the troops occupying a key position attended mosque on Fridays, he assaulted and carried it in their absence. The defenders of Kandahar thereupon asked for quarter, which was granted. By this success Nadir had wiped out the stains on Persian honour. Actually he made no attempt to exact vengeance, but enlisted large numbers of Afghans in his army, who served him well.

At this period the Mughals, like the Safavis, had sadly degenerated, and Muhammad Shah, an impotent ruler, had watched the gradual dissolution of his empire. Nadir had causes of complaint against Delhi, since Afghan refugees, in spite of the promises of Muhammad Shah, had been allowed to take refuge

in his dominions. The Persian monarch realized that his war-hardened army, inspired by promises of loot, would easily overthrow the relatively unwarlike Indians. Moreover, he knew well that Persia and Afghanistan were unable to support a large army, whereas the spoils of India would not only give him money for his immediate financial necessities, but would also permit him to form a large reserve for the conquest of Turkey. He also realized that he was following in the footsteps of Alexander and of his special hero Tamerlane, and would, if successful, win the title of world-conqueror.

Nadir, who probably was invited to invade India by various chiefs—the Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Deccan, being especially suggested—did not declare war on Muhammad Shah. He, however, advanced on Ghazna, which submitted. The citadel of Kabul held out for two months, although no reinforcements or money were forthcoming from Delhi; but subsequently submitted.

In September Nadir led his army to Jalalabad, and, hearing that the Khaibar Pass was held by local tribesmen, avoided it by marching via China and the Bazar Valley. He then fiercely attacked the Mughal-Afghan force, which was defeated, leaving Nasir Khan, the ex-Governor of Kabul, a prisoner. Awaiting his main body, which rejoined him by the Khaibar, the Persian leader then entered Peshawar, which offered no resistance.

In January, 1739, Nadir Shah crossed the Indus. Traversing the Panjab, the Governor of Lahore submitted and by the payment of large sums of gold saved the city from being sacked. Meanwhile Muhammad Shah had summoned soothsayers and witches, who promised to bind Nadir and bring him in a prisoner! He then marched out with an army strong in numbers and not lacking in courage, but led by rival feudatories who hated one another. The superior tactics of Nadir, who avoided the direct route which ran through thick jungle and appeared on the east side of the Indian fortified camp at Karnal, drew out the gallant Saadat Khan of Oudh, who was unsupported, and, being led into an ambush, was captured. The loss of the Indians was heavy. After this defeat Muhammad Shah lost heart and visited Nadir, who treated him with due courtesy. Later, he was again summoned by Nadir and virtually made a prisoner. The Persian troops then seized the artillery and disbanded the Indian army, which broke up.

From Karnal, Nadir, accompanied by Muhammad Shah, proceeded to Delhi, where his reception as a conqueror undoubtedly constituted the climax of his wonderful career. Disturbances, in which some of his men were killed, brought the order for a massacre in the quarters of the city guilty for the outrages. Some 20,000 men, women and children were killed, and to-day in the Delhi bazaar a *Nadir Shahi* signifies a massacre. Nadir extracted enormous sums of money and quantities of valuables from the Emperor and his subjects. He wisely restored Muhammad Shah to the throne, and, with his troops suffering intensely from the summer heat, he recrossed the Chenab with much difficulty by mid-July, and finally reached Kandahar in May, 1740, or two years from the date on which he set out to capture Delhi. Before his Indian campaign Nadir had decided that, upon his return to Persia, he would attack Ilbars of Khwarizm (Khiva), whose raids in Khurasan he determined to punish. Before, however, starting on this campaign, he held a reception at Herat, where he proudly displayed the famous peacock throne and other treasures to all his subjects.

To resume, in accordance with his orders, more than one thousand boats were constructed by Indian shipwrights on the Oxus, and, arriving at Balkh, he struck that river and marched downstream with his supplies and baggage carried on the boats. At Charjui he constructed a bridge of boats defended by forts at each

end, intending to deal with Bukhara. Abul Faïd, the Amir of that state, was summoned to Nadir's camp. At first he was inclined to obey, but the support of large Ozbeg forces made him resolve to fight. His army was, however, terrified by Nadir's artillery and easily defeated. The Amir then hastened to make his submission to the conqueror of Delhi, who, apart from having the *khutba* read in his name, treated the vanquished Amir without harshness. He married one of his daughters and enrolled 30,000 Ozbegs in his army.

Having settled matters satisfactorily at Bukhara, Nadir returned to Charjui and proceeded down the Oxus towards Khiva. Ilbars Khan had despatched a force with the object of destroying the bridge and the grain-boats, but Nadir drove it off the field. Again he defeated it near Fitna. Finally, terrified by the explosion of mines under the walls of his fortress of Khanga, Ilbars surrendered. The country submitted, and thousands of released Persian slaves were supplied with money, provisions and carriage and settled in a town specially built for them in the Darragaz district.

It is of special interest to note that during this campaign two of Jonas Hanway's clerks, Thompson and Hogg, were brought before Nadir, who received them courteously, gave them passports and permission to trade freely "through all his dominions."

Having conquered Khwarizm (Khiva), Nadir marched to Merv. He had decided to store his treasure in the famous natural fortress of Kalat-i-Nadiri, where I visited the treasure-house which he built. From Kalat he proceeded to Meshed, which he regarded as his capital.

After a halt of less than two months at Meshed, Nadir decided to march on Daghestan to avenge the death of his brother Ibrahim, who had been defeated and killed by the warlike Lazgis. Following the route down the Gurgan Valley, he was travelling the densely wooded Suvad Kuh district, when a hidden marksman fired at him and wounded him in the thumb. In spite of all efforts the assassin escaped.

Upon his arrival at Tehran, the Shah received the Russian Resident, who reported: "The new Nebuchadnezzar has been rendered quite mad by his triumphs. He says: 'It was not difficult for me to conquer all India. . . . If I move with only one leg, I take India; if I move with both legs, I shall conquer the whole world!'" Small wonder that Lockhart writes: "Well would it have been for Nadir's reputation if that bullet had found its intended mark."

When Nadir reached Shirvan, many of the Lazgis tendered their submission. Nadir was determined to secure the submission of all the Daghestan tribes, but, owing to their valour, the difficult terrain, the dense forests, the lack of supplies, and the inclement weather he failed, and retreated, suffering terribly from hunger and cold.

Exasperated by his complete failure to conquer Daghestan, Nadir was led to believe that Rizu Kuli, the heir-apparent, had instigated the attempt on his life. He accordingly sent for him, and in a fit of passion, which he bitterly regretted, ordered the unfortunate prince to be blinded.

In 1743 Nadir, who was probably anxious to redeem his failure in Daghestan by success in Mesopotamia, crossed the Turkish frontier and captured Kirkuk in August. He then besieged Mosul, which he failed to capture. He also failed at Basra, and finally came to terms with Ahmad Pasha, the Governor of Baghdad. He, however, tried to induce the Sultan to recognize the Jafari sect, which he had himself founded, but without success. Hostilities were accordingly resumed, and Nadir won his last great victory over the Turks at the second battle of Baghavard, in August, 1745.

The last few years of Nadir Shah's reign were ones of misery for his over-taxed and ill-treated subjects. Hanway, who had visited his camp, wrote of "a diabolical fierceness, with a total insensibility of human sufferings." Finally, in 1747, the greatest soldier in Asia was assassinated by his own officers outside Kuchan. Thus died Nadir Shah, who had saved Persia from disruption and had defeated all her enemies. Welcomed as the national hero, in his later years he became an object of hatred to all his subjects.

To conclude, we have to thank Mr. Laurence Lockhart for a work which is complete, scholarly and interestingly written. The Royal Central Asian Society has been glad to afford some financial support to what, in my humble opinion, is undoubtedly a classical work dealing with an important subject.

P. M. SYKES.

The Crescent and the Rose : Islam and England during the Renaissance. By Samuel C. Chew. Pp. ix+583, with illustrations. Octavo. New York : Oxford University Press. 1937. Price 5 dollars.

Professor Chew's most learned and delightful book covers so much ground that perhaps any less general title than the one it bears could hardly have been devised. He begins with two retrospective chapters, in which are stories of such marvels of the East as sciapods, mantichoras and cynocephali, and accounts of the early travellers, Fynes Morison, Coryat of the *Crudities*, Lithgow and others; then follows a detailed picture of the terror and mystery which surrounded the lands and doings of the Turks and Persians; then in Chapters VI. and VII. we have a hundred pages on the extraordinary Sherley brothers, ambassadors and adventurers; then comes a chapter on piracy; Chapter IX. tells us how Mahomet and his Koran were regarded in England and the West; and the two last chapters show us how the Moslem world was treated in English plays and masques of the period. The author has aimed at and very well succeeded in building up a picture of the English way of regarding Islam : as at once, to quote the words in the epilogue, "splendidly luxurious, admirable in its serenity, sombre in its cruelty and sensuality, and terrible in its strength."

In a book so well stuffed with agreeable learning every reader will find his favourite chapter. Important for the student of English literature are the instances where the author's knowledge of Eastern affairs enables him to comment upon and occasionally to correct the text of English plays of this period. A most ingenious correction on page 253 of the speech of the Prince of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice* may perhaps be singled out. The analyses of plays on Oriental subjects in Chapter XI. fall perhaps rather on the dull side, though as these works are so rarely played the collection of material has some value. An exception to this neglect was the performance at Cambridge a few years ago of Thomas Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* : in amateur hands it appeared as a very agreeable and high-spirited romp.

The present reviewer was most delighted by Chapter IX., "The Prophet and his Book" : this study of all the odd scurrilities produced in the West by ignorance and malice is of rare interest to the student of folklore and popular ideas. Some of this grotesque malice is still current in the Nearer East, and for the same reasons, though perhaps with more excuse. The story, for example, that Mahomet got his doctrines at least in part from a renegade monk, Bahira or Sergius, is still to be heard in Crete, though how long it has been handed down orally and what is its connection with written literature I do not know. The Cretans say that the Prophet learned his doctrines from the monk Pachomias, perhaps a corrup-

tion of Baphomios—*i.e.*, Mahomet—and wrote them down in a book, the Koran. Then he devised a plan to win credence for his supposed revelation. He procured two books, in appearance identical: one contained the Koran written out, the other was left blank. He gave the written book to the monk, and with a rope secretly let him down into a dry well. Then in the presence of a crowd of hesitating disciples he let down the blank book. The monk at the bottom of the well changed the books, and the book drawn up was shown to contain the Koran, miraculously written. The foolish crowd gave him their full confidence, and then, to get rid of any danger that the monk might betray him, Mahomet ordered everyone who believed in him to throw a stone down the well. Thus the monk perished, and the prophet was safe with his reputation securely founded. On page 399 Professor Chew, discussing the false miracles of Mahomet, tells us of the pots of milk and honey hid in the ground, the location of which he claimed to know by revelation. I have heard several such stories; one akin to this is that Mahomet secretly buried wineskins, and, the ground being slashed, the wine flowed out as water flowed from the rock struck by Moses. And these are only a very few of the stories told in Crete to illustrate the folly and wickedness of the Turks and their Prophet.

On page 191 we read of the famous Serpent Column at Constantinople, and the author's reference to Lady Mary Wortley Montague is likely to be the latest account of it as complete. She wrote in 1717: thirty years later the heads were gone. Edmund Chishull (*Travels in Turkey*, 1747, page 40) says that heads were "recently broken by some attendants of the late Polish ambassador," Count Lisinski. Thus the date can be narrowed down fairly closely.

On page 167, line 11, "kaweh" for the prison called the Cage seems to be an error of transcription; on page 469 in the note the correct Turkish form "kafes" occurs. In connection with the story that Tamburlaine carried the captive Bajazet about in a cage, though it may be true that he really carried him in a litter, it is not at all necessary to explain away the cage story by the fact that *kafes* has both meanings. The present reviewer has seen in a museum in Morocco a quite new looking wooden cage with handlebars for bearers, and a lady long resident in Fez told me that she had herself seen the rebel Bu Hamara exposed in a similar cage in the garden at Fez: this was after his defeat in 1909 by the Sultan Hafid. This was not for mere cruelty; the intention was to show the people that the rebel was certainly no longer at large.

A very few misprints may be found. *John Covel* appears always as *John Corvel*. On page 387 *Tesero* is for *Tesoro*. On page 475, line 8, Mahomet I. should be Mahomet II. On page 315 we have as a quotation *sine obole*, without offspring: *sine prole* or *sine subole* has gone wrong somewhere and somehow.

The book has some good illustrations; those of the Sherley family are the most interesting. The author has given us a collection of the most varied learning on a really interesting subject. Notes in abundance are at the foot of every page: some are simply references, some contain material which might easily have been swollen into a series of appendices. Professor Chew has given with a free hand what must surely be the result of many years' reading, and one gets the impression that the author must have enjoyed making these collections and the toil of setting them down in order quite as much as the reader into whose hands his book may fall.

R. M. DAWKINS.

Survey of International Affairs, 1936. By A. Toynbee. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi + 1006 and four maps. Oxford University Press. 38s.

I

The Middle East section of the latest volume of Dr. Toynbee's Survey is a more than usually full one. It covers the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty; the Palestine Revolt of 1936 (to which is added for convenience of treatment a summary of the Royal Commission's Report, although this was not actually published until July, 1937); the French treaties with Syria and the Lebanon; the Franco-Turkish dispute over the Sanjak of Alexandretta; King Ibn Saud's treaties with the Yemen, Iraq and Egypt; and the settlement of the Irani-Iraqi frontier dispute. Altogether a very "meaty" budget, which runs to 140 pages.

The value of the review lies, as usual, not only in the judicious presentation of events, but in the identification of their mainsprings.

The long period of drift in Anglo-Egyptian relations, with its succession of abortive attempts to solve the problem (now happily ended), is beginning to find a parallel in Palestine. Mr. H. Beeley, who is responsible for the Palestine section, has a number of suggestive passages which help to illuminate the difficulties of the situation.

"With the beginning of Jewish immigration on an appreciable scale Palestine entered on a period of industrial revolution similar in many ways to that which had begun in England a century and a half earlier. There was indeed an important difference; in Palestine the *entrepreneurs* of the new order were racially distinct from the landowners whose power they were threatening and the peasants and craftsmen whose traditions they were challenging or uprooting. It was for this reason that the defensive alliance between the rulers and the workers of the old economy, which was belatedly and unconvincingly attempted in the England of the 1840's, quickly became a reality in Palestine."

"Concurrent with the conflict between Arab and Jew was a conflict of intensive agriculture and electric power with subsistence farming and craft industry."

This important aspect of the Palestine problem is apt to be overlooked.

Mr. Beeley takes the view that foreign agitation was not a decisive factor in provoking the 1936 outbreak. He believes that it was spontaneous. There he is probably right, but it is questionable whether his belief (which was also that of Sir Arthur Wauchope) that a policy of sterner repression might have led "to the disintegration, not only of the police force, but of the entire Civil Service" is justified, at all events for the earlier period of the strike, before resistance was thoroughly organized, and, above all, before the system of terrorization had begun to operate.

There is one fact which stands out pre-eminently from the course of recent events in these countries. It is the remarkable growth of the sense of unity and community of interests among the Arab-speaking peoples. It is seen in the drawing together of the independent Arab states under the inspiration of Ibn Saud, to whose statesmanship Dr. Toynbee does due justice in an interesting analysis of the handicaps against which he had to contend, compared with the immense advantages possessed by or conferred on King Hussein. It is seen in the way the different sections of the Arab peoples in the Middle East are tending more and more to look to one another for example, experience, and even assistance. Threats to one branch of the race, as exemplified by Jewish settlement in Palestine or Italian expansion in the Red Sea, have been felt by all. It may be a long time before any political union is achieved by the different sections of the Arab race,

but improvement of communications and the penetration of Western civilization, particularly through the agency of oil development, are rapidly developing their family feeling. Any foreign power in its dealings with any one of them will in future have to reckon with its effects on the others.

C. D. R. L.

II

The Section of the 1936 Survey of International Affairs which deals with Egypt gives a careful account of Anglo-Egyptian relations between 1930 and 1936, a period during which the Egyptian Constitution of 1923 was restored and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty signed. The writer summarizes in some detail the main political events which took place in Egypt during these years, with a commentary directed to expounding in an impartial way the motives and mentality of the statesmen on both the British and Egyptian sides.

The narrative has all the attention to accuracy and the lucidity of thought and expression which we have learnt to expect in the Survey, and there is no blemish which care and a close study of documents could remove.

Nevertheless if a person without one-tenth of the scholarship which went to the making of this record may offer a criticism, it is that the facts are presented in what seems an academic way that fails to take into account the peculiar atmosphere which always surrounds political affairs in Egypt. Consequently, the writer just misses presenting a picture which is wholly satisfying to anybody who is at all familiar with the Egyptian domestic scene.

In the Land of Paradox things are not always what they seem, and it is perhaps not possible for anybody writing at a distance to appreciate the unexpected turns that one comes across everywhere in the labyrinth of the Egyptian question.

For example, the writer of the Survey, after justly calling attention to the embarrassments caused to both countries by the anomalous position of Great Britain in Egypt ever since 1882, and by the fact that "the relations between the two countries were governed in the last analysis by their utter disparity in arms" and the feeling of humiliation engendered thereby in Egyptian minds, goes on to observe that "the two parties to this irksome relation had sullenly conspired . . . to cloak the ugly truth under a mask of face-saving make-believe," and that the "secret knowledge" of this ugly truth "had never ceased to poison the intercourse between" those Englishmen and Egyptians who had come into practical contact with the true character of the situation.

But, in fact, the relations between Egyptians and Englishmen have never been quite like that. Ample testimony may be found to the unfailing courtesy and helpfulness shown by Egyptians towards their British colleagues in administrative departments, and to the fact that, however bitter the controversy may have been in the realm of high politics, personal relations between British and Egyptians have always remained cordial and friendly.

The whole story of the events of 1935, which led to the return of the 1923 Constitution, is a long one. The main points are accurately made by the writer of the Survey, but he does not quite bring out the close connection between the formation of the United Front, the return of the Constitution and the demand for Treaty negotiations, and how one event led inevitably to the next.

Reading again the speeches of Sir Samuel Hoare, it is difficult now to recall the psychological atmosphere in which those two apparently harmless and certainly well-meant utterances stirred up such violent resentment. Egyptian opinion was in a nervous state over the sudden Abyssinian crisis. Great Britain was unwilling to compromise her own position at a moment of tension. Neither party was clear

in its own mind whether the old rule was still in force, that advice from the British Government was to be taken as an order. It would have been an advantage if the British Government had been clear on this point.

It is proper to give, as the writer of the Survey does, a full measure of credit to the threatening attitude of Mussolini, as well as to the personality of Sir Miles Lampson for the successful accomplishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. But it is equally important to notice the growth in Egyptian minds during a number of years of a more realistic understanding of the position and not to forget the patient and unobtrusive work of Sir Miles Lampson's predecessor, Sir Percy Loraine, in preparing the ground.

In two places it is suggested that advantages under the Treaty were obtained by the British in respect of their position in Egypt, in return for concessions in the Sudan. There is reason to believe that this is a misconception, and that the questions dealing with the military position in Egypt were settled without reference to the Sudan.

The clauses dealing with the Sudan only restored to Egypt the liberty to exercise those rights in the Sudan under the Condominium which had been denied after the unfortunate events of 1924.

The Survey also gives rather too much prominence to the clause in the Treaty concerning the question of the immigration of Egyptians into the Sudan. The formula adopted means nothing more than that controversy on this point is dropped. The position as regards immigration remains what it has always been.

In conclusion, the Survey calls attention to the striking fact that Egypt is now truly independent for the first time for over two thousand years, which is a thing that Egyptians may well reflect upon. The writer further suggests some interesting questions about future developments.

These questions, as he admits, cannot begin to be answered now. Nevertheless now that the stage has been cleared by the removal of the dispute between Egypt and Great Britain it is possible to see more clearly the interaction between the two main forces in Egyptian political life. The one, essentially conservative, is represented by the old Turkish landed gentry, the rich Egyptian landowners, and the small but powerful class of industrial magnates which has grown up since the war. This party stands for authoritative rule and centres round the Palace. The other is the growing force of the Egyptian middle class which is imbued with liberal and democratic ideals, but is handicapped by lack of experience in the art of government.

Whichever of these two forces may ultimately rule the political development of Egypt, it is unlikely that the country will turn its face towards the East and away from the West. Education, modern mechanical technique and the growth of communications combine to make Egypt ever more European in outlook, and the growing emancipation of women is likely to exercise a profound influence in the same direction.

There are many pressing problems to solve—social, educational, financial and military. The machinery of government is hardly yet equal to the task. But taking the long view and provided no major disaster such as a world war interrupts the process, Egypt's well-wishers believe there are good grounds to hope that experience will teach her to take her own place with confidence among the nations of the world.

A. H.

International Tramps. From Chaos to Permanent World Peace. By T. F. Johnson. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+400. Nineteen illustrations. Hutchinson. 12s. 6d.

The League, like many other practical expressions of idealism, has suffered severely at the hands of both its enthusiastic supporters and its confirmed enemies. Between adulation and cynical contempt the ordinary individual has to find his own information in order to arrive at a balanced judgment. To those seeking the truth Mr. Johnson's book *International Tramps* will prove a valuable guide.

It is a pity that Mr. Johnson wrote—as he himself admits—"as much in anger as in sorrow," a state of mind that reflects itself not infrequently throughout the book. The reader will find this fault at least understandable and only inexcusable in that the indictment would have been more impressive could the bitterness have been omitted; this is a case which could have been effectively understated.

This book will come as a shock to many who, having faced up to the failure of the League in major international issues, have yet clung to their faith in the humanitarian work which that institution has been able to accomplish in less spectacular but none the less important fields of social reconstruction. Indeed, much fine work has been accomplished, and accomplished from the League Office at Geneva. The particular problem dealt with in this book, international refugees, is an apparently insoluble one. The international tramps themselves number more than a million: Abyssinians, Armenians, Austrians, Assyrians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Montenegrins, Russians, Spaniards, Turks and Ukrainians. To this problem the Nansen Office applied itself with amazing efficiency and with amazing results. What Mr. Johnson shows us, however, is a pitiful picture of international chicanery—Dr. Nansen accomplishing most of his triumphs not through, but rather in spite of, the League of Nations under whose auspices he was working.

The cynical betrayal of whole groups of human beings in the interests of international rivalries, the constant sacrifice not only of particular groups of people but of the very principles upon which the League was founded makes one realize the extent to which the first real experiment in international co-operation has foundered. Methods of international collaboration must, indeed, be devised if European civilization is to survive, but experience is showing more and more clearly that such an experiment can never be born of war. The League of Nations, as Mr. Johnson clearly shows, is dead. Its early decease is due, not so much to its own weaknesses as to its inherited diseases, against which it had inadequate resistance. Unfortunate offspring of the Treaty of Versailles, we must realize that the weakling child was a victim of infanticide. It was murdered, in fact, by the last war and not by fear of the next.

To those interested in the Middle East, Chapters XII. and XIV., "The Tragedy of the Armenians" and "The Betrayal of the Assyrians," will attract especial notice. They are, perhaps, the most painful part of the whole of Mr. Johnson's melancholy story. The author's categorical statements as to the reasons for the unnecessary failure of the Assyrian settlement schemes are a direct challenge to all those who are working for justice to examine the machinery with which they have been content to work.

In his last chapter Mr. Johnson pleads for a bigger and better League, but it is a pity that, after showing so conclusively the necessity to wipe the slate clean and start again, the reader is only offered eleven pages of rather vague and unoriginal platitudes. It is only fair to state, however, that reconstruction is not the subject of the book, which is a record of Mr. Johnson's unique experience of

the working of the first League and a record that students of international relations, if they are honest, must examine.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.

The Crucial Problem of Imperial Development. British Empire Society: Imperial Studies No. 15. Longmans, Green and Co. 6s.

It is a comparatively easy task to suggest theoretical and impractical cures for the economic ills from which the British Empire and the world are suffering to-day. The problem to which the British Empire Society's *Study No. 15* desires to call attention is a far more difficult one: so to analyze the problem that remedies can be suggested which can ultimately take the form of political action.

In the final discussion of the series it was suggested that four main conclusions had been arrived at—that the Empire cannot be developed in isolation from the world economy: that restriction of production to meet a depressed level of consumption is a wrong policy: that an increase in production must be general in order to effect a corresponding increase in consumption: that economic progress will be more rapid if the price level is kept steady or if it rises slowly.

A subsequent speaker very pertinently asked the Chairman, "Are we going to separate without any practical result from this Conference?" and received the information in reply that a report of the Conference would be published, in order to make the thinking public discuss the problem and that a standing committee would be appointed to work out practical suggestions. The fact that this reply was made to some extent prevents the complaint that much of the discussion was theoretical and nebulous.

It was agreed that it was necessary to increase production in order to increase consumption, but whether the increase of production was to be made first in industrial or in primary producing areas was not discussed, nor was the method of financing such production discussed. To the layman it would appear essential first to obtain a balance between the two and then slowly to attempt to increase the powers both of production and consumption.

On the subject of Empire migration, it was held that no migration policy was sound unless it was based on economic need: from this it would appear to follow, as historically it has in the past, that migration will only take place from an area with a low standard of living to an area where the standard of living is potentially higher. If then an all-round rise in the standard of living for all classes within the Empire is to be worked for migration for economic reasons is unlikely to occur.

The discussions and address in the volume under review have raised a vast number of problems, but have produced a practical solution to none. It is to be hoped that the publication of the volume will produce constructive thought, and that it may be placed at the disposal of the Society's standing committee.

EDWARD AINGER.

Speeches and Documents on International Affairs, 1918-1937. Edited with an Introduction by Arthur Berriedale Keith. Two volumes. 6" x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. lvi + 290 + 16 and pp. x + 268 + 16. (The World's Classics, No. CDLVIII.) Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 2s. each volume.

These are two handy little volumes containing practically everything important that has happened in the field of international politics during the eventful years that separate us from the conclusion of the Great War.

Beginning with the Treaty of Versailles and winding up with the end of the Locarno Pact and the Imperial Conference of June, 1937, these volumes contain the official documents, treaties and conventions concerning every question and every conflict which has kept the world in a state of anxiety ever since the war ended that was said "to end war and make the world safe for democracy."

Not the least valuable part of the book is Professor Keith's brilliant introduction, giving a concise history of the world's politics. It is impossible to go into any details of this masterly survey, as it would necessitate practically a complete repetition of it. It should give food for very serious reflection to many statesmen of the present day.

The two volumes should not be missing in the libraries of all those who follow with more than a casual interest the daily happenings of this disturbed world.

W. J. OUDENDYK.

Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By Sherman le Roy Wallace. Princeton University; Oxford University Press. 1938. 25s.

New material has come to hand since Wilcken, Rostovtseff and Milne published their studies on this highly technical subject, and Sherman Wallace's lucid and exhaustive analysis of Egyptian may well be the last word to be said on the matter for many years to come.

On the death in B.C. 30 of the seventh Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies, Egypt passed into the keeping of Rome: a political condition that lasted for six centuries. Apart from crushing taxation, it was not an unhappy period of her history. Roman rule that stamped out sporadic brigandage, cleared canals and drains, and rid justice of archaic conventions, gave the administrative procedure a Roman twist much as the Ptolemies had given it a Greek twist: but, broadly speaking, it ran upon identical lines, and land tenure in particular underwent no change. Egypt remained "the house" of the ruling power: her people were its serfs and their labour was for it to dispose of. But "the house" cultivated only a slice of its domains: the rest was leased against payment of rent or tax, to priests, discharged soldiers, municipalities and private individuals. To keep a record of this complex tenure, to collect information concerning areas, locations, produce, rent and taxes, required an elaborate organization, and no doubt the cost of administration was pretty high, even if certain offices were doubled. The prefect of the province, for example, seems to have combined the dual functions of governor and treasurer, and Philo's belief that he spent most of his time in inspecting provincial revenue accounts was probably true.

Starting from a description of land tenure, Sherman Wallace reconstructs the system of Egyptian taxation. It is very well done. Taxes are enumerated one by one, their incidence is clearly explained. The author's comments upon the latter are often illuminating, his judgment is always dispassionate. The principle underlying Roman taxation of occupied territory was simple: all inhabitants, great or humble in station, and all occupations, honourable or mean, had to contribute towards the exchequer. To that rule no exception was made. The land tax, the corner-stone of the revenue, was paid as to wheat, barley and Indian corn in kind, as to vine and oil production in coin. The procedure of the first smacked of Pharaonic times. To the village threshing floor the cultivator carted his cereals, and there assembled a commission consisting of representatives of the treasury and the village that supervised the division of the produce between the State and owner. To store its share of the produce the State had to construct in the provinces local granaries, and central depôts in Thebes and Alexandria: to

preserve a record of the quantities received and issued, it had to maintain store-keepers and a clerical staff. Upon the cultivator fell the cost of transport and all other incidental charges: so many and so heavy were these that little could have remained to the peasant when he had paid the State its dues.

The *apomoira*, a tax upon vine and garden land, the prerogative of the temple, till Ptolemy Philadelphus assigned it to the cult of Arsinoe, his dead sister-wife, was assessed and paid in copper drachmas, or, if paid in silver drachmas, were converted into copper at the ratio of 300 to 1. Incidentally every exchange transaction was a profitable business for the State, seeing that it charged a surtax of 20 per cent. on each transaction. Apart from the land tax, most dues seem to have been paid in coin. The house and property tax certainly was one. Of it Wallace says: "It would be strange if the financial administration of Egypt had overlooked the possibilities of taxing houses," and it is clear that Roman procedure was not so foolish. The owner paid the tax on the rents he received for his houses and on the ground they stood on, while, despite Wilcken's doubt on the point, the tenants probably paid also for the privilege of living under a roof.

The *naubion* or fee payable for exemption from the laborious clearance of canals of silt and repairing the banks on the other hand could not have contributed much to the State Treasury. What was paid in by the well-to-do was paid out to the peasants who performed the work. The fact that payment at all was made to the last suggests a certain benevolence upon the part of the Roman administration: for from time immemorial the State had held that its only business in the matter of maintaining canals was the task of supervision.

Next to the land, the capitation tax must have been the most remunerative to the treasury. It required as a preliminary a census of the inhabitants of Egypt, and Wallace gives a clear account of its procedure. Each census was taken by houses, as in Rome, at intervals of fourteen years, and contemporary papyri indicate the labour necessary to compile the return. Individual householders were required to send copies to the financial department of the *nome*, the royal scribe, the village clerk, the local census officer, and retain one himself. The information needed was detailed: location of the property and description of the house, statement of its ownership, names, ages, occupations and description of its inhabitants, parentage of husband and wife, parentage of children, other than the family of the owner. If relatives were living in the house their relationship to the owner had to be given: servants and slaves to be recorded similarly. At the end the owner took an oath that his statements were true, that in his house no Roman or Alexandrian citizen resided. Preparation of the return was an expensive business also for the individual, and Wallace is justified in believing "this multiplicity of copies needed five to ten sheets of papyri, and the engagement of a special clerk to fill in the form."

The majority of monopolies maintained by the Ptolemies ceased under Roman rule: disliking in principle restrictions upon commerce, Rome preferred to monopolize a capitation tax upon all persons engaged in industry. Here and there odd monopolies continued to exist, notably those of the salt, oil and beer productions: but the rapid development of trade guilds made it easier to estimate revenue by taxing trades and tradesmen than by subletting monopolies to speculative capitalists. Thus Rome imposed capitation taxes upon weavers and dyers, tailors and clothiers, potters and builders, blacksmiths and locksmiths, millers and bakers: in short, upon the followers of every conceivable profession, occupation or calling. Incidentally it is interesting to note that the Ptolemy practice of farming taxes early declined, perhaps from the difficulty of finding candidates willing to be farmers. Certainly there could be little inducement for a man

to offer himself for the post, seeing that he had to make good out of his private purse a deficit in the revenue. It was Trajan who altered the procedure, who placed collection in the hands of the administration, who proclaimed that every locality was responsible for individual deficits within its area.

Egyptian revenue, 12,500 talents, according to Cicero in the time of Ptolemy Auletes, father of the last Cleopatra, was probably less under Roman rule, certainly in its earlier stages. War is an expensive business to finance and Cleopatra's partnership with Antony in the years preceding Actium must have drained Egypt of capital. Further, Roman bureaucracy was costly, and the maintenance of an army of occupation one more heavy charge on the local treasury. Emperors were no doubt well served in the matter of the supply of corn: but that advantage apart, they could hardly have drawn a greater income from Egypt than, say, from Gaul. Decentralization of authority perhaps permitted later an economy of offices in Alexandria, but a surplus of revenue over expenditure must have been rare until Diocletian introduced his financial reforms.

A corpus of fifty closely printed pages of notes indicates that *Egyptian Taxation* is intended probably less for the general reader than the student. None the less the first will discover pleasure as well as profit from this well written book.

P. G. ELGOOD.

Atatürk et le Vrai Visage de le Turquie Moderne. By Gerard Tongas.

Documents pour l'Étude des Pays Orientaux. 8" x 6". Pp. 100. Geuthner.

1937.

This book is apparently the first of a series of "Documents pour l'Étude des Pays Orientaux," published by the Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. In his opening chapter the author laments the indifference of his countrymen to recent events in Turkey, and the prejudiced view they take of Turkish history. This lament might find an echo in this country. It seems the Crusaders are still regarded as the sacred defenders of Christendom against the barbarous Turkish hordes, though it was their sack of Byzantium that made its capture inevitable.

Religious bias has done much to obscure the real nature of the past historical events, and to engender a belief that deeds of barbarism were committed only by the infidel. The author reminds the French people of the predominant rôle they once played in Turkey, and points out that while their prestige is still great it is being surpassed by the Germans, the Russians and the English. The French, indeed, were the first Western Power of Christendom to enter into commercial and political relations with the Turks and to secure capitulation. Towards the end of the seventeenth century their influence was supreme, so that our ambassador, Sir William Trumbull, was led to remark, "It is certain that this Empire at present is more governed by the French than the Turkish interest."

To come to later times French literature and thought has exercised a powerful influence on the intellectual life of Turkey since the era of the Tanzimat. The author gives a brief sketch of the main events in the life of Atatürk down to the present day. In doing so he refers to the failure of the Greeks, encouraged by the English, to establish themselves in Anatolia, but he does not mention the unsuccessful attempt of the French to create a zone of influence in Silesia, which led to the destruction of their Armenian allies.

The Kemalist philosophy is described as ultra-positive because it led to immediate results, and ultra-popular in that every effort is made to raise the status of the peasant. The fact is that the state of Turkey when Atatürk assumed control was such that there was little time for theorizing or the pursuit of ideologues,

ruined as it was by ten years of constant war and menaced by the victorious Powers. One secret of the power wielded by the President is his concern for the welfare of the common people, whose interests were commonly ignored by the old Ottoman régime. This policy has helped to abolish not only the distinctions between classes, but also that between the sexes.

A short chapter is devoted to the remarkable transformation achieved in Ankara, the population of which has risen from 9,000 inhabitants in 1923 to 120,000 in 1935. It would seem as if the words of the Gazi, engraved on the monument at Ankara, and quoted by the author, have been taken to heart: "Turk, ogun, chalis, guven" (Turk, take pride in yourself, work and have confidence).

In Chapter V. the author discusses the *Politique Planifiée* of Turkey, which is based on the six principles enumerated by Atatürk at the Party Congress in 1927: "Nous sommes republican Nationalistes, populistes, étatistes, laics, revolutionnaires." The Kemalists have explained that, although the Republic is a democracy, it is not of the classic type. It certainly is not, and perhaps the author's description of it as "une republic autoritaire" is the best. There is only one party in the State, the People's Party, of which Atatürk himself is President. It has a monopoly of Parliament and the President himself chooses the candidates. There is no opposition in the Assembly, and criticism of the régime is only permitted within the party itself. There is, thus, no real Parliamentary democracy in the Western sense, and the system is obviously capable of abuse, though the author does not suggest it. The Nationalism of the new Turkey tends to a racial homogeneity which shuts out external influences. It excludes Imperialism. The State rather than the private capitalist controls the industrial development of the country. In discussing the present relation of Turkey with foreign Powers, the author points out that the Kemalist revolution has largely destroyed the cultural, economic and financial interests of France, and the French have been slow to regain their influence. The question of the Sanjak of Alexandretta which threatened to embroil the two countries is discussed. Monsieur Tongas considers the Sanjak is essentially Turkish, and blames his countrymen for not facing the realities of the situation.

In Chapters VII. and VIII. he has given an admirable summary of the agricultural and industrial products of Turkey. In his final chapter the author urges his countrymen to obtain a greater share in Turkish trade. The necessity of such action is shown by a table giving the percentage of French trade in the last fifteen years. It has fallen from 10.8 per cent. in 1923 to 2.9 per cent. in 1936.

F. F. R.

Unité Syrienne et Devenir Arabe. Par Edmond Rabbath, Député à la Chambre Syrienne. 8" x 5½". Pp. 411. Paris: Lib. Rivière. 1937.

This is a well-written book which gives a lively and readable account of the French mandated area of Syria and the Lebanon, with a good deal of the past history, an appreciation of its present circumstances and some rather adventurous speculations as to its future.

There is a certain irony about the story of the "A" mandates, which were attached to what had been constituent parts of the Ottoman Empire. There was a strain of genuine idealism about Article 22 of the League Covenant which contemplated the disinterested bestowal of "advice and assistance" by the experienced to the inexperienced, by the powerful to the weak, by "advanced nations" to "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." The question whether the application of these principles in good faith would prove to be reconcilable with "the conditions of the modern

world" was the subject of a good deal of scepticism and was generally answered in the negative; and the allotment of the mandates which was affected at San Remo in 1920 was cynically envisaged as a division of the spoils. The cynics may have been right in regard to motives, but it can hardly be questioned now that what the mandatories for Syria and Iraq—to say nothing of Palestine—accepted was responsibilities rather than privileges. If a statement of accounts were attempted, it would be very difficult to prove that the United Kingdom could show a balance on the right side in the case of Iraq. When France resigns her Syrian mandate, she will inevitably rise from the table a loser. There are, of course, certain "imponderables" of which due account must be taken. Neither country would to-day set very much store on the prestige acquired by its mandatory activities; it would probably rest content with having suffered no discredit. Can good-will be counted as an asset? M. Rabbath does not encourage us to rate it very high.

"L'expérience des mandats a été fatale à l'influence européenne. Elle a mis à nu ses ambitions démesurées. Les États qui se sont érigés sous ses auspices, elle les étroit de toute sa puissance politique et économique. Ils se savent fragiles, à la merci du Mandataire ou de l'Allié." Mandate gives way to Treaty, but "Ally" is only a name for a political and economic oppressor. The passage quoted is really indicative of M. Rabbath's whole attitude towards France, and it will be recognized by many as closely similar to the attitude of Iraqi nationalism towards England. There is no real animus about it. There is an underlying assumption that a country, like an individual, will seize upon every opportunity that presents itself of taking an advantage, that a tutor will inevitably prefer his own interest to that of his ward, and that the ward must always call him to account and not harbour any foolish ideas about gratitude. M. Rabbath does not venture any estimate of what France has made out of Syria; but he is not reticent about all that Syria has lost through France's fault. She let Cilicia go, and now she has let those wicked people at Geneva turn the Sanjak of Alexandretta into a demilitarized area (like the Rhineland!). Syria lies exposed on the north, a helpless prey to Turkish aggression. Turkey is only waiting an opportunity—has begun already in fact—to reconquer her lost empire; and she is beginning with Syria, because Iraq has an army, to say nothing of hundreds of thousands of armed Bedouin and Kurds. The words are (slightly paraphrased) the words of Chékib Arslan, but M. Rabbath finds them full of meaning. He gives a lucid account of the kaleidoscopic changes which the internal organization of Syria has undergone and seems to be fairly well satisfied—though not uncritically so—with the two Treaties of 1936, which, all being well, will terminate the mandatory régime and bring the states of Syria and Lebanon into existence. There is to be no more nonsense about a separate Jebel Druse and a separate Alaouite State (Latakia). It would be much better if Syria and Lebanon were one; but Lebanon is not "une création *ex nihilo* de la politique française." It has an historical and judicial basis which was laid down long before the war. But it is much too big. Perhaps it must be allowed to keep Beyrouth; for it requires access to the sea. But Tripoli, Baalbeck and Rayak ought to be given back to Syria. Supposing for the moment that they are not reabsorbed by Turkey, Syria and Lebanon have another peril to face. They have been made the victims of a "blockade," an economic encirclement, which is the result of the intense nationalism of twentieth-century Turkey and of a carefully calculated long-distance economic policy for which the British Government is responsible, that responsibility apparently embracing, among other things, the establishment of treaty relations between Iraq and Saudi Arabia. But we are not past praying for; the immediate remedy for economic encirclement, intensified by "l'anachronique

et sanglante expérience du sionisme," is to be a Customs Union between Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq, to which it would seem that the British Government must be a consenting party. But a Customs Union will be only a milestone and not a terminus. The ultimate goal is "Les États-Unis Arabes," which the reader is rather surprised to find composed of these four units. Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, Algeria and Morocco must be recognized as deserving candidates for admission; but the time is not yet ripe. For the moment let us contemplate no more than an Arab United States of Asia. And what about Saudi Arabia?

"Le désert restera un allié précieux, un refuge et une consolation, un réservoir de forces. A moins de conquête brutale—toujours possible, malgré les assurances de paix que prodigue Ibn-Séoud à la France—une fédération qui l'engloberait risquerait de perdre son équilibre." In any case, it may be doubted whether the intelligentsia of Syria would find in it a really congenial atmosphere.

R. V. V.

Annual Report of the Department of Migration, Palestine Government, for 1937. Pp. 102. Jerusalem: Government Printing Press. Price 150 mils. (3s.).

Mr. Eric Mills, the Commissioner for Migration and Statistics, has produced a Report which in mathematical accuracy and meticulous thoroughness may well compare with his previous publications. Mr. Mills is, besides being a mathematician of high repute, known to be a master of style. But in this Report so much is taken up with figures and tables, and so little comparatively with written comment, that while the statistician will be amply repaid by its perusal, the mere reviewer is somewhat at a loss. The quotation of figures, however telling, does not readily move the average reader, and there is little else but figures upon which to base a review. How, for instance, have the disturbances in Palestine affected the entry into and departure from that still unhappy country? To those who appreciate statistics, the tables in the Report doubtless tell a story; but we confess that the enjoyment of the reader would have been enhanced if Mr. Mills had "let himself go" now and again, and, without entering into political controversy, had clothed the bare bones of numbers with more abundant flesh of telling phrase.

Contention in Palestine has always centred round immigration, and the answer to the question, "How far has the Balfour Declaration been implemented?" is partly to be found in the figures set forth with such clarity in Part I. Arabs and Jews will never agree on the vexed question of immigration: the Arabs always demanding less, the Jews always demanding more. But no reasonable person can argue that Great Britain has not made an honest attempt to implement her promise to the Jews, as is shown in a later paragraph. How far she can also fulfil her promise to the Arabs, whether by partition or otherwise, is still to be decided.

As in previous Reports, the intention of the Director had been to include three parts and three sets of statistical tables; but we are told in the Preface that Part II.—the Analysis of Statistics—is omitted for various reasons, and will be published later. The rest is before us.

The development of the Department in recent years is well illustrated by the growth in classified personnel (21 in 1925: 112 in 1937). When it is considered that the Department has three main duties to perform, each controlled by a separate office—inland immigration, frontier control and citizenship and passports—with subordinate offices in many places, the number of personnel employed cannot be deemed excessive. Further, it may be remarked that the Department

is one of the very few in Palestine—the Post Office is another—that actually produce revenue over and above expenditure. In the year 1936-37, for example, the revenue from this Department was £P44,000, while the expenditure was only £P33,600—and this in a year when immigration noticeably decreased.

The disturbances of 1936 and 1937 have indeed had startling results in the number of Jewish immigrants entering the country. For 1935, the "peak" year, the number registered was 61,854. In 1936 it declined to 29,727, and in 1937 to 10,536. No reasons are given in the Report for this diminution: perhaps Mr. Mills considers that the figures speak for themselves. Nevertheless, the increase in the Jewish population in recent years is arresting. In 1931 it was 175,000, or 17 per cent. of the total population: in 1937 it was over 386,000, or 28 per cent. of the total population, an increase of 11 per cent. in six years. Of the countries of origin, Poland and Germany head the list in 1937, with 35 and 34 per cent. of immigrants respectively.

Another noticeable feature recorded for 1937 is the number of Palestinian residents departing and returning. Of the total number *departing*—viz., 113,860—67,000 were Arabs and 36,700 were Jews: while of those *returning*—viz., 105,639—about 65,400 were Arabs and 31,000 were Jews. These figures are all much higher than in any previous year, and are an interesting commentary on the state of the country.

It is satisfactory to note that the total number of Jewish travellers illegally settling in Palestine is on the decrease, though illegal settlement by abuse of travellers' visas has not ceased. Incidentally, illegal immigration, of which there has been far too much in the past, may receive a further setback by the barricade ("Teggart's Wall") now being erected on the northern frontier for a different purpose.

Space does not allow more than a passing reference to the mass of detailed information on citizenship and cognate matters, which forms Part III. of the Report. But one curious aspect of Jewish morals, resulting presumably from the restrictions on immigration, may be quoted. "There is still widespread evasion of the Palestinian immigration laws through marriages of convenience contracted between male Palestinian citizens and foreign women. Several 'professional husbands' who made false statements in connection with their applications for the grant of Palestinian passport facilities to their wives were prosecuted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment." The dissolution of these marriages, says Mr. Mills, is largely responsible for the abnormally high ratio of Jewish divorces to Jewish marriages in Palestine—in 1937 divorces reaching 57.9 per 100 marriages! Even Hollywood can hardly compete with such a record.

For further particulars and for the Tables of Migration and Naturalization, the reader must be referred to the Report. No analysis, however complete (and ours is certainly very incomplete) can do justice to the immense care and labour that have been expended on this Report, and we can only congratulate Mr. Mills and his expert staff on the lucid manner in which they have dealt with a vast and complex problem.

H. E. B.

The Blood Feud. A Novel dealing with the Marsh Arabs of Southern Iraq.

By Captain C. E. Corry, M.B.E. 7½" x 5". Pp. 256. Mortiboys. 5s.

The author of this book has chosen as his setting the marshes of the Lower Euphrates, and the story deals with the adventures and misadventures of one of the Marsh Arab tribes which inhabit that little-known area. The fortunes, misfortunes, ambitions, achievements and frustrations of a number of typical tribal

characters provide the tension which goes to make an entertaining story. But to judge this book merely on its merits as a work of fiction is to ignore everything in it which justifies its claim to special notice. As a story pure and simple it is neither better nor worse than the average novel at the same price. The author's literary style and ingenuity are adequate to give the casual reader a couple of pleasant evenings, but it is not for that reason that we should be grateful to him for having written the book.

When Colonel H. C. Prescott, the Inspector-General of Police for Iraq, writes in his foreword that Captain Corry has seen more of the Marsh Arabs than any other Englishman, he is not indulging in the kind of polite inaccuracy which we have learned to look for in forewords, but is stating a solid fact. The author's job as Inspecting Officer of Police gave him a splendid opportunity to study these people, but it is his capacity for meticulous observation, and for the patient collection of precise and detailed information, which has enabled him to turn that opportunity to full account for the benefit of others. Interwoven in the pleasant but quite unimportant fabric of the story is a mass of authoritative information on the lives of this remote and reticent group of people; on the troubles which beset them, their disputes, their customs, the tortuous ways of their intrigues, their impulses and attachments, and on their resourcefulness in keeping at bay the climatic miseries which surround them. The manner in which the author has passed on his deep knowledge of these matters amply justifies him in a claim to have written something of real and permanent worth.

The Blood Feud is a book which should be read by anyone who is interested in 'Iraq, or in Arab tribal life in any of its forms, and which can be confidently recommended to that very much wider public who are on the look-out for truth about strange peoples living in strange places.

A. D. M.

Partition of Palestine. Suggested Alterations in Proposed Frontiers. By James A. Malcolm. Pp. 15. Apollo Press. Price 6d.

This little pamphlet makes an attempt to partition Palestine with such modifications of the frontiers proposed by the Royal Commission as to give the Jews and the British considerably more, and the Arabs considerably less, territory. Mr. Malcolm describes himself as "a Gentile, convinced both of the immediate and ultimate benefits of Zionism to the world as well as to the Jews themselves." He states with becoming modesty that he played an obscure part in the earliest negotiations which culminated in the Balfour Declaration. He seeks to offer a solution of the problem by handing over to Jewish rule an additional portion of the Plain of Esdraelon, including Beisan; some 1,400 square kilometres of Transjordan lying between Samakh and Irbid; and a parallelogram running south-west from the southern Jewish boundary proposed by the Royal Commission as far as the Egyptian frontier. Gaza is to be excluded from this generous gift, and will be retained as "an Arab enclave under permanent British mandate or protectorate." Not content with this, Mr. Malcolm proposes to set up "a Jewish corridor parallel and conterminous with the northern boundary of the British corridor" of the Royal Commission, in order apparently to link up, on what he describes as historical and strategical grounds, the site of Modin with the Jewish suburbs of Jerusalem. He does not disguise the fact that these parts of Palestine, some of them by no means sparsely populated, are to a great extent inhabited by Arabs. But he does not give any clear indication as to the number of Arabs involved, while he lightly dismisses the idea of any Arabs objecting to migration, since they have, as he says, "practically no local social

ties." He even goes so far as to state that if "assisted" to move into the proposed Arab zones or into Transjordan, "they would do so with the zeal and fervour of a religious pilgrimage." We are driven to wonder if Mr. Malcolm has ever visited an Arab village, or heard first-hand the opinions on this question of Arab fellahin. Perhaps he has not heard of, or has forgotten, the steadfast refusal even of the Arab squatters of Wadi Hawareth to migrate to the lands near Beisan offered them, with generous "assistance," by the Palestine Government.

The British corridor is to be extended eastwards to include Jericho, the Allenby Bridge, and the northern end of the Dead Sea; and the whole of the Negeb is to remain under British mandate, presumably with a view to encouraging settlement by Jews until these are in a position to become independent.

Space does not allow us to follow Mr. Malcolm's arguments in detail. But he appears to consider that drastic changes are needed to rectify the injustice done to the Jews from the very first, by our not handing over to them the whole of what he calls "Biblical Palestine," which he describes as stretching from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, and from Hama to El Arish and Akaba. We must confess that this seems to us a very liberal interpretation of the Promised Land. But even so, surely Mr. Malcolm does not seriously believe that this territory was ever wholly occupied by Jews, or that the most zealous and fanatical Zionist ever dreamed that the National Home was to include so vast an area.

All Arabs are in Mr. Malcolm's opinion fanatical and destructive, so it is perhaps hardly surprising that it is nothing to him that, under the Royal Commission's plan, nearly a quarter of a million should either leave Jewish Palestine or become subject to Jewish rule in Galilee and elsewhere. *A fortiori* the same argument is made to apply to the Arab population of the south-west (exclusive of Gaza) in Majdal, Khan Yunes and the villages lying between the sea and the foothills, to say nothing of those living in the territories to be shorn from Samaria and Transjordan, all of whom must, if the author's recommendations were adopted, suffer the same fate.

But we hardly think there need be much fear on this score. Whatever the results of the investigations being carried out by the so-called technical or "fact-finding" Commission now at work in Palestine, we may hope that its members will not be influenced by such prejudiced advice as is offered in this pamphlet.

The Wisdom of the Qur'ān. Set forth in Selected Verses conveying the Moral, Religious and Social Philosophy of Islam, preceded by an Introduction expounding the Teachings of the Qur'ān. By Muḥmūd Muḥtār-Kātircioglu. English translation by John Naish, M.A.(Oxon.), D.D.(Lond.). Pp. lx + 146. Oxford University Press. 5s.

This is an excellent translation from the French of the masterly work of the late General Muḥmūd Muḥtār Pasha, the celebrated Turkish soldier, statesman, scholar and thinker.

As he explains in the preface, this great soldier-statesman has set himself the task of culling from the Qur'ān all the verses directly concerned with laying down the eternal principles of the Faith of Islam: religious, moral, philosophic and social. This meant the contraction of the Qur'ān to one-fifth of its volume, and was a task requiring a great deal of weighing, pondering and careful consideration, for every chapter of the Qur'ān was quoted from, and at the same time repetition was as far as possible avoided; yes, every chapter of the Qur'ān, for although, at first sight, the last two chapters seem to be omitted, there is

actually no omission, as they have been fully quoted in the introduction. But having done this, he found that his work had just begun. To succeed in a task, where all former workers have lamentably failed, he knew that he must make a distinct departure from the traditional method of all previous translators of the Qur'ān. Knowing that most of the beauty, and not a little of the meaning, expressive force and explosive energy of the original Arabic text were lost in the lifeless literal word-for-word translations, he set out to make an entirely fresh and independent rendering of the verses selected, taking care that the phraseology conformed to the idiom and genius of the new tongue and presented accurately and vividly the meaning of the original text.

That he has admirably succeeded in both tasks will be readily granted, for the choice of verses is happy, extensive and representative, if not exhaustive, and the translation is vital, literary and eminently readable, and approximates more closely to the original in beauty and forcefulness of style. It may not be perfect or free from mistakes, but there can be no doubt that it is a distinct advance on all existing translations, and that along those lines lies perfection.

The selected verses are preceded by an introduction that is at once a model in lucidity and condensation, in which the author succeeds within the incredibly small compass of 31 pages in surveying, expounding and summarizing the whole field of Islamic teaching, the life of the Prophet, and the rise, decline and renaissance of Islam.

The introduction clearly shows the author to be a man of great learning, possessed of a philosophical and introspective mind and a deep spirituality with a strong tendency towards mysticism. To attempt to enumerate its good points would entail dealing with almost every paragraph in the author's very able exposition of Islam. We shall therefore single out for particular comment the few statements which seem to us to fall short of that high standard:—

(1) On page xxii it would seem that Muslim tolerance was limited to the two Great Faiths of Judaism and Christianity when, as a matter of fact, it is extended to all faiths.

(2) On page xxv and the succeeding pages the word Muhammadan, which is a misnomer with no equivalent in the Arabic language, is used instead of Musalman, which does, however, occur here and there in the text. Also the word Muhammadanism is wrongly used instead of Islam.

(3) Again on the same page 'Umar Ibn El-Khattab is rendered "Umr Khattab," but this may be the Turkish rendering.

(4) It is inaccurate to say on page xxvii that the Great Imams were considered to have infallible judgment. It would be more accurate to say that, although they differed with each other, their rulings were held to be equally correct, as their opinions were supported by proofs of equal validity. There was never any question of infallibility.

(5) On page xlv certain verses of the Qur'ān are referred to as having been "abrogated." It would be more accurate to say "supplemented by fuller and more general ordinances, which therefore superseded them," no verse of the Qur'ān being actually rejected or abrogated.

(6) On page xlv reference is made to "the editing and arrangement" of the Qur'ān as having been begun at the death of the Prophet. It would be more accurate to say that it was arranged in its present order during the life of the Prophet and was learnt by heart and recited in that order by him and by so many of his companions and contemporaries. What was done at the death of the Prophet was the collection of all available manuscripts of the Qur'ān. The reference to 'Uthman's part in this connection is equally inaccurate. It was the

rapid rate at which those who knew the Qur'an by heart were dying in the wars that necessitated the collation of the collected texts and the making of so many copies and sending them to the outlying parts of the fast-expanding Muslim State during the Caliphate of 'Uthman. These copies followed the exact order in which the Qur'an was arranged by the Prophet in his life-time. It was not within 'Uthman's power or indeed any other man's to introduce the slightest change in the text or the order of arrangement.

(7) On page l there is a tendency to exaggerate out of all proportion the importance and influence of the sect called the Hanifs. It is also incorrect to speak of Muḥammad, on page li, as the leader of that sect.

(8) On page lv it would be more accurate to substitute the word Islam for "the Crescent" in connection with Muslim rule in Spain.

It will be seen that most of these are minor mistakes, which do not mar the beauty of the book, impair its value or lessen the many useful purposes it serves. Not, perhaps, the least amongst these is that it helps to correct the erroneous view, current in Europe, that the Turks have seceded from Islam. They err who think that the Turks by shedding away certain customs and institutions which found their way into the Muslim world during the period of decline and decay, and, in turn, helped to hasten these processes, have ceased to be Muslims. By ridding themselves of un-Islamic institutions, like the various orders of dervishes, the Turks are drawing nearer to the Islamic Ideal, and by translating the Qur'an into Turkish they are bringing it within the grasp of the millions who have no knowledge of Arabic.

The case of General Maḥmūd Muḥtār Pasha is by no means an isolated one, but is indicative of the trend of religious thought in Turkey to-day; and it is perhaps fitting that this distinguished son of a distinguished father, who is truly representative of the genius of his race, should produce this living monument to the deep and abiding spirituality of the Turkish people.

Professor Louis Massignon, in his prefatory note, rightly acclaims the book as "a work of ripe scholarship and reflection, the fruit of a full and mellow life." The fact that the author did not survive to see the publication of the work which had meant so much to him, and that the last few weeks of his life were devoted to putting the finishing touches to it, cannot fail to enhance the words in which Professor Massignon describes it as being "really his spiritual last will and testament, the dying message of this Turkish Statesman addressed not only to his intimate friends, but to all the youth of his country to-day."

MAHMOOD R. ZADA.

The Bektashi Order of Dervishes. By John Kingsley Birge, Ph.D. Pp. 284 and index. Thirty-two plates in half tone. 8vo. Luzac and Co. 1937. 17s. 6d.

The New Turkey which was born out of the world war has cast aside a great many customs, orders and traditions in her attempts to cope with the dictates of the modern world, and things that are harmless and picturesque, if not of real merit, have been discarded along with some of the old abuses. Amongst the reforms, the suppression of the various orders of dervishes which formerly flourished all over Turkey is to be counted as one of the most significant. It was not, however, merely the suppression of a picturesque religious order, as one might at first think, but rather an attempt to put an end to a particular mode of thought, characterized by dissimulation and indefiniteness, which was spread by the Bektashis throughout quite a large section of the lay population. For with all its broadness of outlook, which made it seem possible for a moment that

Bektashism might become the State-religion of the New Turkey, its belief in the legitimacy of dissimulation and the importance which its followers set on the words of particular individual leaders, regardless of what they preached, made it something quite incompatible with the ideals of the new state.

The faith—if it may be so called—is thus obviously something that must seem well worth studying to the outside observer, and to any who have travelled in Turkey the Bektashis remain as a very essential memory, and no doubt will continue to remain so, despite the suppression of the order. This is not so much because of themselves or of the tangible monuments they have left, as because of the numerous tales that centre around them. The appreciation of Bektashi wit is a vital part of Turkish life, and Bektashi stories are no less delightful and no less subtly illuminating of the Turkish character than are those that centre around the famous *Nasr ed din Hoca*. Dr. Birge's book is thus very welcome.

After a short introduction (pp. 12-20), the history of the order is discussed (pp. 22-87). It is considered as falling into three phases. The first covers the life of *Haci Bektaş Veli*, the founder of the order (1246—c. 1297), who was a contemporary and rival of *Celaleddin*, founder of the *Mevlevi* or whirling dervishes. The rise of both these preachers was occasioned, the author thinks, by the period of instability and war which succeeded the Seljuk age in Asia Minor.

The second phase is that of the stabilization of the order, and the giving of form to its teaching by a new leader, Balim Sultan (c. 1500). The third is that of its final establishment about 1850 and its flourishing from then till the final suppression in 1925, when the new government did what Mahmut II. had tried to do a century before. It was in 1826 that the suppression and wholesale slaughter of the Janissaries took place, and Dr. Birge shows how close was the contact between these formidable troops and the Bektashi order.

In his third chapter (pp. 88-161) the author examines the Bektashi doctrines and beliefs, a task made possible by the publication of a number of Bektashi writings in the latter years of the nineteenth and the earlier years of the twentieth century, as well as because a number of *Teşes* still exist outside Turkey, more especially in Albania. Most interesting is the identification in Bektashi thought of Ali with God Himself. The chapter closes with an attempt to probe the Bektashi secret, an attempt which has been made by more than one uninitiated enquirer. Birge believes it to be threefold: a belief in the unity of God and man, a great reverence for Ali, and an assignation of a special place to women, unknown elsewhere in the Islamic world. The secret signs of the order are akin to those traditionally associated with the freemasons in this country.

Chapter IV. (pp. 162-204) deals with rites and practices. It is surprising how full it is, when one remembers that the procedure of the order is essentially secret. It is a chapter of great use to the student, but it could hardly offend the most susceptible of devotees as a too impertinent enquiry.

A full chapter deals with the relationship between Bektashism and other faiths, earlier and contemporary. A full glossary of terms is given, and there are a number of illustrations which serve to stress the secret, symbolical character of the rites.

Though the latter part of the book is in the main for the specialist, the earlier part should be read by all who are interested in Turkish thought or the make-up of Turkey as a whole. They will find there much that is illuminating. The book is certainly the fullest and most authoritative that has appeared on the subject, and it will doubtless remain so for some years to come.

Search for Tomorrow. By Rom Landau. 9" x 6". Pp. xx + 404. Fourteen illustrations. Nicholson and Watson. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Rom Landau has been seeking a "star in the East." He thinks he has found two—the Pan-Arab and the Pan-Balkan movements—which may "lay the right spiritual foundations for the future."

One may disagree with Mr. Landau's suggestions in his preface as to how history should be written, with his "mystic" approach to Near and Middle Eastern problems, and, still more, with his conclusions that "those thirsty plains and jagged hills that enclose the Eastern Mediterranean may once again give birth to our destinies." But such disagreement will not detract from the interest of his book.

Search for Tomorrow is not, and one does not think the writer would claim it to be, a profound study of the Near and Middle East, the area covered by the search. Mr. Rom Landau rejects the objective view and insists that history must be intensely subjective to perceive the dividing-line between the objective world and the historian's own vision of it. He insists on the divine power responsible for history and on the ethical factor being the most decisive.

Without going as far as Mr. Landau, few will deny that a better understanding by Europe of the Near East would be reached if Western students sought the spirit behind events more zealously instead of basing opinions on mere empiricism. Nowhere more than in the Near and Middle East can "facts" be more completely misleading. Religion, in the narrow sense of orthodox beliefs and practices, is weakening in the Near East, as elsewhere, in face of the assaults of materialism. In its wider sense, however, it still continues to play a great part in the lives of nations. Thus far, at any rate, most of us can go with Mr. Landau.

The author has sought for the spirit behind events, and his formula for history has obliged him to "draw the reader into the process of collaboration," in which are also involved the persons he has interviewed. *Search for Tomorrow*, therefore, consists of a collection of notes, impressions and conversations, painstakingly and carefully amassed. They are valuable as raw material from which to form an impression of the driving forces, men and motives, behind the changing Orient. One needs, perhaps, the illumination of a mystic to gather from brief interviews, in many cases through the medium of an interpreter, exact comprehension of motivating forces, but there is much of practical interest, besides, in the conversations Mr. Landau sets before us.

The Egyptian section of the book is vague with the vagueness and the unsteadiness of the Egyptian mind owing to the more powerful invasion of that country by Western ideas. It is not till Mr. Landau comes to Saudi Arabia and has an interview in the desert with Ibn Sa'ud that he, and the reader, are impressed. This is the most striking of all the material Mr. Landau has gathered, though he himself attributes much significance also to his interview with Sir Ahmed Hassanein Pasha in Cairo and with King George of Greece in Athens.

Mr. Landau's book repays study by those interested in the Near and Middle East who have already a knowledge of the countries and people concerned. It might not be so useful, however, to those who took it as a first approach to the subject. While much of it is to be accepted, a certain amount has to be rejected by serious students.

A. M.

Survey of the Import Trade of India. H.M. Stationery Office. 1938.

This useful survey, prepared by His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India, sets forth succinctly the Import Trade of India from April 1 to December 31, 1937, being the first nine months of the Fiscal year. The variations recorded are not strictly comparable with previous years, as Burma was separated from India on April 1, and the current figures now exclude United Kingdom shipments to Burma. Where, therefore, increased imports from the United Kingdom to British India are shown, the full measure of the increase over the corresponding period of 1936 is even greater.

Imports of merchandise including Government stores increased by Rs. 40 crores or $43\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 132 crores, while the total exports rose by 8 crores or 5.7 per cent. to 147 crores.

The substantial increase in imports was spread over a wide area. Raw cotton and rice accounted for increases of 8 crores each. Machinery and mill-work, including cotton textile machinery, showed notable rises, indicating that India is becoming more and more industrially-minded. It is significant that the only item registering an appreciable decline was grey cotton piecegoods to the extent of 137 lakhs. It would seem to come to this—Lancashire cannot have it both ways. She cannot go on exporting textile machinery and at the same time expect to maintain her exports of cloth. Every loom exported becomes an active competitor. India now imports less than a quarter of the cloth that she did in pre-war times: she is every day becoming more and more self-contained. The raw cotton imported was double the amount of the previous year, an indication that India is spinning finer and needs longer staple from America and Egypt. Another significant fact is that the import of dyes increased by Rs. 1 crore, indicating intensified activity in her production of coloured goods.

Electrical machinery, boilers, paper jute and rice-mill machinery all showed increases, while sugar-mill and mining machinery disclosed substantial falls. More sewing and knitting machines and more typewriters were imported, and vehicles accounted for the very large increase of Rs. 2 crores, representing an expansion of nearly 50 per cent. in the case of motor-cars, vans, lorries and omnibuses. Hardware went up by 25 per cent., lamps alone increasing by $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Increases are recorded in every kind of instrument and apparatus, be it musical, wireless, cinema, photographic or scientific. Imports of packing paper were almost double, while writing paper and envelopes expanded by nearly 50 per cent., and printing paper by 70 per cent. in value. Of minor consequence, but none the less interesting, was the decline in provisions and oilman's stores by nearly 20 per cent., the principal losses being $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. under biscuits and cakes, while imports of tinned fish and condensed milk were only one-third of the corresponding period of 1936. Liquors, however, were practically stationary. Boots and shoes were about the same, but rubber-soled footwear from Japan declined heavily, while "all leather" increased by 50 per cent., giving proof to the old saying that "there's nothing like leather."

Under exports there were increases in wheat, tea, hides and skins, manganese, raw jute and gunny bags. Cotton piecegoods also registered an increase, India being able to get into new markets, doubtless due to the preoccupations of Japan. Against these must be offset reduced shipments of rice, groundnuts, linseed and raw cotton. India is the second largest producer of cotton in the world, and has a large exportable surplus which it is essential for her to market.

The favourable balance of trade appreciably declined from 63 crores to 27 crores.

The principal countries of supply were :

United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	29·8
Japan	...	...	...	...	13·5
Germany	...	...	...	...	9·0
U.S.A.	...	...	...	...	6·5
Burma	...	...	...	...	15·1

For further details a study of the survey is strongly recommended.

T. S.

Land of no Regrets. By Lieut.-Colonel A. A. Irvine, C.I.E. 8½" x 5½".
Pp. 352. London: Collins. 12s. 6d.

Born in 1871, son of a Madras Civil Servant, numbering among his forebears and relatives men who in their day were famous in India, the author of this breezy, interesting book landed at Bombay in January, 1892, as subaltern in the Lincolnshire Regiment which he soon exchanged for the old Indian Staff Corps and the 3rd Bengal Infantry. In 1895 he accompanied General Sir Robert Low, a distinguished soldier to whom he was related, as Orderly Officer on the Chitral relief expedition and witnessed the taking of the seemingly impregnable Malakand Pass from 12,000 well-armed, hardy tribesmen. Gatacre, Roos Keppel, Aylmer, Roddy Owen, Townshend, Nixon, the famous Sir William Robertson, all come in for mention in a very interesting chapter which concludes with an amusing poem by an American rhymester. The chapter is typical of the whole book. Grave and gay are intermingled. The author tries to interest and sometimes to instruct. But he also wishes to amuse. He is a cheery soul who has always "warmed both hands at the fire of life," and has contributed to the *Pink 'Un* and the stage as well as to the records of trials of revolutionary conspirators. He endeavours to write "with a pleasant pen," and we can understand the compliment which the Commander-in-Chief paid him on his retirement: "The Indian Army is the loser in having said good-bye to one who certainly did his best towards the cause of a brighter India."

But it was not in the Army, but in the Punjab Commission that his service was mainly passed. Here, on the friendliest terms with his Civilian brother-officers, he passed many busy, happy years. As City-Magistrate of Lahore, as bear-leader to the youthful Raja of an old-fashioned Sikh state who incurred the displeasure of Lord Curzon by marrying the stepdaughter of a Dutch balloonist, as a judge at Simla, Amritsar and elsewhere, he accumulated varied experiences of which he kept notes. Many of his stories are humorous; but he describes effectively the Ghadr (mutiny) conspiracy in the Punjab and its suppression in the year 1915, and the trials of the revolutionaries at Lahore in 1919, before martial law tribunals over one of which he presided. He had been president of the special court which tried the conspirators of 1915, and has thus a unique knowledge of the troubles of both years of which he has drawn vivid pictures. He gave important evidence in the case of *O'Dwyer v. Nair*, disposed of by Mr. Justice McCardie of the King's Bench in 1924, which resulted in a verdict for the plaintiff. On all these matters Colonel Irvine writes clearly and fully.

He does not think it likely that India will prosper under a democratic system and disapproves generally of politicians, especially of those who "deliberate how best to lose the British Empire or give parts of it away." In his experience the young Englishman does not sail for India with the idea of benefiting that country, but in the spirit of adventure, for pay, for sport and with an eye to a pension. But when he has settled down, India and her people "get a grip on him." In *Punch* H. B. has put the same idea into other words:

"We're out to make a fortune or we're out to make a name;
And the most make precious little, and the most sing mighty small;
But there's something about India that rewards us after all."

I would say that in fact our early feelings were mixed. But there have been, and are, and always will be some youths bold enough to hope that they may be found worthy to follow in the footsteps of the long line of Englishmen, Scotchmen and Irishmen who in their day have been found worthy to do India the faithful and courageous service of which she stands, and will stand, in need.

H. V. L.

Ein Lateinalphabet für das Paschto. By Wolfgang Lentz. 9" x 6". Pp. 14. Berlin. 1937.

Of all the contortions into which the Arabic character has from time to time been made to twist itself, its adaptation to Pashto is perhaps the most grotesque. Indeed, were it not for the fact that, until perhaps recently, the Pashto has never in any sense been the written language of intercourse among the people of Afghanistan, this clumsily inflated version of the Arabic script could never have lasted as long as it has. Although Herr Lentz's acceptance of Pashto as the universal language of Afghanistan is perhaps premature, for it is hardly, if at all, spoken west of the Helmand, he is to be congratulated on producing a carefully thought-out study of the problem of the transliteration of Pashto into the Latin script. The discussion of such a change is particularly appropriate in view of recent pronouncements declaring Pashto to be the official language of Afghanistan, and it is to be hoped that the Afghan Government will give to this scholarly pamphlet the attention which it deserves.

Herr Lentz enumerates the various reasons which make the latinization of Pashto desirable. These include the difficulties which the Arabic script causes in education, international intercourse, printing, and in the learning of the language by foreigners. With none of these reasons is anyone likely to disagree except those who have some vested interest in preserving the pedantic glamour of the Arabic character. Herr Lentz then proceeds to formulate a Latin alphabet for use in Pashto, and here a good many people will disagree with him in certain respects.

The author of a book on Romanized Japanese (his name escapes me or I would quote it) has pointed out that there are three ways of writing a language—viz., (a) an *orthography* or traditional way of writing a language from the point of view of the natives; (b) a *transliteration* or a more or less convenient method of writing a foreign language from the point of view of those who are more or less ignorant of that language and of its writing system; and (c) a *phonetic transcription* which disregards the conventions of orthography and transliteration. It aims at setting down with the minimum of ambiguity the abstractions of what is actually uttered or heard in the speech of the native users of the language. To achieve the last-named seems to be the object of Herr Lentz, just as it was the object of Kemal Attaturk with regard to Turkish. Although it must be admitted that sharp dialectical differences make this object difficult to achieve in Pashto, a more exacting phonetic analysis would, I think, have shown Herr Lentz that ځ is not pronounced by any Pathans (except perhaps clerics), and that ښ and څ are pronounced exactly the same where the former is used as an aspirate. If, as I assume, the hard "Pakhto" will be accepted as the official language, I see no reason why ځ and ښ should not both be represented by the same symbol. Herr Lentz

gives the symbols *w* for *و*, and *q* for *ق*, and says that these symbols can equally well be used for *و* and *ق* in the Persian of Iran. But initial *و* in Persian is pronounced as *v*, and *ق* is nowadays invariably pronounced as *g*. Finally, authoritative figures show that of the four million speakers of Pashto one and a half millions reside in British territory. This fact, together with Afghanistan's close proximity to British India, seem to provide a reason for avoiding such obviously un-English sounds as *j* for initial *ج*. These, however, are small points on which there may be more than one opinion and which scarcely detract at all from the worth of this able and progressive little work.

G. E. WHEELER.

Chinese Evergreen. By Victor Purcell. Michael Joseph, Ltd. 10s. 6d.

The subject of this book is a journey of some two thousand miles through Southern China. The journey was taken as a relaxation from the serious business of the visit, which was to study educational methods. One suspects that the book was produced as a relaxation also, and gave more pleasure to the writer than it does to the reader. It is frankly disappointing, for one expected at least some critical and informative statements on the conditions in South China from a writer who is well-qualified to make them, but too often one is given instead sweeping generalizations and flippant inaccuracies. The globe-trotter who visits China for a few weeks may be excused for poking fun at the Chinese because their habits and institutions differ from ours, but it is an elementary and unprofitable type of humour, and Dr. Purcell's experience should have produced something better than this. The book gives the impression of having been written too easily, and lacks "temper."

Dr. Purcell displays a surprising insularity in his impatience over the lack of Western comforts in up-country China, while his logic deserts him entirely when he speaks of the Chinese husband failing to appreciate a wife "who hobbled about the Inner Chamber on mutilated feet." "Golden lilies" are not our idea of beauty, but the Chinese husband regarded them with favour, which was the reason for their existence, and there are many Chinese men who still hold this view. Throughout the book, in fact, one feels rather surprisedly that Dr. Purcell has failed to appreciate that the Chinese in their own country are entitled to their own point of view.

Dr. Purcell's opinions on the oppressive economic and agrarian system in South China are worth study, and point to one of the major obstacles in the way of any improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry. His statement that there is a great shortage of labour in Southern China itself is a doubtful one, and hardly tallies with his tentative attribution of China's trouble to over-population.

R. H.

Chinese Calligraphy. An Introduction to its Æsthetic and Technique. By Chiang Yee. With a Foreword by Lin Sen. 10" x 8". Pp. xvi + 230. 6 plates; 155 text illustrations. Methuen. 21s.

Mr. Chiang Yee, in his introduction to this beautifully produced book, tells us that his incentive in writing was to help Westerners to an enjoyment of Chinese calligraphy without putting them to the labour of learning the language. He has succeeded, and I cannot think that anyone could fail to appreciate the beauty of style and line in the specimens of Chinese writing given. He comments upon the lifeless letters used in Western shop-signs and advertisements, and tells us that

many a lover of art finds pleasure and entertainment in walking down the streets of a Chinese town to study the shop-signs and the splendid variety of writing to be seen there.

He compares calligraphy with dancing. "It is not," he says, "the piecing together and lining up of certain written symbols to convey meaning, but an adventure in movement very similar to dancing . . . where the whole body must be . . . woven into a harmonious rhythmic movement."

The technique is both fine and exacting. We are told that in China writing is looked upon as a healthy exercise like skating, golfing or tennis and is practised when the body is fresh. It must be beneficial, for "many Chinese writers are known to have lived to a good old age." There is a quotation from the writings of Sun Ta-Yu which, though called an Essay on Writing, is really a philosophical treatise:

"Straightforward, simple people will write with austerity and vigour; the style of obstinate ones is harsh and unattractive. Reserved persons exhibit a stiff and stilted manner . . . and the trite and vulgar reproduce their qualities."

It is a beautiful book which can be recommended to any who appreciate the art and beauty of Chinese writing with the brush.

E. FRENCH.

A History of Chinese Philosophy. The Period of the Philosophers. By Feng Yu-lan, Ph.D. Translated by Derk Bodde. With Introduction, Notes, Bibliography, and Index. Oxford University Press. (Preliminary notice.)

This is, as it should be, a large volume, for it deals with a big subject. Its pages measure ten by seven inches, and with appendices and notes it measures up to 570 pages. The publishers in England are George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. It is impossible in the space allotted to a review to give anything but a brief notice of a book that begins with the Chou Dynasty, 1122 B.C., and ends with Yu Yung-liang, who is presumably still alive and is now wrestling with the problem of the authorship of the mystic I-ching, which even the great Confucius left in doubt.

The book is not easy reading. It deals with abstruse as well as the common events noted by historians. But taken all in all this is the best book on things Chinese that the reviewer has any knowledge of. It is well worth careful study, and he who has it in his library has at hand a veritable compendium of things Chinese. The author is to be congratulated on the work he has done. No student of Chinese can afford to miss reading this book.

J. D.

China, Body and Soul. Edited by E. R. Hughes. (Contributions by L. Binyon, R. Fry, E. R. Hughes, I. Jackson, H. Laski, B. Mathews, Gilbert Murray, E. Power, Sir A. Salter, Russell Pasha, and A. Waley.) 8" x 5". Pp. 166. Secker and Warburg. 5s.

Acting on the initiative of Miss Innes Jackson, who contributes a short article on Lipo, the famous Chinese poet, Mr. E. R. Hughes has collated and edited a series of essays, ten in all, by writers who are all prominent in their special spheres. It would be invidious to comment on the chapters in any other than a general way. Suffice it to say that half of them deal with Chinese art and

poetry, while the remainder are concerned with the China of to-day and what is happening in that distressed country.

Professor Gilbert Murray writes a powerful Introduction and Sir Arthur Salter ably sets forth the course of events leading up to the reconstruction of China's civilization on modern lines. There is a pleasant chapter by Mr. Hughes on the Village Scholar, and the essay on China and Democracy by Professor Laski is a very clear statement of the present state of China, particularly with regard to Japanese aggression. In the chapter on "The Church Faces the Storm" Mr. Basil Mathews shows the extent to which the Christian faith has taken hold among many Chinese leaders of thought.

Special reference, however, must be made to the chapter on "Narcotics in the Far East," which embodies the well-documented League of Nations Reports by Mr. Fuller (U.S.A.) and Russell Pasha (Egypt). One could wish that some preliminary account could have been given of the valiant efforts made by China to throw off the yoke of opium in the period since the establishment of the Republic. H.E. Sir John Jordan, during his years of service as British Minister at Peking, did splendid work in stimulating the Chinese Government to hinder the growth and sale of opium, and matters were making steady and satisfactory progress till Japan came on the scene. *It can now be said with truth that wherever Japanese influence advances in the Far East the narcotic drug traffic spreads with it.* The appalling increase in the importation of morphia, heroin and cocaine from regions such as Manchuria and Korea, under Japanese administrative control, has had tragic results among the Chinese victims, who fell an easy prey to the insidious methods employed in introducing these drugs. It is well that this tale of woe should be included in *China, Body and Soul*, as it will bring home to the general public the work done by the League of Nations Advisory Committee on the traffic by unearthing the machinations of illicit drug dealers. The writer of this review has seen for himself the pitiful cases of many Chinese whose minds and bodies have been wrecked by Japanese-introduced morphine and heroin, and can vouch for the truth of the statements recorded in Mr. Fuller's Report.

The proceeds from the sale of this volume are to be given for the relief of distress in China. By the kindly co-operation of publishers and authors the price is limited to three shillings. It is to be hoped that the book will command a wide sale to help so good a cause. The whole compilation is very well worth reading, for it is authoritative throughout, and Mr. Hughes can be complimented on the way he has completed his task or, to put it more correctly, his labour of love.

G. D. G.

The Lady and the Panda. By Ruth Harkness. 8½" x 6". Pp. xii + 247. Illustrations. Nicholson and Watson.

This is an account of an exploit which attracted a good deal of publicity, a trip by an American woman in the autumn of 1936 into the mountainous regions of Western Szechuan, and the capture and transport back to New York of a live giant panda, the first to be successfully brought out alive.

Mrs. Harkness took on the expedition as a legacy from her husband, a traveller and Zoologist who died in Shanghai while awaiting the Chinese Government's permission to go into Western Szechuan, which had been overrun by the Communists. She herself had never travelled and knew little or nothing of Zoology, and indeed could never have gone where she did if she had not had the luck to meet a young American-Chinese hunter, who ran the whole trip for her. It takes pluck for a white woman to go alone with Chinese into that wild country, and

Mrs. Harkness deserves every credit for that; but she herself would probably be the first to admit that she was little more than a passenger, and most of the credit belongs to her Chinese co-partner.

They had quite extraordinary luck from the start. They went up without permits, and were not stopped as most people would have been. They met no bandits, though the country had recently been overrun by them. They were exceptionally lucky with their weather in that country of almost perpetual mist and rain. And after being on the ground a bare three weeks they had the extraordinary luck to find in the stump of a bamboo tree a new-born panda. Indeed, the actual finding of the panda is the least convincing part of the story, and it is hard to believe that it all happened quite so simply as the author describes.

Zoologists, shikaris or experienced travellers need not read this book, for there is little in it to interest any of them. A large part of it is filled out with commonplace description of the voyage out to China and back, impressions of Shanghai and Peking, and the river journey up the Yangtze. This is dull stuff, especially when written in chatty American style. But the book is nevertheless worth reading for its few chapters on Western Szechuan, of which the author has caught the atmosphere well and which is still sufficiently little known to be interesting. There are also some good photographs. There are many inaccuracies—for instance, Sir Meyrick Hewlett will surely be surprised to learn that he has grown white hair; and why disguise the Standard Oil Co. under a ridiculously transparent pseudonym?

J. S. S.

The National Faith of Japan: A Study in Modern Shinto. By D. C. Holtom. 9" x 6¼". Pp. xiv + 329. Illustrated. Kegan Paul. 1938. 15s.

This is an extremely interesting account of the Shinto faith and of the ancient religious base on which it stands. Dr. Holtom in his foreword claims as his justification for writing the book: "The existence of a practically open field and the real importance of a knowledge of Shinto in reaching an adequate understanding of contemporary Japan—politically, socially and religiously."

This is more than a justification, but I feel nevertheless that his study of modern Shinto is a book which will be read by students and not by the general public, and this is a pity. The arguments and speculations are so well supported by historical facts that the non-specialist reader may well be drowned in history and put aside the book without attaining that "adequate understanding" which it is one of the objects of the book to inculcate.

Dr. Holtom's main argument is that Shinto, although not officially classified as a religion, is in fact based on the age-old and almost universal fertility and nature cults. His historical analysis in fact goes far to prove this is so: yet it is extremely doubtful whether the modern Japanese ever analyzes his religious feelings up to this point. If I may give an example which occurred in this country: I once showed a Japanese visitor over York Minster, and in the crypt the verger pointed out the well which had been part of the original Roman temple. The Japanese examined it with interest and then asked, "What exactly is the difference between the God your people worshipped then and the one you worship now?" I doubt if either of his hearers could have given an adequate reply: we had both accepted what we had been taught and had never analyzed the underlying reasons for our beliefs. Similarly it seems to be probable that the modern Japanese accepts Shinto for what it is to-day and cares little for its ultimate origins.

This is only to state the problem in a new form. For what does the modern Japanese accept Shinto? In any such field generalizations are rash, and the most that can be done is to quote certain personal experiences. I once asked a very cultured and deep-thinking Buddhist what he said in prayer when he visited a Shinto shrine: his reply was that he asked God to make the pattern of his life as good as that of the "kami" there enshrined.

Among the well-educated peasantry all festivals both Buddhist and Shinto seem to be regarded in much the same spirit as the Easter holiday is regarded by many of the working men in Great Britain—a cessation of the common round with certain social and religious obligations attached which may or may not be fulfilled.

On the other hand, there can be little doubt that Shinto, whether as a religion or as a social custom, is made use of either consciously or unconsciously to exalt the virtue of patriotism. In this respect the State makes use of all the elements suggested by Dr. Holtom—age-old custom, Confucianism, the divine descent of the Imperial family and hero-worship, and by these means the State exercises a very powerful influence over the individual.

It is interesting to draw a parallel between the use made of Shinto by the Japanese for the underpinning of the structure of the State and the attempts of the National Socialist Government in Germany to achieve the same result by reviving old nature ceremonies in that country. The major difference seems to lie in the fact that in Germany the revival is opposed by the churches, and particularly by the Roman Catholic Church, whereas in Japan that Church strictly differentiates between "national Shinto" and "the religious cult of Shintoism," and has accepted the view of the Ministry of Education (September 22, 1932) that "the salutation demanded of the students . . . has no other purpose than to manifest visibly their sentiments of fidelity to and love of country" (p. 298). Perhaps a solution of the German problem might be discovered on similar principles.

There is one other point which is only touched on by Dr. Holtom (p. 179), but which is of great interest in considering the real meaning of the word "kami"—the worship of the living. It would appear to be possible for the god-like qualities of a living individual to be enshrined and yet for that individual, as a human, still to commit a crime, despite the enshrinement of his good qualities.

It is to be hoped that one day Dr. Holtom will give us another book which will deal more fully with the ideas underlying State Shinto as a political force and their relationship to the "secular religions" of Germany and the U.S.S.R., for Shinto appears to fulfil the political objects of these religions and yet to be in no way chiliastic.

EDWARD AINGER.

The Buddhist Sects of Japan: Their History, Philosophical Doctrines and Sanctuaries. By Steinilber-Oberlin, with the collaboration of Kuni Matsuo. Translated from the French by Marc Logé. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 304. Four illustrations. Allen and Unwin. 1938. 15s.

This book will, it is to be feared, appeal to only a limited circle. Many of us are familiar with the exterior aspects of Buddhism—the beauty of its temples, the devotion of its believers, and the light-heartedness of the crowds that throng the temples at their great festivals. But when one attempts to go a step further and study its doctrines, the average person—and the reviewer counts himself one—finds himself confronted with language that to him is at all times difficult to understand and frequently is entirely unintelligible. The author himself quotes

Lafcadio Hearn as stating "it is a religion of scholars so difficult to understand, even by persons of a certain philosophical culture, that it may easily be confounded with a system of universal negation."

If, therefore, the reviewer states at the outset that much of the book makes difficult reading, he must be understood as *not* complaining of obscurity of expression, but as pointing out that the author is concerned with the expression of obscurity. If this statement seems ungracious, the reviewer hastens to add that the author is a master of style and comes as near to making his subject clear and attractive as it is possible to make it. His evident sympathy with his subject, his poetic fancy and his turn for mysticism combine to make a book that in parts is thoroughly delightful and is always readable, even when he is gently guiding his reader through what seems to him, to quote another writer, "a tissue of solemn nonsense."

The book should be invaluable to all who desire to study the growth of Buddhist doctrine in Japan. The author immersed himself in his subject by living with priests of the different sects, living their life and listening to their teaching. He devotes one chapter each to the different sects, starting with the three Hinayana sects, now extinct, that adopted the pessimistic doctrines of the early Hindu sages, and tracing the growth of the existing eight Mahayana sects. He shows how Japanese thought took over the teaching of their foreign instructors, assimilated and transformed it so that from a religion of pessimism it became a religion of gladness and of hope to its millions of believers. If it remains obscure in its doctrines, that has never been an obstacle to its proselytizing power, for Buddhism tempers its doctrine to the degree of intelligence of its hearers and does not insist that they should understand, but only that they should believe. The popular sects indeed, such as the Jodo (Pure hand) and the Nichiren Sect, have simplified the means of salvation down to the point of requiring believers to repeat an invocation of a few words with a sincere heart.

The reader, then, with the patience to take the rough with the smooth, will learn much from this book. He will have in a small scale a picture of the different sects of Buddhism in Japan and will learn how it has affected the lives and thoughts of the people.

O. W.

Tokugawa Japan. I.—Materials on Japanese Social and Economic History.

Introduction. Resources and Population. Communications and Trade.

Edited by Neil Skene Smith, B. Comm. (London). With 64 illustrations by artists of the period. 9½" × 6¼". Pp. xvi + 176. P. S. King. 5s.

The dynasty of Shoguns, founded in the year 1603 by Ieyasu (the most outstanding character in Japanese history) and called the Tokugawa dynasty from the surname of its founder, is perhaps the most interesting epoch in the annals of Japan.

After some eighty years' contact with Europeans, it was decided in 1624 that, on the whole, Japan was better off without them. The country was in that year closed to Europeans, Japanese subjects were forbidden on pain of death to go abroad, and Japan remained almost completely shut off from the rest of the world for two and a half centuries.

This age of isolation, which corresponds to the Tokugawa period, was at last terminated as the result of the visit to Japan in 1853 of the squadron of Commodore Perry, sent by the American Government to protest at what was considered to be Japan's unreasonable attitude. The Tokugawa shogunate, already

weakened by internal discord, fell in 1868, the military dictatorship came to an end, the Emperor's power was restored, and Japan began that policy of Europeanization which has resulted in the country becoming a first-class power at the cost of most of her art and much of her charm.

The present book is the first of a series of volumes in which the state of the country during the period of isolation is examined. The material is almost entirely native, and the project has been made possible, we are told in the preface, by the Society for Cultural Relations of Tokyo, which has provided the means for the employment of translators and the co-operation of Japanese scholars.

This first volume deals with the resources of the country, the number and method of living of the people, and with communications and trade. Further volumes are to treat of the economic history of the period, industries (including sericulture), the social state, and banking and finance. The result should be of considerable interest to the student of Japanese development.

The editor, Professor Skene Smith, of the University of Commerce in Tokyo, states that the time for the completion of this volume has been strictly limited. The work unfortunately bears unmistakable signs of having been issued hurriedly, and it is a great pity that a book of such potential value could not have been compiled with greater care and skill, particularly as it contains not much more than a hundred pages of letterpress. It is regrettably scrappy, it lacks cohesion, the style is often awkward and obscure. Nevertheless it contains much of interest, and the sixty-four illustrations, all taken from contemporary Japanese publications, throw a valuable light on the life of the people.

No index, unfortunately, is supplied, and it is to be hoped that this omission will be repaired in the subsequent volumes and that more time and care may be expended in their compilation.

E. B. H.

Where Are You Going, Japan? By Willard Price. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xviii + 369. Heinemann. 15s.

In the last few years there have been so many books of this kind, by American and other publicists, all more or less biased, that the reading public must surely be getting sated with them. But this latest addition to their number, though it does not tell us anything much that is not fairly generally known, makes a wide survey of Japanese aims and ambitions all over the Pacific area, and contains a number of good travel sketches of life in the various parts of it.

The book is topical in so far as it has been written, or at any rate finished, since the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war; but it treats that war very lightly, as merely an incident in the Japanese triumphant advance, and takes far too little account of the effect which a prolonged campaign in China is likely to have on Japanese policy. Indeed, the section of the book dealing with China is extremely weak and shows complete lack of understanding of the fundamental issues.

According to the publisher's blurb, Mr. Willard Price claims to be disinterested—neither pro-Japanese nor anti-Japanese—but in fact every page of the book betrays frightened admiration of Japan and contempt for the other Pacific races, whom he regards through Japanese spectacles. It is hard to believe that he has spent much recent time in China, or has taken the trouble to find out much about her modern progress, for his description recalls the worst of the War Lord days, and he gives no indication of the great progress made during the past ten years; some of his statements—e.g., as to the lack of roads—are fantastic. He completely adopts the

Japanese view of their "civilizing mission," and it is amusing to contrast his conception of the Chinese in China with the same Chinese who have come under Japanese influence in Manchukuo. He prophesies that the Japanese will conquer and "civilize" China, which in about a century will rise and destroy them with their own weapons; in this perhaps he is right.

The best chapters in the book deal with the Japanese Mandated Islands, the Philippines and the Dutch East Indies, to which the Japanese have been increasingly looking of late. But if, as looks likely, they are tied up "pacifying" China at great expense for a number of years, with a hostile Russia sitting on their flank, it is questionable whether the drive to the south will not have to be slowed down, with corresponding relief to the British and Dutch positions. The extent to which the author adopts the Japanese point of view is shown by his enthusiastic support of the much mooted Kra Canal, which he claims would kill Singapore both as a naval and commercial base; but, in fact, would not this canal be dominated by the British air bases at Singapore and in Burma, and would not the cost to Far Eastern vessels of canal dues offset that of the short deviation through the Straits?

The book is written in journalistic style more suited to American than British readers, and could with advantage be a good deal compressed. There are some good photographs.

J. S. S.

Turkey Illustrated.

Under the title "Fotografila Turkiye" (Turkey in Pictures) the Direction of the Press at Angora has published a handsome album of some 120 photographs divided into six sections, headed Angora, Istanbul, Other Towns, Archæology and Art, Economy and Constructive Work, Man and Civilization.

Three pages of introduction in the new Turkish are followed by translations in French, English and German. It is a pity that this introduction is written in a grandiloquent style, not always easy to understand. Simple language would have served the purpose better.

The gist of it is that the old Turkish Empire in its best days was ahead of other countries in its institutions, finance, army, handicraft, agricultural autarky, fine arts (painting and sculpture, of course, excluded), religious toleration; but that with the dawn of the machine age it fell behind, and by the middle of the last century had degenerated into an effete despotism, which left the country a prey to Western financial and commercial exploitation. The Turkish Republic has put an end to all that. It has replaced the ruins of the Sultanate by a democracy, a national unity without class division or privilege, and is building up a modern, self-sufficient People's State. Foreigners who do not grasp the new principles which distinguish the Ataturk's Turkey from the Ottoman Empire will never understand the country.

This album is intended to give an idea of the features of the new Turkey, and to show alongside the old historic monuments some of the stages of the progress which has been made. It succeeds admirably.

The Angora section consists of over two dozen beautiful photographs of modern public buildings of the latest type and wide streets, like boulevards, in the new capital which has so amazingly replaced the little Anatolian town in the centre of Asia Minor. About the same number of photographs illustrate each of the other five sections, the last being devoted to the education and physical development of the youth of Turkey. Modern hotels at Brusa and Yalova, beau-

tiful scenery in different parts of Anatolia, factories at Zunguldak, Eskishehir, Kaiseri, Ushak, Kartal and Smyrna are among the objects shown.

The effect of this album should surely be to make readers want to visit the new Turkey.

A. T. W.

Georgica. A Journal of Georgian and Caucasian Studies. Pp. 331 + 32 plates.

Published for the Georgian Historical Society by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd. £2 2s.

The volume 4 and 5 of *Georgica*, published by the Georgian Historical Society, maintains the high standard of scholarship and production which readers have come to expect from this journal devoted to the studies of the history and archæology of Georgia and Caucasia. The present volume is dedicated specially to the famous Georgian poet of the late twelfth century, Shota Rustaveli, whose 750th anniversary has recently been celebrated in Georgia and throughout the Soviet Union and Georgian colonies abroad. Brief but ably written articles by well-known Georgians survey the work of the poet, and the influence of his poem, "The Man in the Panther's Skin," of which an English translation by the late Miss Marjory Scott Wardrop, was published some years ago by the Royal Asiatic Society. Other articles of interest on the rich literature of Georgia are "Teimuraz I. and his Poem," "The Martyrdom of Queen Ketevan," in which Z. Avalishvili studies the political interrelations of Georgia and Persia during the seventeenth century. Mr. Basil Nikitin's paper on the late N. Y. Marr and his work is also of interest to students of Perso-Georgian literary interrelations. An important contribution to the mediæval history of Palestine is made by Archimandrite Peradze in his long account of the Georgian monasteries in Palestine, and General Kvinitadze's article is of interest in connection with Georgio-Byzantine relations, and Georgian mediæval military technique. There are also articles on "The Art of War in Georgia," and on the famous victory of King Erekle II. over the Turks at Aspindza. Students of the early historic period in Asia Minor and Caucasia will be impressed by the dissertation "On the Origin of the Georgians," by Professor C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, the veteran editor of *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum*. Mr. Arshak Safrastian has a learned and challenging essay on "The Hurri-Lands," in which he attempts an interpretation of some of the Urtian inscriptions in the light of mediæval Armenia. Mr. Safrastian's knowledge of Armenian literary sources is probably unequalled among modern European scholars. A short article on "The Caucasian Counterpart of an Old Egyptian Racing Chariot" will be of interest to those familiar with Sir Flinders Petrie's theories of the early relations between Egypt and Caucasia. Folklorists will find two long articles on the Abkhasians, republished from Russian periodicals, of considerable value from the point of view of comparative studies, and the editors are to be congratulated on their policy of making available to English-reading students the inaccessible works of distinguished Caucasian scholars, like the late N. Y. Marr, jun., and N. S. Janashia. Mr. W. E. D. Allen, the Chairman of the Committee of the Society, contributes the only article by an Englishman in this number in his "Note on the Caucasian Snow-Partridge." Mr. Gugushvili's note on the Georgian Alphabet is conveniently republished as in previous numbers. The Society, which includes on its Committee such well-known scholars as Sir Oliver Wardrop, Sir E. Denison Ross, Professor Ellis H. Minns, Professor Dawkins, and Professor Talbot Rice, is deserving of the fullest support, since by devoting itself to a specialized study of the Caucasian area, it fills an important gap in

English historical research—how many journals are devoted to Egypt, Iraq and the Mediterranean?—and renders a service to folklorists, archæologists, philologists and historians alike.

Hussein : An Entertainment. By Patrick Russ. 7½" × 5". Pp. iv + 300. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

It is a little difficult to know what to make of this book. On the wrapper we are told that the author got his "Mohammedan" material from two professional story-tellers in French Morocco. But the scene is laid throughout in India, and the story indicates considerable knowledge of that continent, its people and vernaculars. The style, moreover, in which the book is written is curiously uneven, rather suggesting joint authorship, or perhaps in parts translation. Its subject is the adventures of one Hussein, who begins as the *mahout* of a supernaturally intelligent elephant, and ends, after extraordinary vicissitudes, a prince of great but ill-gotten wealth. Following the Oriental practice, there are tales within tales, in the course of which a great many of the familiar figures which comprise the stock-in-trade of Eastern story-tellers are brought on to the stage. I do not think the members of the Royal Asian Society will find the book either very informative or very entertaining. Nor am I able to recommend it as an adventure book for boys or girls.

I must own to having read it myself with considerable interest!

R. L. K.

Stephen Herbert Langdon, 1876-1937. By C. J. Gadd. Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xxii. London: Humphrey Milford.

In this note on Mr. Gadd's graceful and sympathetic memoir of Professor Stephen Langdon, some slight account of the Professor's work in Iraq from a fellow-sojourner at Kish may perhaps be welcome.

Professor Langdon arrived in camp at Kish on Christmas morning, 1923, somewhat bewildered by the strangeness of a country that he had not visited before: it must even be admitted that, true to tradition concerning professorial Oxford, he had mislaid his raincoat, his dark glasses and other items at various places on the rough and arduous journey thither. None the less, in his enthusiasm for the expedition that he had planned, and for which he had obtained funds from both English and American sources, he immediately sallied forth to the scene of excavation; for Christmas is no holiday to the Mohammedan Iraqi. At once he seized the reins. True, the energetic little Professor's views on excavation methods and his clear intention to dig chiefly for tablets came rather as a shock to the Field-Director and his staff who had already been on the spot for several months. But at that date, now remote, the belief still lingered that a deep knowledge of ancient languages *ipso facto* qualified the armchair archæologist to cope successfully with the practical difficulties, the innumerable details, and the intricacies of interpretation of actual excavations with no previous experience in the field. Even the failure of classical Arabic to convey to the houseboy next morning what he wished to take for breakfast neither daunted nor warned the Professor.

Until March, Langdon worked as hard as any field excavator, enduring rather more discomfort than he need for lack of experience in the East: he was indefatigable. Then he left triumphantly for Oxford with "the most important" of the finds, which he would hardly believe when told had already been found

before his arrival: it was what he had chiefly come to find, together with tablets—a stylus. No other so perfect was unearthed after his arrival, and Miss Gertrude Bell had generously arranged for it to fall to the Expedition in the division of the finds.

Once again Professor Langdon visited Kish, some two years later. He then undertook, alone with only Iraqi diggers, the excavation of Jamdat Naşr, a site fifteen miles distant. The importance of this remote and hitherto unknown site had been stressed by the Field-Director, who had located and visited it in company with Father Eric Burrows and the writer early the previous March. Unhappily, nature made no allowances for the enthusiasm of the learned scholar: owing to the rigours of the climate and disregarded meals, Professor Langdon became seriously ill and had to be removed to hospital at Baghdad.

The years that followed, as Mr. Gadd describes, Professor Langdon devoted with unflinching zeal and patience to the study of the Sumerian language and script, for which a considerable amount of new material had been derived from both Kish and Jamdat Naşr. It is to be regretted that he left unfinished his *magnum opus*, his Sumerian Dictionary, the work for which his genius was most suited.

By writing this kindly and understanding account of Professor Langdon's life and work, Mr. Gadd has rendered signal service. It has been read with very genuine appreciation by many friends and colleagues, to whom Professor Langdon's enthusiastic love of his subject, his quaint humour, and sterling qualities could not fail to appeal.

D. M.

OTHER RANKS OF KUT

By P. W. LONG, M.M., Sergeant R.A.F.

In April 1916, the author, then Driver P. W. Long of the 63rd Battery, Royal Field Artillery, surrendered with the Kut Garrison to the Turks, and remained their prisoner till repatriated in Jan. 1919.

This book is a record of his experiences in the hands of the Turks. Not many books have been written by one of the "other ranks" of Kut prisoners, but enough is known of their treatment to prepare the reader for a catalogue of horrors. Certainly Sergeant Long's book is horrible enough. But the prevailing impression after reading it is not so much of horror at the treatment suffered by the "other ranks" as of amazement and admiration at the daring and endurance which animated them. As a revelation of the indomitable pluck of the British private soldier, it should appeal strongly to all who have served, or are serving, in whatever capacity, by land, sea or air.

The author's tribulations almost recall those of St. Paul. Many times he was flung into horrible dungeons; he was flogged, he was bastinadoed, clubbed, stoned, starved; often he was almost naked. But at other times he was hobnobbing with Turkish officers and calling them by name; or living in a tent, attended by a servant; or dismissing to his unit a Turkish sentry put over him.

The human appeal of the chronicle is very strong, and though the author makes no claim to literary experience or training, the simplicity of his narrative renders it vivid and absorbing.

Some time after the War, Mr. Long joined the Royal Air Force, and is now serving with the Fleet Air Arm in the Mediterranean.

THIS BOOK IS SHORTLY TO BE PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAMS AND NORGATE LTD .: Great Russell Street, London

OBITUARY

SIR WOLSELEY HAIG

(1865—MAY 4, 1938)

THE passing of Sir Wolseley Haig reminds us of the grievous loss which students of Oriental history sustained three years ago when this fine scholar was obliged by ill-health to relinquish all work. At the time he was actually engaged in preparing for the Press Volume IV of the *Cambridge History of India*, dealing with the Moghul Rulers, which he had himself planned and of which he had completed three chapters of the six he had undertaken. Volume III of that History, which brought the story down to the rise of the Moghuls, was largely written by himself. He was an indefatigable worker, and it is to be feared that the combination of his literary labours with his devoted service to the School of Oriental Studies, where he would lecture for far more "hours" than was expected of him, permanently injured his health and caused his illness.

In addition to these activities Sir Wolseley Haig in recent years contributed many valuable articles to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, and it may be claimed that when he became a contributor Indian history was put on a new footing in that great publication. Haig was a great scholar, and it is remarkable that a soldier who had always been so busily engaged in the service of the State should have found the time to become so intimately acquainted with the Persian sources of the history of the Muslim world. Above all, he was devoted to accuracy, and at times he perhaps paid too much attention to detail—yet he never lost sight of the main narrative, and had the art of bringing order out of confusion.

He was in everyday life an excellent *raconteur*, and one cannot help wishing he had made a collection of the many Oriental anecdotes he was so fond of telling. He had a really intimate knowledge of Persia and of the Iranians. His interests extended far beyond his special studies, and in later years he added to his strenuous life by attention to his duties in Edinburgh, first as March Pursuivant of Arms and later as Albany Herald.

His two most important works were his translations of Badoani's *Muntakhab ul-Tawarikh* and of Tabatabai's *Burhan-i-Maasir*.

As for his career as a public servant I cannot do better than quote from the notice which appeared in *The Times*, where, after recounting the interest and variety of the posts he held in the early part of his career, his long term of service in Iran is well summed up. "The next and final term of Eastern service from 1910 was spent

almost entirely in Persia. Haig was for two years H.B.M. Consul at Kerman. In 1912, he was made First Assistant to the A.G.G. in Baluchistan; but within a few months he was again in Persia as H.B.M.'s Consul-General, and Agent to the Government of India in Khorasan—which post he held with conspicuous tact and ability through the anxious early period of the War. . . . He handled a difficult and dangerous situation with courage and skill. After the War he had his headquarters in Teheran, and it seemed for a time that the Persian authorities would seek revival of Iran with the aid of British administrators. It is known that the late Sir Percy Cox intended to recommend Haig for charge of the Ministry of the Interior. This was not to be, and Haig retired in 1920, decorated with the Companionship of three Orders. . . .” It was then that he was able to turn his full attention to scholarship, of which he had laid the solid foundations throughout his career in the East. Haig was a lovable and unselfish man, tolerant in his views and full of humour. No one ever sought his help or advice in vain. His loss on his retirement was much felt in the School of Oriental Studies which he so faithfully served for ten years.

E. DENISON ROSS.

CORRESPONDENCE

*The Editor, the Journal of the Royal Central
Asian Society.*

SIR,

In his review of Lieut.-Colonel Bruce's pamphlet *Waziristan, 1936-7*, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode points out that the problem which faced Marshal Lyautey in French N. Africa differed essentially from that which was presented to Sir R. Sandeman in Baluchistan. Would it not have been even more pertinent to argue that Sandeman's policy was assisted by conditions which differed greatly from those prevailing in Waziristan? I have always been led to believe that, unlike the fiercely democratic Pathans, split into innumerable tribes and sub-tribes, every one jealous of the other, the people of Baluchistan gave a more submissive allegiance to a few great chiefs, whose friendship it was the wise and comparatively easy task of Sandeman to secure. If this be true, it seems to one who can claim no personal knowledge of either territory that an essential difficulty in the application of Sandeman's policy to Waziristan has been overlooked both by the writer of the pamphlet and his reviewer.

Yours, etc.,

H. R. SANDILANDS,

Brigadier.

June 9, 1938.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

Contributors are responsible for their spellings of place names.



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THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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NOTICES

THE Society is moving its headquarters to 8, Clarges Street, W.1.

* * * * *

Owing to the difficulty of the past days the notices are a little late in going out. Members are asked to support the Society as far as is possible through these next difficult years, for the affairs of Asia, though temporarily pushed into the background, may be even more important to us than before.

The new premises, necessitated by the unprecedented increase in the membership of the Society during recent years, provide more accommodation and more adequate space for the housing of the reference library. But it must be pointed out that the rent is considerably higher than that of the smaller rooms. It is hoped that the enlargement will be justified, and when the present trouble is past the increase in membership will continue in the future as in the past, and new recruits will be as well qualified as hitherto to help the Society to maintain the reputation it enjoys as an authoritative source of information on all subjects connected with Central Asia and the Middle East.

* * * * *

It would, however, be most useful if members would send in subjects of discussion and the names of lecturers.

* * * * *

The congratulations of the Society are due to the Shah and to his people for the magnificent effort which has resulted in the building of the Trans-Iran Railway. May their efforts be rewarded by added prosperity, making up for the lean years they have suffered in their accomplishment of this great feat.

* * * * *

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* * * * *

Members are asked to send any changes of address.

* * * * *

Erratum: In the last list of newly elected members for R. Bowen, Esq., R.A., read R. Bowen, Esq., Indian Police.

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THE TRAVELS OF CARLO GUARMANI IN ARABIA

Translated from the original Italian (Jerusalem) text of 1866, by Lady Capel-Cure, and edited with Preface, Introduction and Explanatory Notes by DOUGLAS CARRUTHERS

(Gold Medalist of the Royal Geographical Society)

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CARLO GUARMANI was one of the earliest European Travellers to visit Central Arabia. He was preceded alone by Captain Sadlier (1819), Augustus Wallin (1845-48) and Gifford Palgrave (1862). He was the first to penetrate to the once Jewish settlement of Khaibar, the second to see ancient Taima, and the third to visit the highlands of Jabal Shammar, and to tell of its half-Badawi, half-sedentary population. Guarmani went, commissioned to buy Arab stallions for the French Government and for the King of Italy; but he had a wider vision than the average horse-cooper, and he records an interesting tale of conditions in the Desert Peninsula at a moment when the rival dynasties—Rashidian and Saudian—were still struggling for the mastery.

The book is a revised edition of that originally published by the Arab Bureau, Cairo, for official use only in 1917, and considering the comparative rarity of this edition as also of the original Jerusalem text, the present reissue by the Argonaut Press should be of interest to all, especially to those familiar with Arabia and its peoples.

THE ARGONAUT PRESS

OF ALL BOOKSELLERS

PEACE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

By W. H. INGRAMS, O.B.E.

Lecture given on July 20, 1938, illustrated with slides, Sir Ronald Storrs in the Chair.

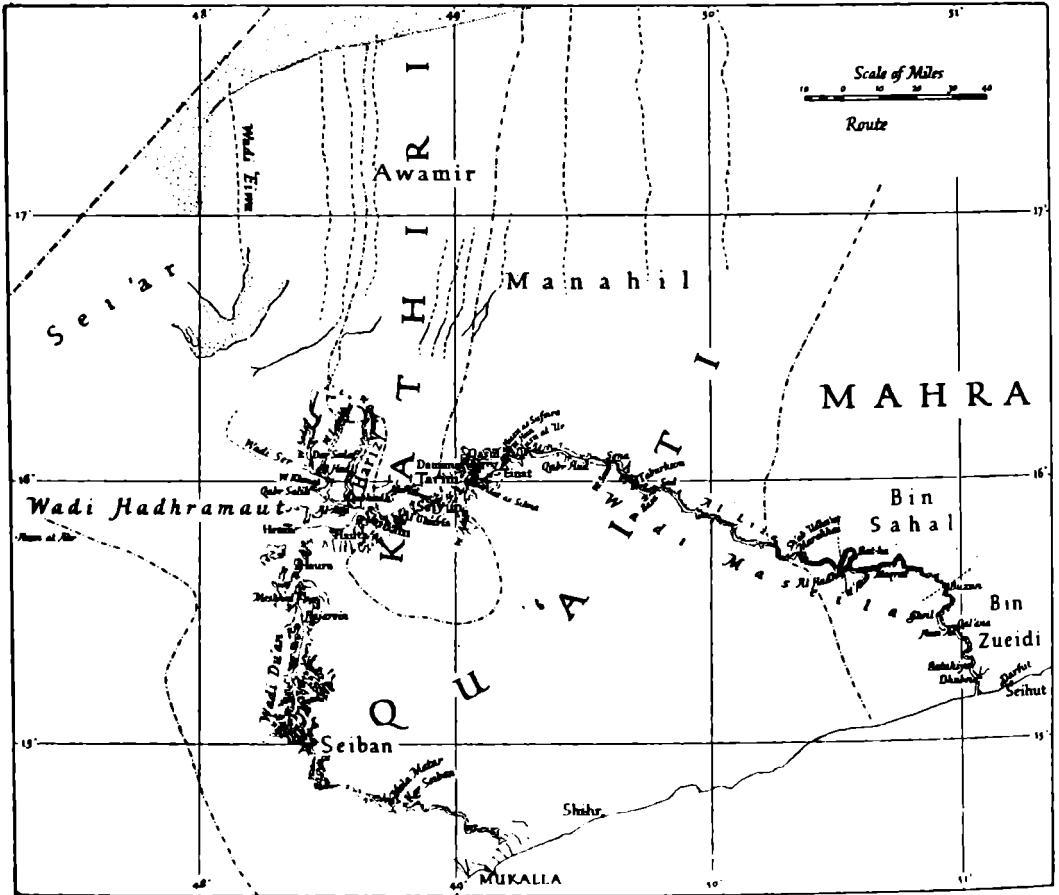
In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said :

When I was called to preside over to-night's meeting I could not help reflecting that all I knew of the Hadhramaut was, firstly, that it was definitely mentioned in Genesis, and, secondly, what I had learnt from some recent enthralling articles from the pen of Miss Freya Stark. Between Genesis and Miss Freya Stark a great gulf is fixed, and my mind was a complete blank. But although I have no personal knowledge of the subject, we all know something of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams and of their public services and achievements. More remarkable, however, than the work, which receives its rewards and honours through the usual channels of the Civil Service, is the extraordinary affection felt for them all over the territories which are privileged to profit by their journeys and services. One does not have to know much about the Hadhramaut to have learnt that. But I will not further keep you from Mr. Ingrams, but will call upon him forthwith to speak to us.

TWO years ago I described to this Society a journey which my wife and I made through the Hadhramaut at the end of 1934. The purpose of that journey, which was largely a journey of exploration as the greater part of the route lay over country unvisited by Europeans, was to make an enquiry into the social, economic and political conditions of the country and to make contacts with its rulers and people, and recommendations as to future policy in the country. The journey owed its inspiration to a visit made by Sir Bernard Reilly when Resident of Aden in 1933. He felt very strongly that something ought to be done to help the people who had long been asking for assistance and which without political staff it was not possible to give. The information collected on that journey was published in an official report, Colonial No. 123, and in papers to this Society and to the Royal Geographical Society.

As a result of that visit consideration was given as to what assistance might be rendered, and it was decided that something could be done to help the Qu'aiti Sultan to reorganize his forces, and to help the Kathiri Sultan to build up a force of Tribal Guards on the lines of those which had already been started in the western part of the Protectorate. Some other minor points of assistance were also approved, and I went again to the Hadhramaut to inform the Sultans what could be done.

My wife and I again left Aden by the S.S. *Al-Amin* and arrived at Mukalla on November 16, 1936, where I made the acquaintance of His Highness Sultan Salih bin Ghalib, who had succeeded to the throne since my last visit. We stayed a fortnight in Mukalla discussing matters with the Sultan, and I found that he was exceedingly anxious to improve the administration of his country, and to provide modern facilities in education, medical matters, agricultural development, extension in communications, electricity and so on. He told me



he was having an extremely difficult time politically as he could find no qualified or thoroughly loyal men to assist him.

It was the first day of Ramadhan when we arrived, so apart from my morning consultations with the Sultan most of my contacts with other people were made at night, and I found that the whole town of Mukalla, while very loyal and devoted to the Sultan personally, was deeply dissatisfied with the conditions generally. It was a perfect hot-bed of intrigues: everybody blackguarding everybody else and an extraordinary atmosphere of suspicion into which we were swept as we were watched by representatives of every party. It did not seem

possible that I could achieve very much good in such an atmosphere and it was with a good deal of relief that we set out for the interior via Shihr. Shihr was in rather better state than Mukalla, but there as in Mukalla I found old friends too frightened to come and see me, and everybody afraid of talking except in the most secret circumstances, as nobody knew what party was likely to become predominant.

We started off eventually by motor-car for Ma'di, where arrangements were made for the Ba Hasani tribe to take us through their country to the point at which we could be met by motor-cars from the Hadhramaut, which Seiyids Abdur Rahman and Abu Bekr Al-Kaf were sending for us.

This was my first contact with the Ba Hasani and they were a very much less pleasant people than the Seibani Beduins of the Du'an route. Their whole idea was to get as much money out of us as possible for every little service, and one or two of them were distinctly unfriendly; not so much, I believe, from real malice as that they were a low and really savage type of Beduin. They charged us a dollar and a half for every skin of water we used and a dollar for four coconuts. We were reduced to buying the coconuts because when we arrived at the Hadhramaut car station we found that the cars had not arrived. A messenger to go and look for them cost us twelve dollars, and when the cars were finally seen the chief robber insisted on a dollar for spotting them coming along the road. I paid it from sheer weariness induced by their perpetual clamour for bakshish of one kind and another. We spent two days with them in some discomfort. They had murdered someone a few nights before and were afraid of an attack by night, so we had to assist them to build small stone forts in which to camp. By way of retaliation we demanded payment for our services as masons, but needless to say they were not at all attracted by the idea.

At length the cars came, and passing through the country of the Ma'aras, who, although afflicted with the bakshish bug, were otherwise friendly, we arrived late at night among the Bin Yemani of Al Jabir. In the morning we found the road blocked with a parapet of stones and some very unpleasant Beduins insisting vociferously that we should pay a hundred dollars before being allowed to pass. Bargaining reduced the amount to ten and we eventually got to Tarim, where we were housed in a lovely Riviera-like villa with a beautiful swimming pool, all of it new since our last visit, in the suburb of Aidid.

Sultan Ali bin Mansur as well as Seiyid Abu Bekr Al-Kaf had come from Seiyun to meet us, and it was not long before we got down to

business. They were frankly disappointed at what they considered was rather a meagre offer of assistance, as they were extremely anxious that something should be done at once to deal with the highway robbery and murder which was every day taking place. A particularly bad case had just occurred. Some Kathiri travellers from a tiny settlement ten days' journey away to the north-east among the Mahras had come down on one of their rare visits. As they left Seiyun on their return journey a party of the 'Awamir, who had the worst reputation for murder of any tribe in the main Hadhramaut wadi, had killed four of them. The Al 'Ali Kathiris had no quarrel whatever with any of the people in the Hadhramaut, but the 'Awamir, believing they were Mahras, had thus, as they considered, settled a murder due to them by the Mahra. This case of mistaken identity was no doubt genuine, but it was little consolation to the relations of the murdered men.

While I was yet in Tarim another case took place a few miles on the road to Seiyun. A silversmith, one of the unarmed classes, went up to a tribesman of the 'Awamir and asked him to settle a debt, and the tribesman murdered him then and there on the road.

There was nothing unusual about this state of affairs: later on, when the peace had come, people made careful estimates and said that we had saved, at the least, ten lives a month in the Hadhramaut wadi country alone. Every tribesman in the place was armed, and armed not with old-fashioned, worn-out weapons, of which of course there were a great number among the Beduins, but with modern express rifles selling for between 600 and 1,000 reals apiece, prices which were within easy reach of well-to-do tribesmen who had made money in the Far East.

In circumstances such as these it was not surprising that people did not see immediately how two hundred of the Sultan's slaves, who were always unruly and had on several occasions gone on strike, armed only with second-hand Legras rifles, were going to make much difference. I knew how difficult the situation was, and I had come to the Hadhramaut with the hope that something might be done to bring to an end one of the biggest of its quarrels—namely, that between the Bin 'Abdat and Bil Fas sections of the Kathiri.

Seiyid Abu Bekr and I had long discussions. Seiyid Abu Bekr is one of the most remarkable people I have ever met. He was born in Singapore, where his grandfather had gone to found the family fortunes. In those early days the Al-Kaf family were not well off: even now they are not all well off, and it is only that section living in Tarim and

Seiyun which has shared in the vast fortune of which Seiyid Abu Bekr's grandfather laid the foundations. He had left the Hadhramaut, as so many do, for the East Indies and there obtained a position as a clerk. When he had saved enough money he bought a small house and let it, and then another, and so it went on until the property of the family in Singapore is worth the best part of two million sterling, and in Java a similar amount or even more.

Seiyid Abu Bekr stayed in Singapore until he was about thirteen, when he came to the Hadhramaut, and there his heart has always been. He paid a further visit to Singapore, a short one, and at that time, he tells me, the Government of the Straits Settlements wishing to make road improvements in Singapore found that a mosque stood in their way. The Government offered the custodians to put up for them another mosque in an even better situation, but they were advised that according to Muhammadan law once ground had been consecrated to the use of a mosque it could never be anything else. They therefore gave it up, and this attitude on the part of the Government, who had all power and strength behind them, so impressed Seiyid Abu Bekr that he felt that the one Government which could be trusted to help the Hadhramaut was the British Government.

Some of his friends have told me of how long ago he sat on the edge of the jol overlooking Tarim, sorrowing over the condition of his beloved valley, and said that he would use all his endeavours to bring the British Government to lend their assistance. For twenty-four years he has laboured in the cause of peace, spending and overspending his fortune, and sparing no effort; fruitlessly for the most part, alas! because the only weapon with which he had to fight was money, and you cannot buy permanent peace with money.

I have never known Seiyid Abu Bekr say a really unkind word about anybody, and perhaps his greatest failing in affairs is that he always has hopes that the bad people will have a change of heart, and this never changes although he has been let down time and time again. He is a very religious man in the broadest sense, for there is nothing of a fanatic about him, and his personal religion is one that anyone might wish to share. He is no formalist, and though he is strict about observing the compulsory prayers and fasts prescribed, for it is usually he who reminds people of the time for prayer, he says them devoutly but does not unduly prolong them; in fact, I have heard it said several times with a chuckle, "Seiyid Abu Bekr gets over his prayers pretty quick, but it doesn't matter because he's 'accepted' any way."

His wife, to whom he has been married for twenty-eight years, is as kind and charming as he is, and, although of course she is not seen, men say to you confidentially, "There's only one other person in the Hadhramaut like Seiyid Abu Bekr, and that's his wife," because her influence spreads out unseen. He is the simplest and most generous of men, and although his charity is done without a flourish it is so widespread that he is called the Hatim at-Tai of Hadhramaut. I think everybody who has stayed with him will agree that he is the best of hosts, and while he provides extremely comfortable and well-fitted rooms with all European comforts for his European guests, he himself sleeps on a mattress on the floor.

There is indeed no other man I know in the country who has more rightly earned widespread confidence, because Seiyid Abu Bekr thinks merely of the common good and not of his own or of that of any particular party. He spends his money as freely in promoting peace among the Qu'aiti people as he does among the Kathiri, and he more than any other has tried to bring an end to the long-standing mistrust between Qu'aiti and Kathiri, which is now happily almost a thing of the past. Certainly no decoration was ever better deserved than the C.B.E. which Seiyid Abu Bekr received in the last New Year's Honours list.

The only people who work against Seiyid Abu Bekr are those who are unmistakably out for themselves, and in a country so long used to relying on the spoken word for its news and its opinions, rumours and lies have their brief successes, though, as Seiyid Abu Bekr says, lies and cruelty cannot last.

You will see, therefore, there was no better person with whom I could discuss the prospects of peace than Seiyid Abu Bekr, and he suggested that we should go on to Seiyun and collect together those who would be likely to help us. Before we went I had a remarkable caller, 'Ali bin Habreish, the paramount chief of the Hamumis, who came with some of his followers to interview me privately in Tarim.

The Hamumis are a large tribe of over 7,000 warriors who have long been on bad terms with the Qu'aiti. There is no doubt that the Qu'aiti Government on the coast had suffered much from them, but equally no doubt that the tribe had been badly and unpolitically handled. Eighteen years before, the advisers of the Sultan had thought that the best way of settling the Hamumi question was to invite all the chiefs to a party in Shihr and there murder them. This was done and 'Ali bin Habreish's father, whom he had succeeded, was amongst

those murdered. From that day 'Ali bin Habreish had not entered Shihr, though from time to time the Qu'aiti Government had purchased a year's truce from him at the price of two thousand dollars a year. The gist of his talk was, "I do not want the Qu'aiti Government—they have wronged me, and the Qu'aitis think we are just wild Beduins to be treated like animals. They are preventing us making our living by carrying goods from the coast to the interior, for we cannot enter Shihr. I do not want the Kathiri Government for the Kathiri Sultan has not the strength to help me. I do not want the English Government for I know nothing of them beyond the fact that they are friends of the Qu'aiti and would help him against me and have done nothing for me. I have heard of a new Government called Injerams which is wanting peace in the Hadhramaut. Will you give me protection so that I may have a port of my own in our own country that we may earn our living? If you will not I must go to some other Government."

I told him that I was in no position to make promises to him, but that whatever happened he would know that I would use all my efforts to promote a satisfactory settlement, and a fair one whether it went for him or against him.

Seiyid Abu Bekr suggested that the people we ought to rope in who were not immediately present with us were Sultan 'Ali bin Salah, the Governor of Shibam, as representing the Qu'aitis, and Sheikh Salim bin Ja'fer al-Kathiri, who was a friend of both Qu'aitis and Kathiris and had been concerned in the making of the Qu'aiti-Kathiri agreement. So I started off on a small tour, and I went first of all to visit the 'Awamir, the tribe who had killed the four Beduin Kathiris on the road.

When I arrived at a spot about half a mile from the Sheikh's house at Tarba and could get the car no further, I sent a boy ahead to ask the Sheikh to come and meet me. I had barely walked half the distance when the old man and the other Sheikhs with a crowd of followers came out to meet me, and started off the conversation by saying they would surrender their arms if I would come and rule them.

I left Seiyid Bubeqr in Seiyun and went on to Shibam, where Sultan 'Ali bin Salah welcomed the proposals. From Shibam I went on to Hureidha, and as I was passing Diar al-Buqri, a post of the Nahd on the way there, the people came out and said quite frankly they did not like the British Government because it left them in a state of continuous fighting. I explained my peace-making mission and that

the Government was now interested in the peace of the country, and next day on my way back they called me in, and taking me to the top of a high house pointed out the country and said if I would come and rule it they would give me the house next door (an equally tall one) to live in.

At Hureidha the talk was much the same, but Hureidha was in the tortured Wadi 'Amd, where practically every man's hand was raised against his neighbour's, and no one saw much hope of disentangling things. I returned to Seiyun via Al-'Uqda, where I persuaded Sheikh Salim Ja'fer to accompany me. The night of our arrival the Sultan gave a large dinner party, after which we had a most interesting and most profitable peace conference in the atmosphere of a new enthusiasm. Three meetings resulted in our drawing up a document in which a three years' truce was recommended and which set up a Hadhramaut Peace Board to investigate inter-tribal claims. When the draft had been initialled the members of the conference turned the discussion to what announcement should be made, and I reflected that the Hadhramaut had nothing to learn from Geneva and European Chancelleries in matters like this. The press announcement began by saying that "It is understood that a meeting has been held" and so forth, and that a three years' truce had been recommended.

As there are no newspapers in Seiyun, this was published by being read to a small meeting in the Sultan's summer palace and was then copied and sent off to the towns and tribes.

The first answers were on the whole favourable, but there was a great deal of doubt as to whether the Government really would do anything to help if anything arose. This doubt was not to be wondered at considering that hitherto contact had, as the Sultan said, usually been confined to short visits when "Salaam aleikum" and "Fiamanillah" had been about the only conversation. One answer came back saying, if "just one bomb goes off on a mountain in the Hadhramaut" people will believe that peace will be ensured.

At this moment news came that Captain Beach, travelling up to the Hadhramaut to help with road work, had been fired on by the Bin Yemani of Al-Jabir, the people who had held us up. These people had an exceedingly bad reputation for holding up caravans and cars. Six years before they had fired on a Seiyid in a car, and that very Ramadhan in which the discussions were taking place, they had looted two caravans bound for the wadi and had the goods with them at their settlement of Risib.

At the request of Sultan Salih at Mukalla I had asked the Government for the services of Captain Beach to help him in a road survey, and having completed this Captain Beach was on his way to fix the latitudes and longitudes of the Hadhramaut towns and then to help with a survey for the completion of the Al-Kaf road. The incident took place at night and the highwaymen fired a first shot which was mistaken for a backfire and then another at the lights of the car. The bullet, which was fired from a few yards ahead directly at the car, passed through the radiator and the steering column, and the driver and the man with him in front were both slightly wounded. As usual the miscreants were after money. Captain Beach and his companions spent the night with some friendly Sheikhs at Husn Heru and came on to Tarim.

The whole Hadhramaut was at once in a ferment of suppressed excitement as to whether the Government would do anything. Messages came from, amongst others, the Kathiri, the 'Awamir, and from Bin 'Abdat himself, saying that only if something was done to deal with the offenders would the peace arrangements be successful. I wrote a report of the incident and sent it off by runner to the coast to be forwarded to Aden. In due course aeroplanes came to take us back to Aden to discuss the matter. All sorts of people came to see us off, and amongst the last things that were said to me was that I must impress on the Government the necessity for entering into the affairs of the Hadhramaut with a firm policy. I had told them all that I knew the Government was genuinely interested in the maintenance of peace, but that help only came to those who helped themselves. The Kathiri Sultan promised all the assistance he could give if the Government came in, and that was mainly confined to banning the offending tribe from his towns. Seiyid Abu Bekr really alone believed that the Government was interested in peace, and he said to me, "The way that the Government deals with the Hadhramaut is the way that a woman flirts with a man. She wants an affair, but she's afraid of getting into trouble."

At Mukalla, Sultan Salih came out to the Fuwa landing-ground to meet me and promised his help too, saying that he would co-operate and also ban the offenders from Shihr and Mukalla. All the tribes had been of the same attitude and had promised neither to help them nor receive them. At Aden I found that the Government had decided to help, and it was ruled that the offenders should be called before the Sultan and myself and punished if they were found guilty.

I returned by air to the Hadhramaut on January 2, complete with a wireless set, and in consultation with the Sultan sent out summonses in the approved form, reciting the charges against the offenders and calling upon them to appear on January 15. The 'Aqils of the Bin Yemani, together with some of their tribesmen, duly appeared on that day and were tried by the Sultan and myself in the large audience hall of the palace arranged like a Court of Justice. The proceedings were held in public and with considerable ceremony, and were generally considered impressive. The witnesses were brought forward one by one and cross-examined by the accused. The case was overwhelmingly against the Bin Yemani and they were therefore pronounced guilty. They were ordered to pay a fine of 10 camels, 30 rifles and 100 goats, together with twice the amount of loot taken by them—namely, 30 Maria Theresa dollars. They were also to provide two hostages from each of the families concerned, who were to be kept by the Kathiri Sultan at Seiyun as long as necessary and changed as the section might desire, provided satisfactory hostages were offered in exchange.

The section was given a copy of the judgment against them and ordered to pay up by January 28. After the formal proceedings I met them in a more friendly atmosphere and urged payment on them, and when they left Seiyun we thought they would probably pay, and they were told in the judgment that air action would be taken if they failed to submit to the terms of the judgment. Letters were forwarded everywhere explaining what had happened, but the real difficulty was again that of rubbing into people that when the British Government said a thing it meant it, and that its decisions were not the empty threats to which they were accustomed.

In the next fortnight letters and messengers went in a steady stream to the Bin Yemani, including tribesmen and Seiyids of influence, who would, it was thought, help them to see what they were up against, and I also spent a great deal of time travelling backwards and forwards to various villages urging peace on everybody.

At a meeting of the Peace Board held at the Seiyun palace on January 18 it was decided that the first batch of Kathiri tribes should be invited to meet at Hautat al-Ahmed bin Zein on January 24, and asked to accept a three-year truce commencing from Dhul-Hijja, 1355 (February 12, 1937). This first meeting was not completely satisfactory, and though the majority of sections represented signed, there were a number of abstentions. Not only were the people not sure that the peace would be kept but also Bin 'Abdat was still standing out.

'Umar 'Ubeid bin 'Abdat was the ruler of Al Ghurfa, and his celebrated feud is well known. He is a most peculiar little old man to look at, with one large protruding eye, one half closed, a turned-up nose and a cleft palate. Privately, he was known as the "Jinn of Al Ghurfa," and, publicly, feared, as his brother Salih in Java had a great deal of money, used in the Hadhramaut to finance a standing force of slaves and to bribe adherents, so that he really was a formidable proposition, and it was extremely necessary that he should join in. He himself was a good-hearted little man, and I may say now one of my best friends who uses all his influence in the cause of peace, but it was very difficult for him to decide on peace, because, like several other chiefs, he was afraid that if there was peace there would be a stoppage of funds from Java.

And here I should like to introduce another great helper, Nasir 'Abdulla al Kathiri. I had known Nasir since many years ago in Zanzibar, where we were great friends. People in Hadhramaut say that Nasir's heart is good but his tongue leads him into trouble. Anyway, after I left Zanzibar he got into trouble and was deported for twenty years. He was away on my first visit to Hadhramaut and I did not meet him again till 1936. We renewed old friendship and when a degree of intimacy had been established he suggested we should go to Bin 'Abdat, a great friend of his, and borrow 25 husky slaves, take a dhow and go down to Zanzibar and just beat the place up—it was the police he particularly wanted to get at—and be off back to Hadhramaut before they woke up!

I rather discouraged this plan, but as the peace schemes developed Nasir constituted himself a firm ally in the cause, and although he is over 60 stumped up and down the wadi preaching peace and saying that what I said had to go. He was so loyal and so good that he even temporarily quarrelled with Bin 'Abdat until the latter agreed to sign; I never saw a man so affected by the pull between loyalty to an old friend and what he felt was his duty to his country and to me. He seemed to age perceptibly, but though desperately tired, he could not rest, but always went ahead of our peace party on his self-imposed crusade. I am glad to say the Zanzibar Government have now forgiven him for his sins in Zanzibar and let him go back on account of his good work in Hadhramaut. I feel sure it was as wise a move as it was generous and I do not think Nasir will betray the confidence placed in him. I confess I did not report the suggested expedition!

As the Bin Yemani did not submit to the terms, notices were issued

to them, by hand, with Seiyids to explain them, and by air, telling them that their places would be bombed on February 1. The notices were in the usual form and warned them either to submit before that date or to leave their villages until they were told they could return. They were also told that the water-holes at Heru would be safe as it was not desired to cut off the water from them.

Bombing began on February 1, and propaganda was continued in all directions. After two or three days' bombing we decided to knock off and give the scattered Bin Yemanis a chance of reassembling and considering the matter. A very fine helper of mine of the same tribe had been there when the bombing began endeavouring to persuade them to pay up. He said that when the aeroplanes came the people were celebrating twelve weddings and were quite convinced that nothing would happen and that only paper would be dropped as usual. Neither smoke bombs nor small bombs had any effect, and it was only when a "heavy" was dropped in the fields that they believed the proceedings were in earnest and fled.

The first day's bombing was confined to the fields, but unhappily the splinters flew far and there were five casualties. I can hardly describe what were my sensations when I heard in Seiyid Bubekr's drawing-room of these casualties. I tried to say what I felt, but the Jabri chief and the other tribesmen there simply could not understand that I worried about it. "To the devil with them," they said, "and anyway what does it matter?" When the meeting broke up and the others had gone, Sultan 'Ali came over to me and, putting his hand on my shoulder, said, "There is nothing for you to worry about. Perhaps you think differently of these things to us. What do a few lives matter if we're all going to have peace, and anyway it is nothing to do with you—it is from God," and that was the most consolation I ever got out of it.

I received that day a letter from Bin 'Abdat imploring me to go and see him even for five minutes. I went to Al Ghurfa that afternoon and he agreed to accept the truce and to help me in persuading others to do so. The next day (Sunday, February 6) I attended the second gathering of Kathiri sections at Buheira. By this time most of the defaulters from the first meeting had joined in and there were no dissentients. It was the most enthusiastic meeting I have ever attended, for there seemed to be a genuine new hope throughout the country. Bil Fas and Bin 'Abdat had both signed that day, and as we left the meeting messengers came to Buheira to tell us that the Bin

Yemani had collected their fine and were ready to come to Seiyun to pay.

After the Buheira meeting knowledge of the truce was circulated throughout the country, and headmen of sections and clans were pouring into Seiyun asking for truces, and there were deputations thanking the Sultan and the Seiyids and myself for what had been done. Even the Beduins of the 'Awamir from the north came asking to be included in the truce.

Then came the Bin Yemani surrender ceremony attended by Sultan 'Ali bin Salah and chiefs and notables from all over the country. It will probably give the best idea of the crowds if I say that "every hotel in the place was full." People came on foot, by camel and by donkey, and never had there been seen so many motor-cars in Seiyun. The order of the ceremony was, of course, drawn up before, and after the fine had been handed over the Sultan and I shook hands with the Bin Yemani to show that bygones would now be considered bygones, but there were three unrehearsed items—a speech of the Sultan's (appended to this paper) and a speech by the Bin Yemani—and then a herald stood out and proclaimed as follows: "As Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur bin Ghalib al Kathiri has bestowed the title 'Friend of Hadhramaut' upon Mr. Ingrams, every person of the people should address him by this title. May the 'Friend of Hadhramaut' live long." (Thrice shouted out.)

During the next few days I visited Tarim, where in two days the whole of the Tamimis signed on, and in following days came the Jabir, Bari, 'Awamir, Johi, Ma'ari and Madhi. The truce, in fact, had become more infectious than an outbreak of measles. Nothing could have been more affecting than the arrival of a deputation of the Al 'Ali Kathir, from far to the north-east, who live among the Mahras. It was late at night and the three men, clad in long brown kamises, an unfamiliar garb in Hadhramaut, came and, kneeling down, said, "We have heard of the peace in this country, please give us a share of it." It was they who had had four men brutally murdered by the 'Awamir a few short months before, and they went away after signing on the three years' truce with an invitation to me to visit them, to make landing-grounds in their country and a promise that the Board would investigate their case.

On February 25 the truce party consisting of Sultan 'Ali bin Salah, the Seiyids of Al Kaf, the mansabs of the Nahd and myself left for Qa'udha, the capital of the Nahd. The Nahd and the Ja'da were the biggest fences left. The Nahd had twenty-one continuous years of

warfare behind them and a system of trenches as elaborate as that of Al Ghurfa. Only fifteen yards separated the nearest houses of the principal warring sections, and there were people in those houses who had not been out of them for literally many years. The Ja'da in Wadi 'Amd had at least thirty major feuds, but the whole lot had signed on in two days for the Nahd Rodhan, three days at Hureidha for the Ja'da, and one day at Henin for the rest of the Nahd. When this was done we returned to Seiyun, having sent a copy of the truce document to Du'an for the Governors of that province to obtain the signatures of the tribes in that neighbourhood and having arranged for the Manahil to be signed on by 'Ali bin Salah at Tarim.

Deputations and letters of thanks poured in, of which extracts are given in an appendix. Women expressed their thanks for the safety their menfolk enjoyed, and when the Ja'da signed at Hureidha there were women weeping in the streets for relief.

One of the most striking indications of the changing attitude of the country was the slump in the sale of arms; many of those coming in from Yemen were returned unsold, and rifles that a short time before had fetched from 400 to 700 dollars could not now be sold for 150 dollars. Another sign was the mild speculation which began in house property, for there was a conviction that many people would return from Java and that prices would rise enormously. One huge house changed hands at \$15,000, the purchaser assuring me that he would have no difficulty in getting \$100,000 for it in the near future.

I had for some time been anxious to return to Mukalla as Sultan Salih had left for India some time before, but before going I arranged that the Peace Board should begin to hold further meetings for the settlement of disputes as from 1st Muharram (March 14) and urgently counselled the members to start work early and to work hard.

The Bin Yemani had invited my wife and me to stay with them at Risib, and we left Seiyun for Mukalla on March 6, and at Risib received a great welcome from them. No Beduins could now be better behaved or more amenable. Men and women were uniformly friendly and bore no ill will; indeed, the 'Aqils with all their men thanked us for the bombing. "You have done well," they said. "If we had not been bombed everybody would have laughed at us and said we were cowards and the Government was lying and we wouldn't have been bombed if we hadn't paid." They gave us a primitive dinner, but it was warm hospitality, and I should very much like to have been able to help them over their water supply. They had but one day's supply

left in their pool, and the next day they were going to move with their crops to find water and grazing. We asked them to take us round Risib to see the effects of the bombing, but it was astonishing to find how little damage had been done even with direct hits on houses. A certain amount, of course, had been repaired, but I would never have believed that 250-lb. bombs could do so little damage to loose stone huts. The only house which I thought had been badly damaged turned out to be one in ruins which had not been hit.

At Reidat al Ma'ara next day there were further signatures, and on arrival at Ma'di, the car terminus, I heard that 'Ali bin Habreish was at 'Arf, a day's journey from Shihr. On the 10th I went to visit him, and, although he is the most feared of Hadhramaut Beduin chieftains, the mansabs who accompanied me persuaded him to sign, and incidentally to offer three years' extra truce to the Qu'aitis, who had just concluded one year's truce with him at the price of over \$2,000.

On the 15th I met the Ba Hasan Tanbulis of Ma'di at Habs. They also signed the truce, as did the Sha'mila that day. A few days later I had a letter from 'Ali bin Salah to say the principal Sei'ar sections had signed, and also some sections in the Wadi Rakhia on the way to Shabwa. News also came from Du'an that the Du'an tribes had signed.

I received extraordinary ovations in Shihr and Mukalla, and one of the best pieces of news I heard was that owing to the security imports of goods had largely increased in the last three ships and that there was a drop, in some cases of as much as 50 per cent., in transport charges on the roads.

In Mukalla I arranged with the Qu'aitis the truce with 'Ali bin Habreish. I also determined to make an effort to clear up the long outstanding bitterness and got the Qu'aitis to agree to entertain 'Ali in Shihr, and, what was more difficult, persuaded 'Ali to accept. On April 5 I drove out from Shihr to meet him, and he came in with fifty followers and was given a great reception and a robe of honour.

Now, of course, the three years' truce includes the whole of Qu'aiti and Kathiri domains from the sea to the desert, as well as part of the Wahidi country. Altogether there are between 1,300 and 1,400 signatories, which shows how disunited the country was, as many of them represent only small sections. The following letter from a historically minded Seiyid shows what an unprecedented state of affairs it is.

"I have already studied Hadhrami history from 500 of the Hijra up to the present time, and I have read numerous books and enquired

from learned and knowledgeable persons about the general peace in Hadhramaut, and from strict enquiries made I cannot find that Hadhramaut, from border to border, has ever had universal peace at any period, either in ancient or recent times.

“The great, powerful and just Sultans of Hadhramaut, ‘Abdulla bin Rashid, who died in 615, and Bedr Bu Tuweirak, who died in 977, compelled everyone to submit to them, but the tribes continued to have trouble amongst themselves.

“As regards recent times, I have enquired from learned persons about the peace arrangements which used to be concluded among the tribes and found one vital point—namely, that Hadhramaut has never known, for many centuries, the meaning of ‘universal peace.’ There were truces between two or three sections, but the others continued their disputes.

“When one of the notable men of Al ‘Attas died there used to be a one year, or less, truce concluded between the Ja‘da and Nahd only. When one of the notable men of either Al Habshi or Al ‘Abdulla bin ‘Alawi al ‘Aidarus died there used to be a truce between the Al Kathir and Al ‘Awamir only, and when one of the great men of Al ‘Aidarus or Al Sheikh Abu Bakhr died there would be a truce amongst the Tamimi, and so on.

“In 1320, during the lifetime of the Mansab ‘Abdul Qadir bin Salim al ‘Aidarus, he remained for one month endeavouring to arrange a truce and after great difficulty concluded a one year’s truce. To conclude, universal peace on the roads and among the tribes in the province has not been known in Hadhramaut for many centuries.

“I have written a note at the end of my history saying that it is essential for historians who may come after us to announce their delight and strike their drums at the establishment of universal peace in the country.”

On March 28 rain began to fall all over the country, and long before it ended it was generally said that it was the heaviest rain for fifteen years: later it was generally declared to have been the heaviest in the memory of man. The blessing of the rain was universally believed to be the Almighty’s reward for the peace, and the following letter expressed a common attitude:

“To the Friend of Hadhramaut: Hadhramaut has been over-spread with useful rain and the floods have watered it from east to west without causing any damage or destruction. All the people are happy with this and say that the cause of it is the security and peace, and they

remember you and say that the peace is general and the mercy is general, too, by the blessing of Ingrams."

I found now a very different attitude on the coast and most people were frankly anxious to help. The Sultan had agreed that I should stay on there while he was absent in India, and subsequently at the Coronation, and tribal affairs gave way for a time to an enormous number of written and verbal complaints of injustice from the inhabitants of the coastal towns. Our office hours were 7.30 a.m. to 8.30 p.m., with an hour off for lunch and two and a half from 4 o'clock for air. In the midst of this we started to set Governmental services on a better footing, but it was difficult as there was little local experience, though there was plenty of good will, and my only personal staff consisted of my wife, a voluntary worker, and three Arab clerks, of whom only one had sufficient experience to make him useful.

A start was made in organizing the armed forces. Captain Hamilton, the Tribal Guards' officer from Aden, had already spent a month up in Seiyun giving the Kathiri Tribal Guards, who were later named the Kathiri Armed Constabulary, a good start, and in April Colonel Robinson, commanding the Aden Protectorate Levies, came to advise on the reorganization of the Mukalla Regular Army. He was followed for a short period by Captain Hopkins, who later in the year was detached for six months to set the reorganization and training going.

I pressed, too, for work to be put in hand on the new motor road to Shibam via Du'an, on which the Sultan was very keen, and I had brought down with me from Tarim a most remarkable engineer called 'Ubeid, who, owing to his skill in building roads and landing-grounds, had been nicknamed Al Ingliz or the Englishman. He and his labourers from Tarim completed the Al Kaf road in three months, and in July His Excellency Sir Bernard Reilly, accompanied by Air Commodore McClaughry, came to the Hadhramaut and officially opened the road at Ma'di in the Ba Hasani country. Sir Bernard motored right up the road to Tarim, and thence through the Hadhramaut to Hureidha, returning to Aden via Du'an after a ten days' trip. As usual the help and encouragement he gave to us all amply made up for the excess of hard work we had had to put in.

The Al Kaf road is now a toll road administered by a Board, and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance

expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue, but also, in conjunction with minimum fares, to protect the Beduins' camel traffic. In fact, goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

In August, His Highness the Sultan returned from the Coronation. He was good enough to be pleased with the help I had been able to render his State, and asked for me to be appointed his adviser. The Kathiri Sultan had also written in to Government and made a similar request. On August 13, His Excellency the Governor, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan signed a treaty on the lines of the treaties with the Malayan Sultans, in which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint an adviser, and the Sultan agreed to accept his advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. In due course I was appointed adviser to both Sultans, and was also given political charge of the three other Sultanates of the Eastern Aden Protectorate—namely, the Wahidi Sultanates of Bir 'Ali and Balhaf and the Mahri Sultanate of Qishm and Soqotra. The Balhaf Sultan was already a friend of mine and had a son in the Aden Protectorate College for the Sons of Chiefs (incidentally the Kathiri Sultan and the brothers Ba Surra, Governors of Du'an, also sent eight of their children between them to the college), and a few months later the Balhaf Sultan persuaded a number of the Wahidi sections to sign the truce. His Majesty's Government also very generously promised a loan of £20,000 to assist in developing schemes for which His Highness was so eager, and in improving agriculture in the main Wadi Hadhramaut.

His Highness went back to India to see his mother, who was seriously ill, in September, and a certain amount of trouble then started with some of the foreign Yafa'i mercenaries. It will be remembered, perhaps, that the Qu'aiti dynasty is itself Yafa'i, and that Yafa'is had come to the country about 400 years before. The families that had long settled there had become as Hadhrami as the indigenous Hadhramis themselves, but others had been in the habit of coming for a period of years from the Yafa'i mountains and enlisting as mercenaries. They received eight dollars a month pay, and, being like all members of their tribe good money-makers outside their own country, had settled down to screwing money out of the local inhabitants in no very

scrupulous ways. Some of the leaders realized that now that good order and government were on a fair way to being established, they would be likely to find their wings clipped, and they started intrigues which later on were to cause considerable trouble among the Hamumi tribe.

The Sei'ar, too, that wild tribe in the north-west, also caused trouble, for they looted some 40 camels from the Manahil. The Manahil had failed to sign the truce because of their relations with the Sei'ars. The Manahil are all Bedus, but are completely united in following their young chief, 'Aidha bin Tannaf, a very fine lad of about twenty-five. He, most remarkably, held them back from retaliation on the Sei'ar, and I promised to do my best to help them to get their camels back if they signed the truce. This they did though waiting patiently for months while I negotiated with the Sei'ar.

All Hadhramaut was interested in the Sei'ar question, and when we had gone round to obtain signatures to the truce, practically every Hadhramaut tribe, asking who had signed on and with whom they would be able to consider themselves at peace, ended up by asking, "And the Sei'ar?"

After the Sei'ar had done their raiding, all Hadhramaut agreed to ban them from their places, though they insisted that something must be done as they would be in great difficulties if they had to retaliate should the Sei'ar attack them. Finally, the four principal chiefs were invited to come down with their followers and discuss the matter. They all replied that they would come, but in the end two chiefs failed to appear though they came to the Hadhramaut wadi, and one of them actually to Seiyun, where, after being honourably treated, he fled away back to his mountains. The other defaulter ran away in the night from a nearby village. Their companions were terribly ashamed of their behaviour and offered to have them put to death, and said that in any event they would be deposed. As one of the chiefs was the one ultimately responsible for the loot of the camels, as the raiders were connected with him, he had his house knocked down after the usual warnings. It was an excellent object-lesson and was approved by the whole of the Hadhramaut and by the other Sei'ars themselves.

Shortly afterwards, I went to Husn Al 'Abr, where the raiders were, and they surrendered the place and the camels with no trouble at all; in fact the Sei'ar entirely welcomed the presence of a garrison

there, and Beduin women, amongst others, told me that the peaceful arrangements were appreciated by all the Bedus. I described how we occupied Husn Al 'Abr in a lecture a short time ago, and there is no need to say more about it here, except to say that with the establishment of peace there at the borders of the desert, the desert itself is becoming more peaceful and the tribesmen arrive at Al 'Abr without rifles. I think myself that there is no doubt that it will not be long before a town springs up there, as there is a plentiful water supply, and it forms an ideal advance market for the Hadhramaut.

While the Sei'ar affair was being finished a long-standing grouse of the people of Tarim against the Tamimi tribe was also composed. The people of Tarim have date palms in Tamimi country, which surrounds the town, and for years the Tamimis had increased exactions from them for what they called "protection fees." The business was arranged exactly on the lines of a Chicago racket, and in many cases as much as 75 per cent. of the date crop was taken in fees for protection, which the owners had willy-nilly to pay. Now, new agreements have been entered into providing for a reasonable remuneration for genuine protection.

While I was busy settling Tamimi and Sei'ar affairs in the Hadhramaut, news came of a series of outrages by different sections of the Hamumis on the Al Kaf road. There were five cases of shooting on cars and looting, and two murders, including one of our Qu'aiti Governor of Gheil Ba Wazir. At the same time there were also two camel caravans looted by the Hamumis.

I was quite at a loss to understand these, for I was on excellent terms with the Hamumi chief, and they had no reason to interfere with the traffic on the road because, as I have explained, every possible care was taken to protect their own traffic. I wrote at once to 'Ali bin Habreish asking him to come and see me and let us settle the matter at once before it got more serious, but unfortunately the trouble had been stirred up by Yafa'i and other agitators: the Yafa'is hoping also that, as in the past, they would be called in and paid vast sums of money in cash and arms to settle the matter.

It was an outrage that had to be dealt with, and the Hamumi chiefs were summoned to answer the charges. As they failed to appear, air action was undertaken, after the usual warnings, which were extremely difficult to deliver as the people are practically all Beduins and have no villages. I went myself on one day's bombing to an empty wadi round which it was known that there were

Hamumis of the guilty sections, and I compared my feelings with those I had experienced when I was in Haazebroucke being bombed by Taubes during the war. It seemed to me difficult that bombing such as this police bombing could have the effect it has. A small bomb was first dropped in the wadi, which, as I say, was empty, and the only signs of life I could see were a few goats. After giving anybody who might have been in the neighbourhood enough time to get a long way away, five machines spent half an hour dropping bombs in the sandy wadi bed. The noise was terrific and amongst the echoing hills must have been even more terrific on the ground, but on that raid at least no damage was done, and discussing it with tribesmen who have been bombed, the fact of the matter is that it is just the noise, the moral effect, which makes them surrender, for they realize what it would be like if the bombs fell on them.

The operations produced the desired effect, though unfortunately there were all told three casualties, and the Hamumi chiefs all came in and paid their fine and made friends, admitting that they had been misled and fully admitting the justice of what had been done. Amongst the items of the fine were included 100 rifles, and it is interesting that more than 270 were surrendered as the people said they had no need of rifles if there was going to be security.

An interesting feature of the Hamumi operations was again the wholehearted co-operation of tribesmen and townsmen against the offenders, and the economic blockade against them, which was willingly enforced by the people of Shihr and the Hadhramaut and the neighbouring tribes, was a great factor in compelling their speedy submission.

It may be remembered that in previous lectures and reports I have said something about the slaves in the Hadhramaut. There are probably 4,000 or 5,000 persons in a technical state of slavery in the country, most of whom are of African descent. In far the largest number of cases the state is purely technical: the slaves are in fact free to do anything they please. In many cases, such as those of the slaves belonging to the Kathiri Sultan, they have often shown themselves extremely powerful and really uncontrollable. They have occasionally caused real trouble, just as the Zinj slaves did in 'Iraq in the Middle Ages.

Many slaves rise to high positions: we have under the Mukalla Government several who are Governors, and the slaves of the Qu'aiti Sultan are on the whole extremely loyal, and the Muqaddams of the

slaves I have generally found most helpful. Still, there are a number of cases where slaves held by Beduin tribes, such as the Ja'da and the Mahra and the Wahidi, have been seriously ill-treated. Public opinion in the more responsible circles is strongly against this sort of thing, and I have even got a "fetwa" from the Ulema to say that probably there are no slaves in the country lawfully held.

Men like Seiyid Abu Bakhr do a lot to move towards a general emancipation of slaves: he, for instance, has spent large sums of money in buying ill-treated slaves and freeing them, or in buying families and freeing them because he does not approve of families being broken up.

In the last year we have made considerable progress, though a general emancipation is probably a long way off because the slaves themselves would resist it as much as anyone. But we now have agreements signed by many chiefs—the Hadhramaut Sultans included—declaring that the slave trade is illegal, and the Hadhramaut Sultans have also agreed that any slave who asks for his freedom shall have it. I have been given powers of manumission and we have freed a fair number, for those who want it can easily approach me, if they are afraid of going to local Governors. In this way any slave who is oppressed can get redress, and some cases of cruelty have been relieved. A scheme is also in process of being put into operation whereby slaves who desire to leave the country can do so and settle elsewhere.

The necessity of political work of this nature rather put the brake on administrative work, and particularly on the speedy reorganization of the finances of the Mukalla and Seiyun Governments, but it at last became possible to provide me with further assistance, and Mr. Figgis, of Northern Nigeria, joined me in Mukalla as assistant resident adviser, and Mr. Kennedy, from Mauritius, as secretary, and the clerical staff was also increased. An experienced Customs superintendent was seconded from Somaliland, and has made a start with Customs improvement.

When I look back on the past eighteen months I am struck by the great contrasts of the Hadhramaut then and now—contrasts which are probably more marked than any other changes the country has seen in its history. Eighteen months ago the Hadhramaut had already become one of the better-known regions of Arabia, and there had been quite a spate of writing and talking about it. It had seen quite a number of European visitors, but in these last eighteen months, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and

otherwise, runs into over a hundred, in fact into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included.

This in itself is a great contrast with the recent past, but I think the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country during the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every tribesman carried a rifle and travellers had to take escorts with them from village to village, but now you rarely see a tribesman carrying a rifle, and protective escorts are no longer necessary.

The peace has resulted in much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country, and has made possible the great extension in communications. Passenger lorries ply almost daily from Shihr to Tarim along the Al Kaf road, and the number of motor vehicles in the country when I left three months ago was at least 200, as compared with 60 or 70 eighteen months ago, and every ship was bringing one or two. There are 500 miles of car tracks and cars can now go to almost all parts of the country, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is constructing another remarkably good motor road to the interior, from Mukalla to Du'an and Shibam. When I left last April about 60 miles remained to be done, of which the greater part is over flat jols and offers no particular difficulties.

Eighteen months ago there were eight landing-grounds in this part of the Protectorate, but now there are seventeen, and it is interesting to note that many of them were built on the initiative of the locals and all the new ones were voluntarily constructed at no expense to Government. A number of people, such as the Sei'ar and Beduin 'Awamir in the north, have asked for landing-grounds to be built near them.

There is now a weekly air service from Aden to Mukalla and Seiyun, whereas previously communication with the country had been by irregular calls of ships. There was no postal service, but now there is a post office at Mukalla and postal agencies at Shihr, Tarim, Seiyun, Shibam and Du'an. There was no wireless communication, but now there is a commercial service with Mukalla, and Government stations at Seiyun and Al 'Abr.

The prosperity of the whole country must depend on agricultural development, and the area that offers most scope for this is the Wadi Hadhramaut and its dependent wadis, particularly those running into it from the south, for there is little cultivation in the wadis from the

north. The outlook of the coast is chiefly commercial and maritime, but there is a certain amount of agriculture and the most important areas are Meifa and Gheil Ba Wazir. The people are enterprising and well suited for developing the country. The population is estimated at about 260,000 and 100,000 who live abroad, many of whom left the country because of the lack of security. There are many different "castes," and people can be found to undertake any jobs required of them without upsetting social tabus. If the country is able to grow not only its own food supply but also to grow for export, this will benefit not only the cultivators but the Beduins, who at present have to take their camels to the coast unloaded.

Samples of cotton and castor oil seed, which grow practically wild in the Hadhramaut without irrigation, were sent home for examination, and the reports on them were most favourable. Much further investigation and some experiments would, of course, be necessary before their cultivation could be profitably undertaken, but they are two possible lines, and now that an agricultural officer is being appointed one may hope that some new crops for systematic cultivation may be found. Water is the chief need, but that, too, we hope to investigate, and there is every indication that there should be plenty of it.

There is, of course, still a great deal to do for the country, but I think it is mostly by specialist surveys that the people can be helped to make the best of it. A start has already been made, for Dr. Storm of Bahrein made a leprosy survey and Mr. Maxwell Darling investigated the locust question, and this last winter we were fortunate in having two very able American geologists who covered an enormous area on the ground and the whole country by air. Lastly, a few months ago Mr. Griffiths, the Principal of Bakht er Ruda College in the Sudan, travelled through the country to make a survey of the educational resources and future needs, and his report will be of great value. As I have said, agriculture and water are to receive attention, and I hope there may soon be a health survey and more medical assistance.

Apart from utilitarian surveys during the last winter, we enjoyed the visit of Miss Stark, Miss Caton Thompson and Miss Gardner, who may be expected to throw much light on the history and geology of the country as a result of their researches.

We were also honoured by the visit of Lord Dufferin, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, who accompanied

Sir Bernard Reilly when the Governor visited the Hadhramaut for the second time. They spent a day in Mukalla and then paid short visits to Shihr and Seiyun, but saw a good deal of the country from the air.

Two years ago I wrote in a paper to this Society that the Aden Protectorate has three great assets, the Colonial Office, the Governor, Sir Bernard Reilly, and the Royal Air Force, and I would like to repeat that with even greater emphasis after my experience of the last two years. In all the progress I have described it will be realized that I could not have moved a foot without the help and support I have had from them, and that not one of the schemes of assistance I have put forward could have come to anything without the approval and help I have had to an extraordinary degree. There are other things to help the country now under consideration, and if ever there was justification for the charge of neglect towards people under our protection that reproach has been more than wiped out.

I should like to emphasise the beneficial part the Royal Air Force play in the development of the Protectorate. There are no more popular visitors, and the people always welcome their visits and are full of appreciation for the many services they render them, such as bringing doctors to the sick, giving lifts, and carrying letters.

Sir RONALD STORRS: Before commenting on what I am sure you will agree has been a fascinating lecture, I am going to invite a few questions.

A MEMBER: I suppose, sir, you were taking your life in your hand on these journeys you have been describing?

LECTURER: No, not really. It is not necessary to walk about with a weapon of any description. People are very friendly now.

Sir RONALD STORRS: It would be interesting if Mr. Ingrams told us if the fees of the various British advisers are paid for out of the revenue?

LECTURER: The only adviser who has visited us up to date was the educational expert I mentioned, and he very generously and kindly consented to forego any payment.

Mr. CHARLTON: Can the lecturer tell us if there is any restriction on visitors to the Hadhramaut?

LECTURER: Yes, a certain amount of restriction is inevitable. Applications for permits are considered by the Aden Government, and a special visa is necessary for the Protectorate.

A MEMBER: Can the lecturer tell when the Hamumi were persuaded to give up their blood feuds, whether there was much opposition from the local armament firms?

LECTURER: The Hadhramaut has not yet got to the stage where it is able to manufacture its own weapons. It gets those blessings of civilization from Europe.

Sir RONALD STORRS: Perhaps Mr. Ingrams will tell us the names of some specific importers of weapons?

LECTURER: Expensive rifles come mostly through the Yemen, from different foreign manufacturers, but most rifles are of old types, a good many from the time of the Great War, French and others.

The CHAIRMAN invited Miss Caton Thompson to take part in the discussion.

MISS CATON THOMPSON: I am extremely pleased to have this opportunity of adding my testimony to the value of the work Mr. Ingrams has been doing in the Hadhramaut. It is fascinating to be in at the beginning of any experiment, I was extraordinarily fortunate to be in at the beginning of *two* experiments, an administrative and an archæological, and as a passer-by and a complete outsider, to have the opportunity to observe what a great deal has in a short time been effected. Three, four or more years ago it would have been a difficult and a dangerous country to visit. The earlier travellers to go through our valley were a Dutchman and a German, van der Meulen and von Wissmann. They had definite difficulty as recently as 1931 in getting through without serious trouble. There is now quietude. We never had one single moment of danger, or even a momentary difficulty. One found the inhabitants going about more or less unarmed, although no doubt in parts that we did not see that would not be the case, as our journeys were quite properly somewhat limited by the benevolent activities of the Aden administration. Superficially, at least, order had been established. One of the most striking things was that, after the Hamumi troubles had intercepted our return to the sea, within a few days of their submission Miss Gardner and I were able to motor across their territory and sleep out by night in the open by our motor, and yet feel in complete security.

As you know I went there to do archæological work, and I had the good fortune to be able to do the first excavations in Hadhramaut; you can think how interesting that was in this overdug world. I am not going to enlarge on that subject, as an article is appearing in *Nature*, which gives an outline on what we did. In a short time it became

apparent that there is a good deal of material to be found there. The Mukalla Government are contemplating measures to ensure that the rights of the archæological world are protected. Mr. Ingrams is trying to get antiquity laws properly framed to prevent undue exploitation by people unable to get the best scientific results. I cannot say how deeply indebted we feel to his kindness and unfailing vigilance over our welfare.

Mr. R. V. VERNON: I should like to make a few remarks as one who worked in the Colonial Office since the War. At that time there was no part of the world about which we really knew less, or over which we had less control. We were at times very uneasy as to the accuracy of certain statements we had to make at Geneva and elsewhere on such matters as slavery, for we did not really know what was going on there. Almost our entire knowledge of the Hadhramaut came from a Dutchman in Java. And his knowledge was entirely a matter of collecting information from Arabs of the Hadhramaut who went as estate workers to Java; he had never been there. Peace, order and good government are the objects of all control in the world, but I was struck by the very small demands which it has been found necessary to make on the British Government to carry this pacification out. The unpretentious good administration is a compliment to the methods so modestly described in to-night's lecture.

A MEMBER: I will ask Mr. Ingrams to tell us what is the total revenue of the Protectorate?

The LECTURER: We have done nothing yet to alter the system of taxation previously in force, though we are hoping now to do so, as more assistance is available. The revenue is not yet very much, but it seems a lot to us; I should put the budget at between seven and eight lakhs of rupees. There is a new Arabic-speaking Superintendent of Customs, and the Mukalla State revenue will no doubt increase. Hitherto there has been no collection of taxes at all in the interior. Seiyid Abu Bakr Al-Kaf, within four months from February 6, spent ninety thousand dollars on interior services. This was a voluntary contribution, but I hope soon to organize revenue services there.

I should just like to say a word about the matter of archæological research: there was not time to touch on it in my lecture. Miss Caton Thompson said some very nice and undeserved things about us. I wanted to say that Miss Caton Thompson gave us very great help over that matter of an antiquities code. It is easy to get hold of antiquities laws from other countries, but she was able to tell us which

would be the most suitable enactments to embody in the code of the Hadhramaut. And one had the pleasure of knowing that in these particular pioneer archæologists we had people who would not pinch half of everything which they dug up. (Laughter.)

Sir RONALD STORRS: The standard of the discussion this evening has been high and agreeably relevant. But if I may add to it, there is one question I should like to ask. Will the Hadhramis now in Java come back and colonize their native land?

The LECTURER: Yes, I think so to some extent, for some are already coming back. They desired a certain standard of security and a possibility of making a living, and naturally they did not wish to put up very nice and expensive residences in order to have them destroyed. But they are happy to come now that peace seems to be established.

Mr. MIDDLETON: I regret to strike a discordant note, but I am a little anxious at the sense of satisfaction displayed this evening over the introduction of cars across the desert and even of medical science. We have found that the introduction of modern sciences can have alarming results. I wish to ask what is the ultimate purpose in view in these countries, and what lines education will take? Is it intended to revolutionize the Hadhramaut suddenly and completely?

The LECTURER: I confess I sometimes share that kind of anxiety, but unfortunately progress is inevitable. Probably most people now know something about modern amenities, and they desire to have them. I should point out that motor-cars in the Hadhramaut were first seen by Europeans from the air. They had been carried up beyond the mountains by camels and were being used there, having been brought there by the Arabs themselves for their own use inland. I have sometimes the same sort of feeling as the last speaker about the "blessings" of civilization; we do not really initiate changes, but when we see the demand for them, they have to be given at the request of the people themselves. Agricultural development, for example, must expand because people very much appreciate seeing fields growing and to find that they are able to feed themselves. They will also benefit from modern methods of getting water and from medical science. When development of this kind is required, it is far better to start by having experts than to let things drift. If, for example, you increase water supplies, unless you have experts to advise you you may also be spreading malaria, and in any case you will waste money if you do not take advantage of expert advice.

In the Hadhramaut there are about 260,000 people resident, and

there are about 100,000 abroad now. Of those who are resident a number have been abroad and have seen and liked these modern amenities, and for better or worse they have to have them.

Sir RONALD STORRS: You will all agree that those who started this evening in ignorance, of whom I am proud to head the list, are now almost prepared to lecture on the Hadhramaut themselves: we have learnt so much and so pleasantly. The lecturer has shown us, in dealing with Arab, as with European countries, the need for patience and kindness in diplomatic relations.

This lecture should serve to dispel the base calumnies that have been lately circulated against the R.A.F. by persons who ought to—and who do—know better. The administration of the Aden Protectorate as described by Mr. Ingrams ought to be given all possible publicity, and I hope that the journal in which it appears will be widely read.

Mr. Ingrams is fortunate not only in his talents but in the epoch in which he wields his power in the Hadhramaut. People must realize the need for the exercise of power before you can show your talents as an administrator. Fifteen years ago he would have been handicapped by the general attitude of lassitude and war-weariness that followed after the Great War. Now he can feel that the will of the Hadhramis is behind all good organization, whether it is the work that puts a policeman on his beat or an airman in the air.

In 1909 I was climbing Mount Hermon. I had got in front of my Zaptiehs and I ran into a wandering Bedu. He demanded that I should hand him over all my baggage at once. I happened to have on me a small Browning revolver, and when I produced it, he cried, 'Wallah, if I had known you had a revolver, I would never have said such a thing!' He immediately offered to carry my bag and proved an admirable porter for the rest of the day. (Laughter.) There are some people whom you have to control by force, or by showing the ability to use it. The use of air bombing as a police measure applies to several places in the British Empire, as the simplest and least destructive means of keeping order. We must rejoice at the speed with which Mr. Ingrams was able to bring to Hadhramaut the blessing of peace and confidence among the people, and a very much greater degree of happiness than they had previously enjoyed.

It was very relevant to ask how much civilization adds to human happiness. Anyone who has been plagued by a telephone will join in the question, but the trouble is, if one person has it we must all

have it too. No one will allow himself to lag behind in the amenities of modern life. We must congratulate Mr. Ingrams that an era of tolerance, peace and confidence has now been inaugurated in a country seven times the size of Palestine, and fourteen times the size of Cyprus: we must congratulate him not only for what he has done, but also for the way in which he has been able to do it.

APPENDIX I

SPEECH BY THE KATHIRI SULTAN AT THE BIN YEMANI SURRENDER CEREMONY

O Honourable Guests,—I stand now at this delightful ceremony in order to welcome all the visitors present. I take this opportunity to express my great rejoicing at the sincere affection existing between you and myself.

The political assistance rendered by the British Government to my native land, the land of my respected forefathers who have reigned in it for hundreds of years, is of great help, and proof of the unique friendship and firm affection existing between the officials of the British Government and myself.

I therefore express my great pleasure and warm thankfulness for the efforts and assistance rendered by those honourable men in the maintenance of peace and suppression of troubles in this Province.

There is no doubt that the confidence exchanged between Aden and Hadhramaut will result in great interest to both parties. I entertain a great hope that this friendly contact will help me to discharge my peaceful obligations towards my country and nation which has, since a long time ago, endured the tribal disturbances which have recently ended. Such disturbances spoil the establishment of peace and security.

I confirm that I appreciate the assistance of the British Government, which I can recompense by the preservation of the continuance of friendship to the British and by being a loyal friend to them. I wish to see to the welfare of the Hadhrami country during my time: the nation must be educated and developed in its social and economic administration by virtue of the peaceful arrangements which have been established to-day, on account of the effort and assistance rendered by the 'Friend of Hadhramaut'—viz., Mr. Ingrams, the First Political Officer.

I trust that my beloved nation will, in completion of their education and progress, remember this favour and preserve it for the sake of the welfare of the country. God, the Supporter, may help us to perform good acts and continue in peace.

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF THANKS

From Muqaddam al 'Abd bin 'Ali Yemani al-Tamimi, Muqaddam of the Tamimi Tribe, and all Al Tamim and Beni Dhanna to the First Political Officer.

“The three years' truce document has to-day been concluded and signed by the Tamimi tribe. This was done through your good efforts and great endeavours for the maintenance of peace within our beloved home, the Hadhramaut. We proffer our great thankfulness to His Majesty's Government and your honour for the same, as well as to his honour Sultan 'Ali bin Salah and the honourable Seiyid Abu Bakr bin Sheikh Al-Kaf.

The Tamimi tribesmen are extremely pleased with this truce, which will give relief and rest to the people from killing and fighting, and all of them wish to maintain security on the trade routes. During the truce period all the people will attend to the buildings and agriculture which the inhabitants of Hadhramaut have neglected for a long time owing to the lack of peace existing among the tribesmen. Now all the people entertain confidence in the British Government only. Had such a truce been made by others they would not have entertained confidence.

We have heard your explanation yesterday when we asked you at the first meeting held at the palace of Seiyid Abu Bakr and you hoped to be always beside us and render us assistance in the preservation of peace and dispensation of justice, for which we are very grateful and obliged. We would like soon to see the British flag hoisted on one of the palaces in which you have been staying in one of the Hadhramaut towns. Complete tranquillity will have to be given to all the inhabitants of the country.”

From the Kathiri Sultan to Sir Bernard Reilly.

“We beg to proffer our hearty thanks to Your Excellency on account of the valuable assistance which His Majesty's Government has rendered to our dear home through the Friend of Hadhramaut,

who has done the needful for the maintenance of peace and the extinguishing of tribal troubles.

We, on behalf of ourselves, our nation and home express to Your Excellency our pleasure at this assistance, which will continue to receive our gratitude and sincerity."

From Sheikh 'Ubeid bin Salih 'Abdat, Chief of Al-Ghurfa, to the First Political Officer.

"With due respects and many thanks we have received your letter of yesterday, and in reply we thank God for your progress, good arrangements and reasonable ideas. We thank you extremely for the same. We also inform your honour that we will endeavour and offer our souls and property for service to the great British Government and your honour too. We hope that God will support us for making good arrangements and crown our doings with success."

From Muhammad and Ahmed, sons of Ba Surra, Muqaddams of the Seibani tribe and of the Du'an Province, to Mr. Ingrams.

"We write this to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, together with the truce document and copy of the notification, which has been sent by the British Government.

We thank you very much for this fine endeavour and excellent work done by you and approved by your just Great Government.

Please accept our best respects."

From Al Hakm Mbarek bin Muhammad bin 'Ajaj, paramount chief of the Nahd tribe, and his men of Al 'Ajaj of Nahd, to the First Political Officer.

"We write this to express our pleasure in the settlement and peace maintained by you because you relieved the people from disturbance and trouble. In the meantime everyone will do his own peacefully. We are peacemakers. There is nothing other than to proffer our thankfulness to the British Government as well as to His Excellency the Resident of Aden and all the officials of His Majesty's Government.

As regards yourself we thank you as well as the Sultans of this part, the Qu'aiti and Bin 'Abdulla, and the Seiyids of Al-Kaf, for the service and endeavours rendered by them to the interests of the

Muslims. May God reward you all for the same and perpetuate the peace and tranquillity.

At present, as you know, we carry personal arms, but know that we do not carry them except on account of the harmful acts being done, otherwise no one is in favour of inconvenience and trouble, but we are afraid of our souls and ourselves, and if peace has generally been established we need personal arms no longer.

We therefore request you to continue your assistance and be always at our side so that we may dispense with arms and that success may always be had. May God preserve you. Greetings.”

(A similar letter was received from Al Buqri.)

From ‘Awadh bin ‘Azzan bin ‘Abdat, a chief of the Kathiris, to the Friend of Hadhramaut, Mr. Ingrams.

“This country has seen so much cruelty and oppression, but now when you have come to us, you settled all the troubles and maintained peace. Even we, the tribesmen, were under great difficulties for many years.

We should like Hadhramaut to be safe under our Sultans by the help of the Government, like other countries where we have been (especially India). There are no disturbances, and besides this, people do not carry arms. Now as there will be no further trouble and harmful acts we will no longer use personal arms.

Now we convey our thankfulness to you for the action taken until you have maintained peace in our countries. Greetings.”

From ‘Amr bin Ja‘far, chief of Al Fas of Al Kathir, and all Al Fas, to the Friend of Hadhramaut, Mr. Ingrams.

“The reason for writing this to you is that all disturbances and insecurity among the people have come to an end and been settled by you. You have gone so far in Hadhramaut and troubled yourself for the advantages of the Hadhramis, and we thank you as well as the Government of Aden for their good work. We like the British Government. Now all the towns in Hadhramaut are safe and there will be no further threatenings as before. Now we shall not use arms as before owing to the truces made.

We further convey our thankfulness to you and the Government for the establishment of peace. Greetings.”

From Muqaddam 'Umar bin 'Amr bin Sultan bin Faris to Mr. Ingrams.

“ We thank you very much for the peace which you have established, and we also thank the Government of Aden. You have rendered service to our country as well as our tribesmen, and do not believe that we dislike peace, but fear of shame kept us thinking; however, if you are near to us it will be good.”

From Huweidi bin Mara'i al Kathiri to Mr. Ingrams, the Friend of Hadhramaut.

“ We congratulate you, Friend of Hadhramaut, for what you have done and for your endeavours in the establishment of peace in our country, and we thank the Government of Great Britain for controlling our country as well as our lives, and also we thank the Friend of Hadhramaut. We will never forget you, for you are the first Sahib who has tried to make peace in Hadhramaut and saved it from death.

We therefore thank you for your endeavours and also our Sultan, 'Ali bin Mansur, for the work he has done through you. Greetings.”

In the name of God the Supporter. To be submitted to His Excellency the Resident of Aden.

“ We beg to submit the following :

The interest taken and the attention directed by His Majesty's Government towards our sacred home and the present assistance given for the establishment of peace and security within our Province, and the safeguarding of the nation from disturbances and troubles which destroy the country and subject it to despair and worse, are the objects of our thanks. Such interest taken by His Majesty's Government for the removal of all these things will make the future of Hadhramaut bright and prosperous, and it is expedient for us to express our great appreciation and thankfulness in our hearts, which stimulate us to submit our hearty thanks to His Majesty's Government and to Your Excellency, O honourable Resident.

We do not forget to express the great thanks felt in our hearts for the Friend of Hadhramaut, the honourable Mr. Ingrams, the First Political Officer, for the excellent services rendered by him for the reform of the conditions in our beloved Province.

Hadhrami history will perpetuate the valuable assistance rendered by the British Government to the nation and Government of Hadhra-

maut. It is certain that it will be a great foundation for the improvements which are expected in the Hadhrami country for the progress of the people and future civilization, which men of learning and earnest peacemakers in the Hadhramaut have endeavoured to bring about and made great efforts in that respect.

Now nothing remains but to express our sincere and appreciative thanks from the bottom of our hearts for the interest taken by His Majesty's Government in the welfare of our home. Also we entertain the hope that our best compliments, thanks and gratitude will be conveyed, on our behalf, to the Great Government of London, which we hope may continue to be the source of peaceful arrangements and good actions.

Please accept our high regards."

(Signed by the heads of all the families of 'Alawi Seiyids.)

THE "LAND" OF PALESTINE

By LIEUT.-COLONEL F. J. SALMON, C.M.G., M.C.

Lecture given at the Royal Society's Hall on June 29, 1938, General H. Rowan Robinson in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my privilege to introduce to you this afternoon Colonel Salmon, who has been surveying Palestine for the last five years and therefore probably knows more about the geography of Palestine than any living man. The subject is one in which we are all deeply interested, and I hope you will enjoy it as much as I personally expect to do.

FROM the title of my talk you might expect me to include a great variety of subjects, but I propose to confine myself to those aspects of the land of Palestine with which I have come in contact in my official capacity as Commissioner of Lands and Surveys; that is land tenure, and administration and the mapping of the country.

Before the war, in Turkish days, a title to a piece of land in Palestine was a very vague document. There was no survey or plan to illustrate the shape, the position or the area of the piece of land in question. The boundaries were described as vaguely as possible, so that the owner, should it ever have been necessary for him to point them out on the ground, might be able to include as much of his neighbour's property as possible. The area stated was invariably one-half or one-third of the actual area occupied. That sounds very strange, but I should explain that the taxation was according to the area.

In those days the land was probably not very valuable. There were not many transactions, not much development, but few disputes, and so this state of affairs did not matter very much. But now things have changed, and since the British occupation it has become necessary to institute a modern system of land registration which gives the land-owner a perfectly clear and good title.

Before doing that, it is necessary to make a survey of every parcel of land in the country, a survey that is by no means yet finished. Before the survey of the parcels, as probably most of you know, it is necessary to make a very accurate triangulation on which all subsequent measurements are based. My predecessor, Major Ley, completed that triangulation. It is one of the finest I have ever had to work with.

The land settlement work is an enquiry into the title to land. We have over a hundred surveyors making plans. We have now seven British settlement officers and about eighteen Palestinians going over the country bit by bit, holding enquiries and trying cases of dispute. This settlement of land disputes is very complicated. The population is by nature litigious and things are not made easier by a number of people who go about the country inducing villagers to claim land to which they have no title whatever on the understanding that if they win their case it is a question of fifty-fifty.

There is also the very complicated Ottoman land law in Palestine, and I do not think there is anybody in this world who really understands it properly. It is important that the land law should be altered and improved, but it is a great piece of work and nobody has so far found the time to tackle it.

However, we are getting on slowly but surely with this settlement of the land. At least, I may say we were getting on. Within the last month, just after I left Palestine, the bandits had turned their attention to the survey parties, and survey work has had to stop almost entirely. But until land settlement is complete throughout the country it will not be possible to develop it properly, to give people good title, to see that land sales are properly carried out, or that Government title to land for afforestation and other purposes has been finally determined. There are also continual disputes over boundaries and over water supplies, which diminish as soon as land settlement has been effected.

In Palestine there is, in many villages, a curious system of land tenure called *Mashaa*. By this system all the people in a village own a share each in the village lands. These shares are apportioned annually, or sometimes bi-annually, and they are continually changing. The result is that no one takes any real interest in his property. We are trying to stop that and get them to divide the properties up for good and all, so that each man has his own bit. Some of the villages have done that on their own, but unfortunately there is a method, which is not confined to Palestine, of cutting up large parcels of land into individual properties of a very awkward shape. I have seen parcels of land owned in Palestine which are a metre or two wide and a kilometre long. There is one reason given for this curious method of cutting up the land. It is that the villager is always suspicious that unless he gets a jolly good sample strip, perhaps a mile long, he might get all the stony ground. By having a long bit he probably gets an

average of the quality of the land throughout the village. Then, of course, when he ploughs, all he has to do is to hang on to his plough for the better part of a day, because it takes him a long time before he gets to the other end of the furrow and has to turn.

This is not a very good way of parcelling out the land, and we are trying to alter it and to induce them to make their parcels of reasonable shape, a shape which they can use for more intensive cultivation or for orange groves; where it would be worth their while to sink a well and put up a dwelling. If you travel in the train from Gaza to Lydda and keep your eyes open you will probably be able to distinguish the villages that have been settled from those which are unsettled. The settled ones show prosperity almost at once. You see little houses being built, fruit gardens or orange groves instead of those long, narrow strips of grain land with just a few hovels of a village in the middle of them.

Land settlement in Palestine is more difficult than in any other country I have been to because political considerations are always brought in and it is almost impossible to get on with a real, straightforward job of work.

Another part of our work was the supervision and administration of taxation. In Turkish days there was a tax of a tithe on the crop and also a tax on property. These taxes were collected in a most inequitable way and have now been replaced by a rural property tax for the country and an urban property tax for the towns, which we have instituted. The rural property tax is based on a survey which divided the country into what we call "fiscal blocks"—*i.e.*, blocks in which all land was assessed to be of equal value—and the taxation of the land inside each block was so much per *dunam* on that category.

Another one of our activities is the administration of State lands. Unfortunately there is not a great deal of State land in Palestine. There should, I think, be more. One of the reasons is that when land settlement comes along and the State claims a piece of land, somebody else often claims it too. The other fellow can pay as many witnesses as he likes to swear that his great-great-grandfathers have cultivated that land, and the Government is, of course, unable to pay witnesses to speak the truth. Still, our settlement officers are very often able to come to a proper judgment, because these witnesses are not always quite clever; they contradict each other, and can be caught out.

Perhaps the most important piece of State domain in Palestine is

the Haifa reclaimed area. It is a piece of land which has been reclaimed from the sea during the building of Haifa Harbour, and the Government has developed and is continuing to develop it as a modern commercial centre. It is very well laid out, with proper town planning, and has some quite fine buildings.

One of the most urgent needs in Palestine to my mind is proper afforestation to stop the soil from being washed down into the sea. But there we are faced with a difficult problem because we are unable to carry out a land settlement all over the country at once, and until a piece of Government land has been through this process of settlement we can never be sure that it really belongs to the State. So the Conservator of Forests is busy planting trees on land which he cannot be quite sure will be adjudged as State land when settlement comes along. There again there is this trouble of witnesses. When we start settlement we shall find people who swear that long before the forest was there, their families used to cultivate the land, and, of course, in some cases this is true.

There was a certain amount of waste land which the Government used to own, and some it does own still, and considerable progress has been made in dealing with this.

If you look at an old map of Palestine, of pre-war days, you will find large areas marked as swamp and marsh. That state of affairs has changed very rapidly. There are few swamps left, and in a few years there will probably be none. The malarial mosquito will be hard put to it to find a place where he can bring up his family. He will probably have to migrate to some of those far-away springs and wells in the Wadi Araba or places like Ain Feshqa on the Dead Sea, where his brothers have been harrying the Bedouin, who water their flocks there, through the centuries.

One of our problems in Palestine is the regulation of building by town planning. We started a bit late, and many of the towns, including Jerusalem, are a sort of hotchpotch of modern town planning and muddle. Where we have been able to start with a clean slate we have done our best to lay down rules and regulations, which I am afraid, owing to the prevalent custom of *bakshish*, have not always been obeyed, but we are doing our best to keep the expansion of the towns on proper modern lines. Recently we have gone further, and we have brought in laws which enable us to control the schemes in rural areas where no towns have yet sprung up.

I remember a few years ago looking at a plan of a township which

had been prepared by a private surveyor. It was all cut out into blocks for sale to Jews, but to Jews who did not live in Palestine but in America, and were not likely to see the land. I happened to know the country. He had made a beautiful plan. It looked as if you had a marvellous township, a place with synagogues, public buildings, open spaces, cinemas and concert halls. Naturally, there were no contours shown on the plan, but most of it was on a steep, rocky hillside, and it would be very difficult to build a house on any part of it! We want to stop that, and before any of these plans are issued, they have to be passed by Government. We have an expert town planner now to recommend whether a lay-out is suitable or not.

There is one part of Jerusalem where town planning does not come in, and that is the old city. The old city of Jerusalem is not subject to land tax, nor is it subject to town planning or many of the modern restrictions which affect other parts. In a way it is a good thing that that is so, because it is not being interfered with and spoilt. There is no need for a survey there to mark out the boundaries of properties for sale or transfer, and for that reason when I took over the department there had been no map made of the old city of Jerusalem since 1865. I considered, however, that a map was necessary, not for fiscal or registration purposes, but for the tourist, the archæologist, the administrator and the policeman. So I set to to make a new map. The map of 1865 was only an outline, which just showed the streets and the principal buildings of interest, and before wasting money on a complete re-survey I thought I would look into the old one. I had it checked and found it was entirely accurate, and all I had to do was to use it as a framework and put the new buildings on it.

The modern city of Jerusalem last year had a map which was ten years old. A map ten years old in this country is quite useful, but a map of Jerusalem ten years old is quite useless. The place has more than doubled in that time. The modern map was correct last year. Some parts of it are almost useless already, so fast are the buildings going up.

When I went to Palestine five years ago, there was no road map, and I think it was largely for selfish reasons that I set out to make one. I had to travel all over the country and could not find my way. There are many hundreds of miles of motorable road in Palestine now, and you must remember that before the war a great proportion of the inhabitants of that country had never seen a wheeled vehicle at all. The motor map is already in its ninth edition.

We are going ahead also with aerodromes. There is a fine modern airport which will shortly be finished near Lydda. There is another one going up at Haifa, and there are various landing-grounds in different parts of the country.

One of the interesting features about modern Palestine is that the produce of Babylon, which used to come, in the ancient days, across the desert by caravan, and which brought much money to the Bedouin tribes, who had to be paid not to raid them, now comes through pipes; for the principal import into Palestine from 'Iraq now is oil. Of recent years the pipe has been raided too, for the modern bandit punctures it with bullet-holes.

Another new thing in Palestine is the distribution of electric power, and almost everywhere you will see great pylons carrying current either from the Jordan works or from subsidiary power plants in different parts of the country.

Improvement in water supply is going ahead. Until two years ago in Jerusalem, as many of you know, you used to go about a week sometimes without a bath, and even then, in a hotel, it cost 2s. 6d. But we have now a new supply which comes some forty miles from Ras el Ain and is pumped up 2,500 feet. It fell to my department to start and to complete what was called a "water resources survey." We went through the whole country, examining the wells, finding out what discharge came from them, testing them for salinity, taking the water level. The information that we have supplied is now being used by the Development Department to work out proper methods for controlling the use of water.

In connection with this water survey, I had to make an accurate measurement of levels all over the country, and to those of you who have not studied survey, it may be interesting to know that nowadays the surveyor's levelling methods have become extremely accurate. We have to split every possible hair we can split, because we cover very large areas, and if we get errors of, say, a foot or so, although they may not seem very much when you are measuring for some hundreds of miles, we can never be quite sure that that particular foot is not a mistake in one short section which might upset a big engineering scheme. So we do not work to feet but to millimetres, and just before I left Palestine a line of levels which we ran from sea-level at Haifa to Jisr Banat Yacoub, north of Lake Tiberias, met the Frenchmen's line, which had been brought from a mean sea-level taken at Beirut, and when we worked out our little sums we found we differed as to

the level of this particular point on the frontier by eight millimetres. (Applause.)

This land business, to those of you who are not particularly interested in land, is, I am afraid, rather dull; but I hope that the other part of our work, that is the mapping, will be of more general interest.

The first really serviceable maps of Palestine ever made were those of Conder and Kitchener, which were produced under the auspices of the Palestine Exploration Fund in the late 1870's. That series of maps, on the scale of one inch to a mile, was a very wonderful undertaking, for not only was it a topographical survey but it was an archæological survey as well, and the most exhaustive records were made of all the archæological remains which were found by the expedition. The maps themselves were somewhat rough for modern purposes, but, considering the time that was taken in making them, it is extraordinary that they are as good as they are. For modern purposes they will not suit us, not so much because they are rough, because for many purposes a rough map is quite useful, but because they are now completely out of date. When I was studying the geography of the Crusades, of which I will speak to you later, I looked up a lot of old maps and studied with the help of the Antiquities Department and of the French Dominican Fathers some of the Crusader documents. I then realized that the Palestine which Kitchener surveyed was very much more like the Palestine of the Crusaders than the Palestine which we see now is like that of Kitchener.

Since Kitchener's survey very little was done until the war, but during the war some military maps were made by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force, but they only covered a part of the country. These are on the scale of 1/40,000. My predecessor produced some very excellent maps on a larger scale than this, 1/20,000, of some of the coastal area, but when I took over I realized it would take many years to complete the whole of Palestine on that valuable but rather large scale, and, for many purposes, not the least important being possible military needs, I considered that the work ought to be got on with as quickly as possible. I therefore set to with a new series of maps of the country on the rather small scale of 1/100,000, that is, about 1½ miles to the inch. This series of maps, comprising fourteen sheets, will go from the north of Palestine down to south of Beersheba, to Kurnub and Asluj, and beyond that a smaller scale map is quite good enough because it is more or less uncultivated desert country.

In this new series of maps I was able to do various things which I

have always wanted to do. One of them was to have an overlap on the west and the south of each sheet, of five kilometres, so that nobody need ever find himself actually on the corner of a sheet.

These maps have several faults. You cannot make a map to suit every purpose. One of the chief faults is that the scale is rather small. In many parts of Palestine there is a lot of detail to show; many names to put in. Some of the lettering has to be so small that those of us who have not very good eyesight have to put our glasses on to read it.

The best scale for mapping Palestine would be $1/50,000$, but whereas there will be fourteen sheets of the $1/100,000$, it would take fifty-six sheets of the other, and we had neither the time, money, nor staff to do it. But we did produce one sheet on this scale for the country round Jerusalem, so that the tourists could have something for their walks round about, and also to show what a map on that scale would look like.

The fourteen sheets of the $1/100,000$ series are nearly complete. By the end of this year they will all be finished. Two years ago there were several gaps, but it was by the greatest luck that I had completed the sheets in the area where most of the troops were;—Tulkarm, Nablus and Jenin—which is the worst country for bandits and raiders. So that as soon as the two divisions came to Palestine I was able to issue them sheets, and in 1936 my printing staff, with only one machine, working often day and night, produced 30,000 copies for the troops and police. (Applause.)

There is also a sheet called the Administration Map, which is a new general map on the scale of $1/250,000$.

Two or three years ago the Department of Antiquities asked me if I would print for them a map of Roman Palestine. I said yes. Unfortunately, I have not been able to put my hand on that sheet. I have only unpacked my things this morning, so I cannot show it to you, but it was a very interesting map on the scale of $1/250,000$, showing Palestine as it was between the first and the fourth centuries A.D. As a piece of cartography it was not everything that one might hope, but a lot of people do not realize that the designing and producing of a map is an expert business and not a thing which any amateur can take up straight away. Considering the gentleman of the Antiquities Department who designed the map had had no previous experience, he made a very fine effort.

But this publication impressed me with the value of such historical maps of Palestine. I realized that the business of catering for the

tourist, being the second most important industry in Palestine, was one that my department might help if I could induce people to come out and study historical geography. So I decided this time to design and produce a map myself and to use the brains of the Department of Antiquities for the historical information. It took us nearly a year to do it, and by last Christmas we had produced a map of Palestine in the time of the Crusades. (Applause.) There are, I think, one or two innovations in this map. I tried first of all to make the decoration and the embellishment suit the period, both on the cover and round the map itself. I consulted Mr. Johns, of the Department of Antiquities, Père Abel, and various other people. The result is that this design round the edge of the map, instead of being the usual "key" or other stock pattern, is taken from a piece of pottery which Mr. Johns found in the ruins of the Crusaders' Castle in the citadel at Jerusalem. The picture on the cover is of the Holy Sepulchre as it existed about 1690, copied from an old engraving.

I then thought it would be a nice thing to reproduce coats-of-arms of people who fought in the Crusades, and I started studying heraldry. So down the sides of the map are the coats-of-arms of a number of crusaders, and along the top and the bottom are those of Saracens, taken from Professor Mayer's book of Saracenic heraldry.

Some of these are of particular interest. For instance, up here there is the coat-of-arms of one D'Ibelin. Ibelin is really a Palestine name, the Count of Yibna. Another fellow here, Mont Gisard, was the Count of the ancient Mont Gezer. Perhaps the most interesting of all, and the only one I could find of a Templar, is De Guincourt's. Mr. Johns found De Guincourt's seal in the ruins of Athlit, and it is from that seal that I copied his coat. Also we have De Neville, which is now a British family, and the forbear of this De Neville was the admiral who brought William the Conqueror to England.

There are two tiny ships, taken from a piece of a broken plate which Mr. Johns also found, and another illustration comes from a manuscript of William of Tyre. Four coats are cut on the doors and tables of St. Catherine's Monastery in Sinai, and the pattern round the edge of the inset is from a plate found also at Athlit. The helmet is reconstructed from pieces found by an American expedition, excavating at the Castle of Montfort. Another I have taken from a stained-glass window. In Montfort they did find the helmet of a man-at-arms, but it was so exactly like the tin hat we wore in the last war that I did not have the face to stick it on. We have also the

emblems of the three great Crusading Orders, the Order of St. John, the Teutonic Knights and the Templars. The shape of the Templars' Cross is a guess. I have been unable to find out what it really should be like.

The lettering of this map is copied from ancient documents of the times of the Crusades. There are, of course, not many historical maps on which you could reproduce and make legible the lettering of the period. I am following this one with a map of "Palestine of the Old Testament," and naturally I have had to do something different about the lettering.

I am very keen on these historical maps, and I hope that someone will continue to publish more, for there are many others which could be produced. The Old Testament map is not ready. I have just a rough proof of the black plate only, which will be coloured when finished. I am very glad that I have left Palestine before it is produced, because I can see bitter controversy over some of the identifications. Feelings run very high about these matters.

I feel that our appreciation of the scenery during our travels must be much increased if we have something with us like these maps from which we can conjure up pictures of the past, of Solomon's charioteers guarding the age-old track from Damascus to Egypt, which passed near Megiddo, or of the teeming polyglot population round Cæsarea. Sometimes, sitting at the little church at Abu Ghosh I have been able to reconstruct pictures of the men of the Fretensis legion, who kept order for Rome, and who carved their name on a stone which you can still see built into the church. In the little rock-cut fort of Le Destroit, near Athlit, you can imagine the austere, bearded guard of Templars holding the approach to the castle, while on the Jericho road the modern police patrols are but the successors of the Hospitallers who guarded the pilgrim routes in the Land of Palestine. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Would any lady or gentleman like to address the audience or ask a question of the lecturer?

Then it remains for me to sum up, but before doing so, I should like to ask the lecturer about the rainfall. Has the rainfall lessened in the country? We had a most interesting lecture here a few months ago by Major Jarvis, in which mention was made of a small Lancashire in the southern part of Palestine, in which the people lived by weaving silk together with cotton. They had enormous reservoirs, and they did not grow their own supplies, they got them from elsewhere.

It would be interesting if the lecturer could tell us whether there has been any lessening in the rainfall.

Colonel SALMON: That is, I believe, a controversial point, but I think most people who study the matter carefully are agreed now that there has been very little change in the rainfall in Palestine throughout the centuries. People like myself who have visited the Negeb, south of Beersheba, have been struck by the remains of ancient development and of quite big cities. At first sight we say, "Look at these people, their riches and the amount of land they cultivated. Surely there must have been much more rain." But I believe that is not correct. The real reason is that they worked very hard. When there was rain they collected it in tanks and reservoirs and made very much more use of it than we do these days.

The CHAIRMAN: I may say that this is the first constructive lecture on Palestine I have listened to, and I have learnt an enormous amount, as I think we all have. What we have heard shows definitely what the British have done for Palestine. We have listened to a great many lectures here, we have had open platform to hear each side, and we have never heard a word of thanks to the British. The British have buried their thousands. They freed Palestine from a cruel tyranny, and, as we see, everything had to be done to make the place fit for anyone to live in. Now, entirely thanks to the British, it is a place fit for men and women to live in, everyone can live except the mosquito, and if I were put in the position of being able to give advice to both sides with the hope that they would accept it, I should say that our lecturer should be made President of Palestine.

I ask you to convey to him according to our custom our very grateful thanks for a wonderful lecture.

Professor GASTER: Will you allow me to add a word of thanks to those which have been spoken. I have listened with deep attention and great gratitude, and I echo what you say, that nobody knows what has been done. I have been amazed at the admirable work which has been done, and a portion of which has been unfolded here to-day. I think it is only right and proper that I, who have been intimately connected with Palestine, should be here to-day to express my thanks and those of my people to those who work for the Holy Land.

I have in my possession a relief map of Jerusalem made about 1830 or 1840. It is in a glass case and very well kept. It gives us an absolute picture of the buildings. If anyone wishes to see it, I shall be only too happy to show it to them.

I only wish to say again how grateful I am for this most instructive and interesting lecture.

A MEMBER: One question—Where can one buy these maps?

Colonel SALMON: Our agents are Messrs. Stanford in Long Acre and Messrs. Sifton Praed in St. James's Street.

SOME LESS FAMILIAR ASPECTS OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

By NEVILL BARBOUR

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on September 28, 1938, Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., in the Chair.

IN addressing an audience such as that which is present here to-night, it seemed to me that it would be presumptuous, as well as tedious, to attempt to give a general presentation of the Palestine problem. I therefore propose to confine myself this evening to a few, more or less disconnected, aspects of the question, which have not, in my opinion, hitherto received the attention which they deserve.

In the first place, I would like to discuss what the ultimate objective of the Jewish people is with regard to Palestine.

You are all familiar with the objective of Zionism as it was defined in the Basle Congress of 1897. From the Zionist point of view, that statement still remains authoritative, and upon it I shall base my remarks this evening. Before analyzing its terms, however, I would like to emphasize the fact that the Jewish movement in Palestine is not the work of the official Zionist movement only; it is, more or less, a movement of the whole Jewish people, and, in estimating its aim, all the groups which constitute the Jewish people must be taken into account. Thus the Orthodox group, known as *Agudat Israel*, though they dissociate themselves from the Jewish Agency because of the latter's relative indifference to the injunctions of the Jewish Law, yet told the Royal Commission that "Almighty God has concluded an indissoluble covenant between the people of Israel and the Holy Land," and they therefore demanded that "no restrictions be made in land sales or immigration." It would be an error to ignore this body of opinion, just as it would be an error to ignore the views of the New Zionist, commonly called the Revisionist, Organization simply because it is not officially represented in the Jewish Agency. The distinction has not always existed in the past and may not always exist in the future. In fact, the first split between Mr. Jabotinsky, the Revisionist leader, and the Zionist Organization occurred during the Great War, on account of a difference of method, not of aim. The International Zionist Organization, wishing to be in a position to negotiate with

either the Allies or the Central Powers, as the occasion arose, adopted a policy of complete neutrality. Mr. Jabotinsky, however, who was then a leading member of the Zionist Organization, early formed the opinion that the Allies would be victorious and that the Turkish Empire would be broken up. It was therefore, he thought, essential that Jews, not as individuals but as a nation, should take some action which would give them a claim on the recognition of the Allies at the end of the War. He therefore proposed to form a Jewish army which would fight on the Allied side on the Palestine front. The result of his efforts was the formation of the Zion Mule Corps and, later, of three battalions which fought with General Allenby's forces in the Palestine campaign. The future Revisionist leader, however, fully realized that such a project could not be officially approved by the Zionist Organization. On the contrary, the latter, he said, would have to condemn the project in the strongest language, and he himself would have to resign his position in the Zionist Organization. There must, he said, be "an amicable scission between the tactics of Cavour" (by which he meant Dr. Weizman) "and Garibaldi" (by which he meant himself) "which will appear externally as disagreement and strife, but which must develop a common activity within."

In estimating, therefore, the objective of the Jewish people in Palestine we must consider the views of all groups, both those who favour the idea of a Jewish state as well as those who repudiate it. The Zionist movement is in fact the expression of a widespread, almost universal, sentiment of the Jewish people. This sentiment may be called a mystical impulse, a blind instinct, or a fixed idea, according to the point of view of the observer, but the fact of its existence has to be taken into account.

Bearing this fact in mind, let us consider the well-known formula of the Basle Congress. It reads: "The object of Zionism is the establishment for the Jewish people of a home in Palestine secured by public law." Two questions at once suggest themselves. What exactly is meant by a "home for the Jewish people," and, secondly, precisely what area is intended by the word "Palestine"?

Let us take the word "home" first. Does this, for example, indicate something more complete, or something less complete, than a "state"? Most non-Jews would, I think, say something less complete than a state. Mr. David Ben Gurion, however, President of the Zionist Executive, declared before the Royal Commission that a home was something more than a state. A Jewish state, he said, might pass legislation prohibiting

further Jewish immigration; a home could not. Moreover, with a Jewish home such difficult questions as the management of the Holy Places and the relations of the Jews to the rest of the population could be left to the guaranteeing Power. The Jewish people would thus obtain the advantages enjoyed by the dominant nationality in normal states without the disagreeable responsibilities generally accompanying that position. A home, in fact, is a place where the owner is completely at home while other people are not at home, and where unwelcome guests or intruders can, if necessary, be dealt with by an external authority, the police. By far the neatest and most accurate definition of what Zionists mean by a home for the Jewish people in Palestine was given by Dr. Weizman before the Council of the Peace Conference when he said that the intention was that Palestine "should become just as Jewish as America is American and England is English." That is to say, Palestine should be planted with Jews until it possesses a homogeneous population in which no minority problem exists, either because there exist no nationally organized minorities or because the culture of the majority completely dominates all other cultures in it. How very drastic the phrase is can be realized when we think of other countries into which European immigration has been directed. The Italian Government is, at the moment, speaking of a super-colonization by Italians of Abyssinia and Cyrenaica, but it has never suggested, so far as I know, that it intends to make these countries as Italian as Italy is.

At the same time, neither the Jewish people as a whole nor Zionists themselves have ever envisaged the abandonment of the Jewish positions in the rest of the world. Their objective, in fact, has been not so much the return of world Jewry to Zion as the acquisition of Zion as a centre for world Jewry.

We may, then, grant that for Zionists the word "home" may have had a more complete and more satisfactory connotation than "state." Nevertheless, the fact that to non-Zionists the word would denote something less complete than a state probably also played a considerable part in its adoption. In 1896 the publication of Herzl's pamphlet "The Jewish State" suddenly crystallized Jewish aspirations concerning Palestine into the movement known as "political Zionism." Herzl himself thereupon impetuously hurried to the Sultan of Turkey with a project for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, in return for certain financial aid to the Turkish Government. Dr. Weizman, in his evidence before the Palestine Royal Commission, stated, with regard to the subsequent negotiations, that "the Sultan, in the usual Turkish

way, never said 'Yes' and never said 'No,' and things were uncertain." The facts, recorded in Herzl's own diaries, hardly bear out this statement. From the very first moment the Sultan and his Government made it absolutely clear that they had no intention whatsoever of permitting the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine or of sanctioning any form of settlement which might eventually lead to that result. The actual words of the reply were: "Advise Dr. Herzl to take no further steps in this matter. I cannot alienate a single foot's breadth of land, for it is not mine, but my people's. My people fought for this land and fertilized it with their blood. . . . Let the Jews keep their millions. If my empire is dismembered, they will perhaps receive Palestine gratis. But it must be our corpse which they cut up; I cannot agree to vivisection."

It is quite true that the Turkish Government did not refuse, from time to time, to receive further Zionist agents, including Herzl himself. It was indeed convenient for the Government to have them at hand, in order to force up the offer of other concession-hunters; but it never modified its original position: and in 1902, when the Sultan made a definite offer, Herzl at last ceased to deceive himself. For while the Sultan agreed to admit an unlimited number of Jewish immigrants, it was to be on condition that they accepted Turkish nationality and military service, and that the Government controlled the immigration, which should, in the Grand Vizier's words, take place "dans une manière dispersée, cinq familles ici et cinq familles là," in all the provinces of Asiatic Turkey, *except Palestine*."

I do not myself see how any Government could have given a more definite negative to the Zionist project than these replies of the Turkish Government, and I think it was in part the realization of the tremendous opposition which the mention of the word "state" would arouse which led the Zionist Organization, from its inception until the publication of the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, to deny that the establishment of a Jewish State formed any part of its plans. The most vigorous expression of this was, perhaps, the inaugural address of the President of the Zionist Congress of 1911. In it he said: "Only those suffering from gross ignorance, or actuated by malice, could accuse us of the desire of establishing an independent Jewish kingdom. The people who allege this seem, so far as they are honest, to confuse Zionism with Messianic belief. . . . We (Zionists) have never ventured to play so mischievously with the religious feelings of the many millions of the faithful." This declaration is recorded to

have been received with "frenzied applause." It was, it is true, directed especially to Turkey; but the same sentiment was expressed in 1918 or 1919 by Mr. Nahum Sokolov, at that time President of the World Zionist Organization, in the introduction to his book "The History of Zionism." "It has been said," wrote Mr. Sokolov, "and is still being obstinately repeated by anti-Zionists again and again, that Zionism aims at the erection of an independent 'Jewish State.' But this is wholly fallacious. The Jewish State was never a part of the Zionist programme."

From these quotations it is clear that it was a major principle of Zionist policy to deny that there was any intention of creating a Jewish State, at any rate in the sense in which the word "state" is ordinarily understood. At the same time, the Zionist programme included certain practical demands which were later embodied in the Mandate. These were, in essence, three. The first was the formation of an international Jewish body whose aim should be the intensification of the sense of Jewish nationalism in all the Jews of the world and their organization for the purpose of colonizing Palestine by an immigration to which no annual upper limit and no ultimate maximum should be fixed. The third was the guarantee of one or more Great Powers who would act as policemen to evict the previous tenants, if these would not leave of their own freewill, and to keep away intruders.

When the British Government began to consider supporting Zionism, it apparently made no independent inquiry into the origins, aims, and practical possibilities of the movement; and when Mr. Balfour wrote his famous letter to Lord Rothschild he not only committed the British Government to the establishment of a National Home for the Jews, but also for the Zionist Organization's own interpretation of this policy. Such at least would seem to be the meaning of the express declaration of sympathy with "Jewish Zionist aspirations" contained in the letter. The British Government, that is to say, took over the Zionist policy, lock, stock, and barrel, and committed itself to taking all the practical measures necessary for the establishment of a Jewish State, while at the same time giving the Arabs to understand that it had no intention of ever creating one.

This was to give rise in the future to very serious difficulties.

Let us next consider the meaning of the word "Palestine" in the declaration of the Basle Congress. Before the War the term "Palestine" had no precise geographical or political significance. It was used loosely to designate Southern Syria, either including or excluding the

land east of the Jordan. The Mandate has since given it a precise geographical and political significance. Now Zionists have always violently objected to the area to which the Mandatory experiment has been applied being referred to, in Hebrew, as "Palestine." They insist that it should be called instead the "Land of Israel." Now the phrase "Land of Israel" in Hebrew is applied, in Rabbinic literature, to a smaller area than that of contemporary Palestine. In the promises recorded in the Book of Genesis as given to Abraham, however, it refers to a much larger area, and it is to this larger area that Zionist aspirations are directed. A glance at the map entitled "Biblical Palestine" in Mr. James Malcolm's recently published pamphlet on the proposed Partition of Palestine shows very clearly the area of Jewish aspiration from the second millennium B.C. until to-day. It extends from the Nile northwards, including the whole of the actual Lebanese Republic, together with Damascus and the territory of the Syrian Republic as far as Hama. It extends from the Mediterranean Sea on the west to the Euphrates on the East. To this we should add Sinai and the adjacent island of Cyprus. In various Zionist projects which I have examined I have found also the whole of the Egyptian delta included, and even Anatolia as far as Smyrna. Lest I should be thought to be depending for these statements on irresponsible or freak writers, I would call attention to a resolution of that Zionist Congress which rejected the British Government's offer of territory in East Africa, and in passing it is worth noting that that offer interested Zionism so little that the funds for the Commission which went to report on the territory concerned had to be supplied by Christians. The Congress in question, in rejecting the offer, resolved that the Zionist Organization could give no support to Jewish colonization except in Palestine, Syria, Asiatic Turkey, Sinai, and Cyprus.

The ultimate objective of the Jewish people in Palestine, then, is the plantation with Jews of the areas which we have just enumerated and the creation in them of a homogeneous Jewish population which will completely dominate any minority cultures. The Jewish masses outside this area are to be kept in close political contact with the Jewish home, in the same way that the Nazi Government desires to keep German populations outside Germany in close political contact with the Government within it. The peoples at present living in the areas to which Zionists aspire realize, by past experience and by instinct, this historic objective of the Jewish people; and it is, I believe, this realization which causes the violent opposition manifested against Zionism to-day by the

inhabitants of Palestine, Syria, the Lebanon, Iraq, and, to a less extent, Egypt. For these peoples have experienced the effects of Zionist aspirations already many times in the past, from the day when Joshua's bands endeavoured to exterminate the Canaanites onwards. There was, for example, a National Home in Cyrus's time, and Persian officials, like British officials, struggled, on the one hand, to protect the spiritual centre which Cyrus intended to establish from the assault of the Palestinian natives, and, on the other hand, to prevent the Jewish settlers from turning that spiritual centre into a political state. New immigrants have always involved new demands. Nehemiah, for example, insisted that Jews should speak Hebrew only, and forced those colonists who had married non-Jewish wives to divorce them. He thus set an example which was imitated by the Nazi dictator two and a half millenniums later against the Jews themselves, and he thus provided one of the bases for the recent proclamation of the Fascist Government, which declares that "the Hebrews in all times and in all places have been the apostles of the most complete, intransigent, fierce, and, from a certain point of view, admirable racialism."

The Palestinian and adjacent peoples realized this fact again when a Jewish State, having been established by the Maccabees, at once took steps to make its limits correspond with those of the Biblical, or ideal, Land of Israel. They experienced it again when Jewish nationalism engaged in a struggle against the Roman Empire for the domination of the Near East. From the end of that struggle, for 1,700 years, the dominance of Christianity and, later, of Islam made any hope of Zionist political influence in the Levant impossible. Nevertheless, the ideal was kept alive in the mind of every Jewish child by the Jewish religion, by its sacred books, its liturgy, and its legends. At the end of the eighteenth century the movement of modern thought, and the ideas connected with the French Revolution, brought about the emancipation, and renewed the world influence, of the Jewish people. At the same time their numbers began to increase so that they finally rose from 2,000,000 to nearly 17,000,000. Under these circumstances it was only natural that the Zionist project should once again be revived, independently, by a number of Jewish writers.

A definite scheme, similar in all essentials to the political Zionism of to-day, was put forward as early as 1798. In this scheme the partner and protector of Zionism was to be France, the France of the revolution which had emancipated the Jews and which was preparing to conquer Egypt and the East. This idea of a Franco-Zionist alliance continued

to be the dream of Jewish writers for over half a century, and as late as 1862 the well-known Zionist writer Moses Hess wrote: "It is to the interest of France to see that the road leading to India and China should be settled by a people which will be loyal to the cause of France to the end . . . and is there any other nation more adapted to carry out this mission than Israel? . . . Frenchmen and Jews! It seems that in all things they were created for one another."

Since, however, Palestine remained obstinately in Turkish possession, Herzl, as we have seen, made his first overtures to the Sultan. He advanced the argument that Jews and Muslims were natural allies and that Jewish monetary assistance would enable Turkey to restore its finances, rebuild its fleet, and hold its own against the Christian powers. Twenty years later, during the Great War, the Zionist representative in Stambul added the argument that the Jews would be a useful counterweight to growing Arab nationalism. It was, indeed, proposed to raise an army of 10,000 Polish Jews during the Great War to fight with the Turks on the Palestine front; but the project was abandoned because the Turks would make no promises to admit Jewish immigrants at the end of the war, and because it was feared that such a scheme might prejudice the more hopeful negotiations then proceeding with the British Government. As a second string, Herzl had approached the German Kaiser, telling him that Jewish colonization in Palestine would mean a great extension of German influence in the Levant, seeing how intimately Jews were involved in German life and how the language of the Zionist Congresses was German. How far the argument was sincere is doubtful; for when, just before the Great War, it was proposed to introduce German as the language of instruction in the Jewish Technical School at Haifa, violent opposition was manifested by Palestinian Jewry, and the event was thus described by Mr. Israel Cohen in a book published three or four years later: "It is not unreasonable to suppose that this" (proposed use of the German language) "was due to pressure by the German Government with a view to making the Jewish schools nurseries of Prussian *kultur*. This sinister intention was ignominiously defeated through Palestinian Jewry rising to the defence of the Hebrew language as of its most holy possession."

Nevertheless, the same arguments were repeated a year or two later, during the Great War, and the Zionist representative at Constantinople actually summed them up to the German authorities by saying that an extensive Jewish immigration into Palestine after the War would make that country a "Jewish-German Gibraltar in the midst of the Anglo-

Arab lands." It was only after the Jewish proposals had been rejected by Turkey and Germany that Zionist propaganda was brought to bear on England in order to create, in the words of a phrase coined by Mr. Jabotinsky during the War, "an appetite for Palestine" in the English public. If we were to continue Mr. Jabotinsky's metaphor, we might perhaps suggest that this artificially stimulated appetite has resulted at the present time in a severe attack of indigestion.

I have quoted the history of these negotiations at some length in order to show the nature of the relationship between Zionism and the British Empire. Zionism was in existence nearly 3,000 years before the British Empire was created, and I have been assured by Zionist friends that their movement will still be a force thousands of years after, as they believe, the British Empire has passed away. This point of view goes far to explain the indignation expressed by Zionists when the development of the National Home has had to be subordinated to the purely mundane interests of the Empire, whose supreme task, according to them, is that of finally establishing the Chosen People in the Chosen Land.

2. The second point which I wish to discuss concerns the Hussein-MacMahon correspondence. In the early stages of the controversy between the Palestinian Arabs and the British Government the latter maintained that Palestine was excluded from the area in which the Arabs were promised independence, on the ground that Palestine ought to be understood as included in the area mentioned as lying to the west of the district of Damascus. This argument has now been tacitly dropped, and reliance is placed instead upon the argument that, whatever may have been written, it was never *intended* to include Palestine in the area to which independence was promised. The validity of such an argument, in the case of a document carefully drawn up after protracted negotiations, seems very questionable. Here, however, I propose to deal with certain wider implications with regard to the British Government's intentions.

According to the late Colonel Lawrence, it would have been possible, by an Allied declaration early in the War in favour of Arab independence in Syria and Iraq, to have initiated a revolt which would have resulted in the speedy expulsion of the Turks from the whole of those territories. The chance was lost because the Allies wished themselves to assume direct control of some of the areas concerned. Later, when the difficulties of the War became apparent, the British Government decided to encourage a local Arab revolt in the Hejaz, by the promise

of Arab independence in a restricted area, and with this purpose it initiated negotiations with the Sherif of Mecca. The Sherif, however, had for some years past been generally recognized as the potential leader of the movement for integral Arab independence; and a glance at his correspondence with Sir H. MacMahon shows that it was in this capacity that the Sherif considered himself to be acting throughout. When, therefore, the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission states that the royal family of the Hejaz "in the end did not fare ill" out of the peace settlement, it is saying something which is irrelevant to the issue and does a grave injustice to the Sherifian family. For while it is evident that the British Government never *intended* to support the integral demands of the Arab movement, it is equally clear that it was forced, by the exigencies of the War and by the diplomacy of the Sherif, to promise more than it intended. Ever since that time we appear to have hesitated between the two different policies; while we have encouraged Arab independence and unity with one hand, we have simultaneously discouraged it with the other. In this sense, it is, I think, undeniably true that the British Government did not intend to support the Arab claim for independence in Palestine. The question of intention, however, does not affect what actually was, under pressure of circumstances, promised.

3. My third point concerns the accusations made against British officials in Palestine. Those who are unwilling to attribute the difficulties in that country to the terms of the Mandate itself have, according to the circumstances of the moment, attributed them to French, Russian, Italian, or German money or intrigue or, more constantly, to the bad faith of the British Government or the incompetence or ill-will of its officials. This is, in my opinion, a very unfair accusation. It has been the duty of the British official to administer the Mandate as it has been interpreted by the British Government, not as it is interpreted by the Jewish Agency. As we have seen, the Mandatory policy was taken over wholesale from the Zionist organization, and it consisted of two parts. Firstly, of an affirmation that there was no intention of bringing about the subordination of the Arabic population, language, or culture in Palestine; secondly, of practical measures, apparently designed to bring about that very result. In the application of this policy divergences of opinion occurred between the British Government and the Jewish Agency. The British Government tended to regard the two propositions as of equal weight; and in order to give reality to the assurances made to the Arabs it insisted on preserving to them certain rights and

positions, such as the mayoralties of the mixed towns, and, in general, on modifying the impact of the Jewish invasion upon Arab life and economy. The Jewish Agency, on the other hand, regarded the assurances towards the Arabs as *negative*. By this it apparently meant that they should be ignored whenever they conflicted with the *positive* obligation of establishing the National Home. The British official has, under these circumstances, followed the indications of the British Government rather than those of the Jewish Agency. As a result he has seen the British Administration submitted to a stream of abuse which would hardly have been tolerated by the Government of any other country in the world. The statement that the Government's policy is a "travesty" recurs constantly in Zionist official reports from 1921 onwards, together with declarations of the Jewish Agency's "inability to co-operate" with the Administration and accounts of the "strong protests" and the "unabated pressure" which it has constantly brought to bear in Jerusalem, in London, and in the world press. The first report of the Zionist Executive after the War attributes in part to this sort of pressure the recall of the Chief Administrator, Major-General Mony, who had committed the offence of urging the erection of a joint Arab-Jewish school system and joint Arab-Jewish medical services. Faced with this verbal bombardment on the one side and, in recent months, with revolver bullets on the other, the position of the British official could not have been more disagreeable, and it is, to my mind, unjust to blame him for the ambiguity of a policy which was devised by the Zionist Organization and for which the Zionist Organization must therefore bear its full portion of responsibility. In reality, without the aid of the foreign official there could never have been any Jewish colonization in Palestine at all. Even before the War, as we see from Mr. Smilansky's interesting account of the founding of Hedera, it was the Turkish mudir and police who drove away the Beduin when the latter attacked the Jewish colonists because their pasturage was removed from them by the draining of the marshes. According to another Jewish authority, Mr. Kalvariski, it was the Turkish District Commissioner who supported the Jewish settlers in Lower Galilee about 1900, when the local Arab district officer, Amin Arslan, protested against the eviction of Arab tenants without compensation, when their land was sold by absentee landlords to Jewish colonizing agencies.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the following statement once made by a distinguished English Jew: "We constantly hear,"

he said, "mocking laughter and criticism over the activity of the British Government on behalf of Zionism; but without the British Government Zionism would not have been in a position to do anything in Palestine." These words were spoken by the late Israel Zangwill at the Zionist Congress which was held in 1905, thirty-three years ago. It is interesting also to note that the trick of labelling British officials "pro-Arab" or "pro-Jew" was current in Zionist circles *before* the issue of the Balfour Declaration. For Mr. Harry Sacher, in a letter to Dr. Weizman, dated June 25, 1917, and since published, wrote: "I received to-day a letter from Norman Bentwich. He met Sykes" (Sir Mark Sykes) "in Cairo. Sykes seems to have criticized the project of a Jewish Palestinian army, on the ground that it might make trouble with the Arabs. These things show that Sykes is still more pro-Arab than pro-Jew." It appears to me regrettable that a British official tendering disinterested advice in what he believes to be the best interests of all concerned should for that reason be labelled as more pro-Arab than pro-Jew.

4. I would like next to say a few words about the military problem. How is it that an enormous police force, an expense of millions of pounds, and a regular army of 10,000 men cannot put an end to the activities of a few peasants armed only with rifles and a few bombs? The answer is that the campaign is not against a few armed peasants, but against the whole Palestinian Arab population, backed by the sympathy, and to some extent by the material aid, of millions of their compatriots outside. If, for example, there are not more than 300 Palestinian Arabs regularly under arms, this is not because more men are not available; it is because 300 has been found to be the ideal number for carrying on this type of guerilla warfare. If the whole 300 should be killed one day, another 300 would take their place on the next. These 300 can depend on the sympathy and, on occasion, upon the active assistance of their compatriots. The peasant works his field one day, assists the bands the next, and returns to his plough the day after. If a district is pacified by military occupation, it reverts to its previous state the day the troops depart. The few Palestinians who do not sympathize with the bands or, if they do sympathize, yet disapprove of violence, are terrorized.

The Italians were for years faced with a similar position in Cyrenaica, where they also were known to be proposing a scheme of super-colonization, involving the passing of the best land into the possession of European colonists. The situation has been briefly and lucidly

described by Marshal Graziani, at the time Governor, in his book "Pace Romana in Libia." The population of Cyrenaica was only 160,000, of whom half were nomadic or at least semi-nomadic; yet for twenty years they maintained a successful guerilla warfare against a large Italian army, backed by an elaborate civilian administration. The Marshal declares that no methods but those which he adopted could ever have put an end to this state of affairs. He simply rounded up the entire nomad population, marched them to the other end of the country, and enclosed them in a double row of barbed wire fences. The loss of their livestock was tremendous, and the loss of human life as the result of the unwonted conditions of concentration camps and the lack of food not very much less. The population has probably not yet recovered its former level. The operation was therefore violently criticized in the world press and the Marshal accused of inhuman cruelty. Marshal Graziani himself declares that his conscience is clear; no other methods could have succeeded, and it was better to cure the evil by an operation, however painful, rather than let it continue indefinitely. In his own striking phrase, he compares the armed bands to an ulcer resulting from an infection of the entire body; local treatment would merely have resulted in the appearance of the ulcer in another place. In point of fact, the bands were, in the end, completely isolated, deprived of food and information, and finally destroyed. The country was thus pacified and a Roman peace established.

In Palestine such an operation appears impossible. The country is not sparsely inhabited by nomads, but densely, by a settled population. The Mandatory Government is bound to the native population by obligations which it cannot ignore. The Holy Land is a centre of world observation, and no Government based on liberal principles could afford to lay itself open to the accusations which such an operation would certainly provoke. Moreover, the reactions in the neighbouring lands would be catastrophic, both for British interests in the Near East and for the welfare of the large and wealthy Jewish communities which have long lived, prosperous and undisturbed, in the countries concerned. In the meanwhile, sporadic repression and penal measures, involving the rendering homeless of women and children, have had no effect but that produced elsewhere by the aerial bombardment of non-military objectives—that is to say, the hardening and intensification of popular resistance and the provoking of worse outrages. None can doubt that the restoration of order is the first necessity in Palestine, but may it not be that this might be achieved

better by a change of policy rather than by a continuation and intensification of measures which have so far steadily produced exactly the opposite results to those which it was desired to bring about?

5. In the few moments remaining to me I would like to say a few words on the vitally important question of immigration. If, in 1919, a committee of experts had been appointed to report on the natural resources of Palestine, regarded as a distinct political and economic unit, and the possibilities of immigration, I am of opinion that they might have reported that, by the expenditure of a great deal of capital and energy, it might be possible to raise the population of Palestine to one and a half millions in the course of some thirty years. Such a violent transformation, they might have said, would, of course, raise all sorts of problems, economic and sociological, to meet which very careful preparation would need to be made. In point of fact, no such investigation appears to have been carried out, and matters were more or less left to take their own course. The British Government contented itself with opening the sluices and letting the Jewish immigration burst its way into the primitive but solid Arab agricultural economy. No attempt was ever made to regulate immigration for more than six months ahead. The net result has been the immigration of about 300,000 Jews with about £100,000,000 of capital, and a natural increase in the Arab population of about 300,000. The total population has thus already reached a million and a quarter, and with a natural increase approaching 30,000 or 40,000 a year should reach the figure of a million and a half well within the thirty years suggested. This immigration has occurred, as is usual with uncontrolled immigration, in waves. There was a little wave at the end of the Great War, a much greater wave reaching a climax in 1925, and a still greater wave which culminated in 1935. The wave of 1925 was followed by an economic crisis, accompanied by an excess of emigration over immigration, which lasted for several years. Several experts, Zionist and non-Zionist, independently investigated this crisis and reported that it was undoubtedly due to insufficient control and regulation of the immigration. When the next wave began, however, the Administration, under the pressure of the Jewish Agency, entirely failed to implement these recommendations. The result was that from the autumn of 1935, six months *before* the disturbances, all the signs of a coming economic storm were clearly visible. More serious than the economic results, however, were the psychological. Both Jews and Arabs, and the British Government, began to believe that immigration could continue at this rate, or even increase,

and that a Jewish majority was in sight. The ensuing political tension, combined with the economic stresses set up, produced the violent explosion whose effects still show no sign of abating. Most disastrous of all, the violence of the Arab protests against immigration led the Government actually to grant an unusually generous schedule for labour immigration in May, 1936, when the Agency, as its own reports state, had been for months past at its wits' ends to know what to do with the immigrants already pouring in. The same motives have led the Administration to continue to sanction further immigration throughout a period in which, for economic reasons, Jewish emigration has equalled or surpassed Jewish immigration. The economic causes of the collapse of the immigration have thus been completely obscured, and the tension between Arab and Jew, which is principally due to the fear on the one side, and the hope on the other, that the Jews could speedily secure a majority, has, by the action of the Administration itself, been artificially maintained and intensified. It is to be hoped that the Palestine Partition Commission will have something to say on the economic possibilities of further immigration into the country. The subject is obviously of vital importance in any consideration of the political future of the Jews in Palestine.

I had not intended to say anything more. In view, however, of the unfortunate position with which we should be faced in the Near East if a general war occurred while present conditions continue in Palestine, I feel compelled to add a few further remarks.

As I see the Zionist experiment, it is remarkably similar to several other experiments which have been tried in the Near East in recent years. I refer to the experiments which aimed at the establishment of national homes for the Armenian people, for the Greeks in Smyrna, and for the Assyrians.

In each of these cases, European Powers, acting largely from humanitarian motives, without an adequate realization of local conditions, encouraged the nationalist aspirations of minority communities until they were led to assume an attitude which brought them into violent conflict with the peoples amongst whom they lived. The latter finally reacted with a violence which proved disastrous to the minority concerned. In the case of Zionism the minority involved has actually itself been created artificially. The circumstances at the moment correspond in many respects with those immediately preceding the catastrophe in other cases. Instead, therefore, of persisting in a policy which must render such a conclusion, sooner or later, inevitable, would it not be

better at once to take steps to avert the tragedy? We are responsible for introducing 300,000 Jews into Palestine, and it is our duty as far as possible to render their lives and the edifice which they have built secure. This security can only be brought about by winning the goodwill of the peoples among whom they live. For this purpose it is essential that two elementary principles should be recognized. The first is that Palestine is too small a country ever to permit of an immigration which will afford any substantial relief to the problem of the surplus Jewish population in Central Europe. From this it follows that insistence on the theoretical right of unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine cannot possibly bring any advantage to the Jewish people which can counter-balance the danger into which it brings the Jewish settlement which has been already created there.

The second principle is that, as Sir George Adam Smith pointed out in reply to a Zionist inquirer, Palestine never has and probably never will constitute a homogeneous national unit. It is, therefore, reasonable that there should, in view of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, exist there an extensive Jewish settlement, a little larger or a little smaller, perhaps, than that already there, and that this settlement should enjoy as large a measure of local autonomy as is consistent with the interests of the state of which it forms part. Once these two very simple and, to my mind, self-evident propositions are officially recognized, it should be possible to secure an immediate cessation of Arab hostilities. There could then be discussed by British, Arab, and Jewish representatives the future constitution of the Palestine or Syrian-Palestine State, which would presumably remain for some years under Mandatory guidance. The degree of autonomy which could be allowed to the minority must, of course, depend on the degree of sincerity with which it demonstrates its willingness to co-operate with the majority for the good of the state as a whole.

Such a settlement has already been accepted in principle by the Arabs. For the Jews, it would involve the frank recognition of facts which in any case cannot be concealed much longer. In return for the sacrifice of an illusion it would ensure the security of the work upon which the Jewish people have lavished their material and their spiritual treasures.

From the British point of view, the settlement should bring to an end a state of affairs which has become intolerable, and should remove the last obstacle which prevents the British and French Governments from formulating a policy towards the Arab world which will ensure

them, in the case of a general war, the whole-hearted co-operation of the Arab peoples of Asia and, it may be hoped, also of North Africa.

The discussion which followed included speeches by Mr. Mansur, Mr. Bakstansky, and an admirable summing up by Sir Ronald Storrs, who said that as early in the last war as September, 1914, he, with Lord Kitchener, discussed the plan of the Arab revolt, although it did not materialize.

ANNUAL DINNER

THE Annual Dinner was held at Grosvenor House, on July 14, 1938, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your Excellencies, my lords, ladies and gentlemen, my sole duty to-night, I am glad to say, being freed from making a speech, is to announce to you the award of the Lawrence Medal. I expect everyone here to-night, members as well as guests, will remember that there have been already two previous awards. The first was to Major Glubb, who had the great honour of winning the first award of the Lawrence Medal; any of us who know the wonderful work which he did and is still doing amongst the Arab tribes in 'Iraq and Transjordan will think that this Society gave it to the right person.

The next one was won by someone no less distinguished, namely, Sir Charles Bell, and I need not tell any member of the Royal Central Asian Society anything about Sir Charles Bell's brilliant work.

To-night I have to announce to you the third award, and I believe that will be universally agreed upon as being a wise decision by your Council, namely, to Major C. S. Jarvis. Everyone who has had enough money in his purse and wisdom in his head has read Major Jarvis's books, and some of us have had a good laugh in doing so: but that is not the only side of a very versatile career. He was Governor and served in three deserts on the outskirts of the Nile—the Libyan Desert, the Western Desert and the Sinai Desert—and in each of these areas he left a very remarkable name, a name that will endure for a very long time, as the very best kind of British administrator. In all these he succeeded in winning for himself the real esteem and regard as well as the affection of all the peoples he lived amongst—and this is no empty phrase, as I have spent a good deal of time with him in different parts of these deserts on different occasions; they were not the unhappiest days of my life either. He did something else, which is far more difficult and far more important; he established a name, and he was known and his ways were known all through those deserts. I should not like to be thought flippant, but the lines do occur to me which were written of Bobs: "He was little; he was wise. He did

not advertise. He was a wonder for his size." That was Major Jarvis. You will see I am right when he stands up.

But the administrative achievements made in those utterly unpromising areas, the great roads driven, the Customs and judicial reforms, these were the works of a great administrator and a great personality. I need not say any more, but I am perfectly certain that this Society will be at one with its Council in congratulating Major Jarvis not only in winning what I think to be one of the most beautiful medals that has been struck for many years, but also on having emerged from many years of a great and a difficult career with success, and the affection and esteem of everybody who came under his rule. (Applause.)

The Chairman then made the presentation of the Lawrence Memorial Medal.

Major C. S. JARVIS, C.M.G., O.B.E. : I need hardly say that it is with feelings of the very greatest pride that I accept from the Society this medal in the name of that great man, Lawrence of Arabia.

One feels of this medal that it embodies all that Lawrence stood for, his enduring devotion to duty, his self-sacrifice and his unflinching energy at all times. One feels that in some humble way one has been appointed a small disciple of his. Moreover, this medal carries with it the esteem of the Royal Central Asian Society : and I think I would rather have a medal from the Royal Central Asian Society than from anybody in this world, because it embodies all those who have served the Empire well east of Suez.

In conclusion, I can say what very great pleasure it has given me to receive this medal from my very old friend and Chief, Lord Lloyd. (Applause.)

THE GUESTS

Field-Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE, Bart., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. : The task that has been given me this evening as Chairman of the Council of this Society is to propose the health of our Guests. But in consequence of the bidding of our Chairman, who is generally very brutal to me on these occasions, I am going to do something quite different. He has suggested to me, and I have agreed with him for once in my life, that I should begin by mentioning some of the distinguished members of our own Society who have come back from all over the world, and we should like to welcome them officially on this occasion, before I propose the Guests.

I must first say a word about Colonel Bailey, who is so well known as an explorer of Central Asia. Before the war he had carried out a very important journey from China to Siam, an exploration which has proved more than ever important since China may have to seek a southern outlet to the sea. In the war he had probably some remarkable adventures. He was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks, but managed to escape and took service in the Bolshevik Intelligence Service and had the curious experience of hunting himself. Since the war he has been in the political service in India, has held one appointment after another, and is now our envoy in Nepal. He is a great botanist, and many of you remember that he was responsible for bringing home to England that wonderful blue poppy, named after him.

Mr. Ingrams served in Zanzibar and Mauritius before taking up work in the Hadhramaut, where he has succeeded so brilliantly. We also welcome his wife, who has been his right hand in all his work. (Applause.)

We have got here Professor Creswell, also a member of this Society, who is famous for having written what is possibly the greatest book in the world on Muslim architecture.

We have also here Mrs. Drower, who has written the only authoritative book on the cults, the magic and the literature of the Mandæans. Their importance lies in the fact that, although pagans, their traditions and ritual throw light on the beginnings of Christianity. Mrs. Drower has given us an account of them and has discovered new and important manuscripts in the Mandæan tongue. This interesting and dwindling race lives by the rivers of 'Iraq and Iran.

Those are the members of our own Society that I have the temerity to draw your attention to to-night, although I am proposing the Guests.

Now I pass on to my proper task. Our principal guest here to-night is Lord Willingdon. You do not want to hear much more from me to-night when you have Lord Willingdon going to address you later, and if I were to try and tell you what Lord Willingdon has done for this Empire and for his country I should detain you a very long time. For twenty years Lord Willingdon has been an Excellency and a Governor; first of all in Madras; then in Bombay; then in Canada; and finally, as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. That is a record which is exceeded by no public servant, as far as I know, in the history of this Empire. I was fortunate enough to be his

Commander-in-Chief in India, and I can speak with the greatest confidence that what I say about him is true. India during the years of his administration was passing through a more troublous time than it had done for many years or has done since, and I know why it was that Lord Willingdon kept India so quiet: everybody in India during his administration knew exactly where they were. To anybody who was playing the game and helping the Government, Lord Willingdon was accessible and more than accessible, and he helped them as much as he could; but to those who were trying to put bolts in the machinery, Lord Willingdon was adamant. He was just even if he was severe, and that is what people understand in India.

We have a guest in General Wavell, a great friend of mine. He and I had something to do with the Expeditionary Force in Palestine. He was with me after we had taken Jerusalem, and he had to do a large part of the staff work which resulted in Lord Allenby finally disposing of the Turkish forces in Palestine and Syria. He has recently had, what he himself would describe as the misfortune, to be sent out to command in Palestine. He has fortunately escaped from Palestine without his reputation suffering in any way. But while he was out there his tact and his knowledge of the people was perhaps the reason why, while he was there, Palestine was no worse than when he got there. (Laughter.) I think he is probably more glad than anybody in this room that he got out of Palestine without anything worse. He knows as well as I do that Palestine will remain in the condition it is in now until the British Government decide what in fact they really do want and what they are going to do.

The Diplomatic Service is represented by Mr. Horace Seymour, the British Minister in Iran.

I hope you are not frightened by this. The police have a habit in this town of visiting night-clubs and other places where they sin, and taking notes of what is going on, and to-night we have not only Air Vice-Marshal Sir Philip Game, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police, but also Sir Francis Griffith, the Chief Constable. I do trust that this Society will be very, very careful that they do not order drinks out of hours or do anything which would cause these two very big Policemen to make notes about it. Sir Francis Griffith was in the Indian Police for many years, and finished up as Inspector-General in the Bombay Police, which both Lord Willingdon and Lord Lloyd will support me in describing as not altogether a bed of roses.

We have Colonel Meinertzhagen, who was a distinguished soldier

in the old Royal Fusiliers. He was a member of the Paris Peace Delegation and chief political adviser in Palestine and Syria, and, incidentally, is a distinguished ornithologist.

We have Mr. Austen Leigh, a distinguished Etonian and a member of Cambridge University, where, I believe, he took a thing I never aspired to, a first class in Classics. He is president of the British Federation of Master Printers.

We have Mr. Martin de Selincourt, who is a scholar and incidentally is Chairman of the Committee of that excellent production which many of us know so well, the Geographical Magazine.

There is Sir Frederick Hobday, the distinguished veterinary authority. He has been Principal and Dean of the Royal Veterinary College, and people like myself, who have been bred up in horse soldiering all our lives, regard what Hobday has done with almost veneration.

We have Colonel Cecil Sibbett, who has distinguished himself in South Africa and held a large number of important appointments there, particularly, as regards us here, as chairman of what is known as the Memorial Settlers' Association, which does so much to help people who, having laid aside their sword or unbuckled their harness, have retired to settle in South Africa, where the income tax is not what it is here.

And, finally, one of our most distinguished guests is Lord Askwith, a great Oxford scholar and, as you know, one of the most famous arbitrators and conciliators of trades disputes in our history. (Applause.)

I ask the members of the Royal Central Asian Society to rise in their places and drink the health of our Guests, with which I have the honour to couple the name of Lord Willingdon.

The Most Hon. the MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.: I need hardly tell you that I consider it the greatest honour and privilege to have been invited here to-night to respond for the Guests, and I am particularly grateful to have come in contact for the first time with the Royal Central Asian Society, the membership of which Society, as I understand it, is composed of gentlemen who are explorers, workers, writers and travellers who all take an interest in Central Asian affairs. I must confess that I am neither an explorer nor a writer, but can claim to be a traveller, though that travelling has been undertaken under circumstances beyond my con-

trol, for I have travelled to undertake certain duties under orders from His Majesty's Government. I think that I can claim too to be a worker, for I have worked and served long years in outside parts of the British Empire, and I am glad indeed to have had opportunities of a special kind to learn something of the mysteries of the East. And there can be no doubt of the importance of having a Society of this kind in this country, which by its discussions, by its conferences, by its general information to the public, is doing so much to keep us informed on the all-important matters that are occurring in the East at the present time.

May I add that it is the greatest possible pleasure to me to be standing here under the chairmanship of my old friend, Lord Lloyd. He, as you know, became my successor in Bombay, and when I took over the Governorship of Madras I became his next-door neighbour. While I think perhaps it is true to say that we did not always agree and have not always agreed on general policy in India, still I think that the period of the years that we were existing together in India we were in the closest possible agreement and concord.

And surely there is no one in this country who could possibly be a better President of your Society than Lord Lloyd. (Applause.) For no one through his travels and study has done more to inform himself and to have complete knowledge of Central Asian affairs, and therefore I congratulate you warmly on having Lord Lloyd as your President.

I must make this confession this evening: I have not had much knowledge hitherto of the Royal Central Asian Society—to my shame be it said. But through the courtesy of your Honorary Secretary, who was good enough to send me an immense amount of literature not very long ago, I have become much better informed during the last few weeks.

I therefore, from learning something from the Report up to June, 1938, congratulate the Society very warmly on the increase in its membership, and on the title of Royal which it has attained.

In that Report regret was expressed at the death of certain very distinguished members of the Society, two of whom were very close friends of mine, and with whom I came into close touch during my service in the East. I refer to Sir Harcourt Butler and to Sir Reginald Johnston.

Sir Harcourt Butler, as we all know, was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. After attaining a high position in the

executive for the Government of India, he was, I think for three periods, a very distinguished Governor in two Provinces, and I can say this from some personal knowledge and experience of Sir Harcourt Butler's work that he was one of the best friends and one of the greatest Governors that India has ever had. (Applause.)

Let me refer for a moment to Sir Reginald Johnston. It so happened that he was my secretary when I led that Commission out to China which was engaged in discovering the best means of the allocation of the Boxer Indemnity, which was lying in the Bank of Shanghai. A most charming gentleman; an individual who was, I think, more Chinese than the Chinaman himself, a perfect master of the language; and the most helpful secretary that I could possibly have had.

We were in China at the time when the War Lords were all struggling with each other in different parts of the country. We found it very difficult to get about from place to place for the purpose of our inquiry. I remember very well one particular incident which perhaps may interest and amuse you.

I and my Commission—we were six in number—were in Peking. We were very anxious to get down to Shanghai in order to continue our work down there. Somehow or other these War Lords were fighting all down the line between Peking and Tientsin. The authorities at Peking made representations as to the urgent necessity of our getting to Shanghai. I think it was largely due to the fact that we had some millions to allocate for the benefit of China that the War Lords stopped the war and that Lord Willingdon and his Commission were allowed to pass through the contending forces. We went down from Peking to Tientsin; we arrived with complete safety, and arrived in Shanghai without meeting any untoward incident on our way.

There was another document that your secretary sent me, which interested me extremely. It was a speech by Lord Curzon to the Central Asian Society in the year 1908: a speech which was so prophetic as I read it, so full of vision of the future, that I should like, if I may, to quote very shortly certain remarks that he made in that speech, and how true was his vision at that time. In his speech he referred to Turkey in Asia, to Persia, to Afghanistan, to China, and to other countries, and made the following remark: "If one thing is more certain than another it is that Central Asia will come to the front again. Asia is always with us and has been great on the world's stage since the dawn of time."

How true was that observation made in 1908 when we look round and consider what conditions are at the present juncture in the East.

He goes on to refer to India, and I quote these words, for it is about India that I am going to say a few words to-night. He made the following remarks with regard to India: "As to India herself, we all know that the country is one of the chief centres of a new spirit that is moving in Asia." He went on to say, "Let us never lose sight of India. Let us never do anything that may in the smallest degree retard the success of the great mission with which we have been charged by the Almighty in that country."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is my theme of this evening. What is the mission, what has been the mission for the last hundred years that we British have been sent to India to fulfil?

To my mind, and I have always felt it during the sixteen years I lived in India, that mission has been to endeavour to develop, to educate, to help on the Indians till they could achieve complete responsibility in looking after their general administration. I agree that it has been a matter of amazing difficulty, largely owing to the difference of caste, of creed, of race, of language—and I would remind you that there are over two hundred languages spoken in India. These are difficulties which have proved the greatest possible handicap to the production of rapid results. But I do not think that our efforts have ever been retarded. We have always gone forward to the best of our ability, and I think that in the last twenty years that advance has been very quick indeed.

It so happened that I was in Bombay during the four years of the Great War; and I was in India, I think, probably through all the years that were the most active in the way of advance. During that war I discovered a continual urge on the part of Indians that they should be given further advance in the way of the control of their administrative affairs. I thought that was reasonable. I thought that was justifiable. And, at the end of the war, I felt it was yet more justifiable for these reasons: that India was made an individual signatory of the Treaty of Versailles at the end of the war, a recognition of the admirable work that the country had done in helping the Allies in that great struggle. (Applause.) India was given an individual position at the Imperial Conference. India was given an individual position as a member of the League of Nations. India felt that she was recognized as an individual entity, a partner with the other Dominions in forwarding the interests of the British Empire.

After my life in Bombay I went down to Madras. It was while I was Governor of Madras that I had to inaugurate what are known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

Yes, and I had to do another thing. I got my first experience there of the Civil Disobedience movement in the Presidency of Madras, and of all its difficulties and dangers. I and my Government also had to tackle what is known now as the Moplah Rebellion, which was purely due to that non-co-operation movement. Though I and my Government had to deal with that at the time pretty drastically, I am glad to say that we succeeded in keeping Madras the peaceful Province that she has always been.

Then after a few years in Canada and China I returned to India, as you all know, as Viceroy. I got there after the first Round Table Conference had sat in London, when the discussions of that great Reform Scheme which we are living under now in India had already begun. My duty was first of all to suppress a great deal of disturbance and almost revolutionary activity that was going on in India, terrorism, as you all know, in the Province of Bengal, and finally, to try and steady the whole country in order that it should be made ready for the passage of these Reforms.

Well, the Reforms are passed, and part of the Reforms is in operation at the present time. I refer, of course, to Provincial Autonomy.

I suppose you would like me to say what I think of the prospects of the future; but, with some knowledge of India, I feel that he would be a rash man who would prophesy about that or any other country. But this I can say. There have been difficulties with regard to this Provincial Autonomy, difficulties which, I am glad to say, have been completely smoothed over through the mutual tact and good judgment of the Viceroy, his Governors, their Governments, and, I would add, the leaders largely of the Congress Party. But on the whole, although one sees little in the papers about India, although I hear little officially with regard to India at the present time, I do have opportunities of getting letters and visits from many distinguished friends who are still serving in India, and they tell me that the Provincial Autonomy parts of the Reforms are going as well as they could possibly expect. (Applause.)

The Federal scheme remains to be established. There will be difficulties with regard to this too, but I cannot believe that it will be impossible to pass the Federal scheme if the same spirit of compromise

and arrangement is carried out which has been carried out with regard to Provincial Autonomy.

I want to say very little about this to-night, for His Excellency the Viceroy has just come home after his very strenuous and successful labours of administration for the last two years, and I hope, although I expect that he will be required at the India Office to discuss this Federal scheme, he will get a real holiday and be completely restored to health and strength when he returns, in order that he may pass this Federal scheme at the earliest possible opportunity. For to my mind it will be impossible to leave these Princes out of that great scheme of Federation, and the sooner it is put into operation the better it will be for India as a whole.

Now, in a very few words, may I give you the chief recollections that come to my mind of my life in India, which lasted for sixteen years, recollections which will remain with me during my life.

I have the strongest feeling that the Indians as a race, be they princes in their palaces, be they ryots in their huts, are naturally the best-mannered people in the world; people who respond to fair and just treatment; people who never forget acts of kindness and sympathy shown to them at any time.

One often hears extreme politicians—indeed, I think there is one rather extreme politician who is running round London at this moment—who are always talking of complete independence. When I was in India I never was quite sure what these extreme gentlemen meant by that expression, but I do say that I think the gentleman to whom I refer, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, when he makes these observations, is perfectly clear in what he means. He means what he says, complete independence. I would like to say to you now that from my experience of India during those years I am perfectly certain that what he is saying to-day in London would not be the wish of 90 per cent. of his fellow-countrymen in India. (Applause.) I am further convinced that for many years they will want, indeed they will ask for, British help to assist them in their administrative lives.

Let me add there is another, which is far the happiest recollection of my life in India, the loyalty, the devotion of the great Services, their wonderful help to me during the sixteen years that I lived there—and they were not always very easy years—the Army, the Police, and that great body of gentlemen the Indian Civil Service. I shall never forget the help and assistance they gave me at all times, and I shall be always

grateful for the friendship, the consideration, and the tact that they showed me during a long and very happy association.

So, ladies and gentlemen, in a word in conclusion, let me say this. I have always been an optimist about India. I remain an optimist still. I believe that India will remain a faithful, useful, helpful member of the Commonwealth of Nations which we call the British Empire. (Applause.) And when our mission is over, when we have finished our work there, we British, whether we are living on this planet or see it from somewhere else, those of us who have served in India will be able to say when that time comes, we thank God that we have had opportunities of doing some useful, helpful service for our King and for our Empire. (Applause.)

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

RULE 35. The Anniversary Meeting for receiving and considering the Annual Report of the Council and Auditors, and dealing with the recommendations contained therein for the appointment of Members of the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, and for hearing the President's Address (if any), and deliberating generally on the affairs of the Society, shall be held in June of each year. But no resolution seriously affecting the management or position of the Society, or altering its Rules, shall be passed unless due notice shall have been given in the manner prescribed for Special General Meetings.

THE Thirty-seventh Anniversary Meeting of the Society was held at the Royal Society's Hall on June 29, 1938; Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bt., the Chairman of Council, presided.

The CHAIRMAN called on Sir Percy Sykes to read the Honorary Secretaries' Report for the year.

BRIG.-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES read the following Report for himself and his fellow Honorary Secretary, Mr. E. M. Gull: We, the Honorary Secretaries, are entering upon the seventh year of our duties and a very brief review of the past period may be of interest. In the very important question of membership our numbers have risen from 1,420 to 1,915, or a gain of approximately 500 members in six years. We may surely hope to reach a membership of 2,000 before the annual meeting of 1939, more especially if those of our members who consider that our Society is really worthy of support would, following the example of some members, persuade their wives or their husbands, as the case might be, to join it. They can also do the Society yeoman service in finding us suitable recruits, more especially among the younger men in the field.

During the period under review the Society has been greatly honoured by being made a Royal Society and has its coat-of-arms; funds have also been collected for a Lawrence Memorial Medal.

The most important question now facing the Society is that of securing new and suitable premises, in view of the fact that our present quarters are being pulled down after the expiration of our lease in September. The Council takes the long view that we must secure

rooms that will house our library for at least the next twenty years, while affording sufficient room for the smaller meetings. Mr. Charles Crane has generously given the Society £100 to help towards the move. But there will be other expenses, which cannot at present be foretold, while the rent, we fear, will be at least £100 per annum more than that of our present premises at £160. This state of affairs calls for any financial help that members would care to give us.

We have to thank Mrs. Alec Tweedie for the gift of a charming picture of Jerusalem, painted by herself.

We would call special notice to the recently published work *Nadir Shah*, by Laurence Lockhart, Ph.D., which is based on the original authorities and bids fair to be a classic on an important subject. It will be reviewed in the July number of the Journal and has received financial support in the shape of an advance from the "Persia Fund."

The Lawrence Memorial Medal has been awarded to Major C. S. Jarvis, C.M.G., O.B.E., who, as the Governor of the Western Oases and of the Sinai Peninsula, not only rendered valuable services to the Egyptian Government, but has written works of outstanding merit. The medal will be presented to Major Jarvis at the annual dinner on July 14.

To turn to our heavy obituary list, which will be printed with this Report, special mention must be made of Sir Percy Cox, Sir Harcourt Butler, Sir Wolseley Haig and Sir Reginald Johnston, all of whom made their mark in Asia.

We tender our thanks to our reviewers, whose labours add materially to the value of our Journal. We equally thank our staff. Not only does Miss Kennedy, ably supported by Miss Wingate, secure efficiency in the office, but, thanks to their enthusiasm and tact, the Society is accumulating a large store of that invaluable asset—good-will.

In conclusion, we look forward with confidence to the future. We are certainly living in troublous times, but our future to a great extent depends on our close study of the intricate problems with which we are faced. So far as Asia is concerned, and its problems are many, the Royal Central Asian Society exists mainly for the purpose of supplying this vital information.

The CHAIRMAN then asked for the accounts for 1937.

Mr. E. M. GULL, who read the accounts in the unavoidable absence of the Honorary Treasurer, said: At first sight an excess of expenditure over income of £66 7s. 8d. is an uncomfortable feature. A comparison with last year's figures shows that this is not so alarming as it

looks. In the expenditure for 1937 there is an unusual item of £100 for the secretary's travelling allowance. Actually this is not a very accurate description, because while the Society gave the secretary £100 to help to carry her through a journey she took for the sake of her health, she drew no salary during her absence, and therefore the item "salaries and national insurance, £457" is actually £32 less than last year. But £32 taken from £100 leaves £68, and as the secretary's absence was bound to entail additional work in the office that would have to be paid for, the deficit can be traced to this exceptional item.

On reference to the balance-sheet, it will be found that we have over £500 of cash assets. Otherwise the expenditure tells the usual tale. The Council has tried to give the members full value for their money, and this is reflected in an increased expenditure of £46 on the Journal and £16 on lectures. As an offset against this the Annual Dinner made a profit of £16 instead of last year's loss of £12. Turning to the income, it is satisfactory to note an increase of £23.

One remark should be added. Unpaid subscriptions, a figure that does not appear in either the balance-sheet or the income and expenditure account, amount to over £100, about 8 per cent. With a membership as widely scattered at the Society's, some latitude must be given and many people who have not paid for some period continue to receive the benefits of the Society, such as the delivery of the Journal. But if only half the defaulters paid, the Society would still have had enough money to cover the deficit, and I would urge that as far as possible subscribers should be asked to sign bankers' orders.

The accounts were adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then read out the proposed changes in the 1938-39 Council to the meeting.

The Chairman, Vice-Chairman and Honorary Secretaries retire in accordance with Rule 16.

The Chairman and Honorary Secretaries to be re-elected, and in addition Major E. Ainger to be elected as an Honorary Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN said that Major Ainger had had much experience of the Far East and also had served in Turkey, and his experience would be invaluable to the Society.

The three senior members of the Council, Sir Telford Waugh, Colonel S. F. Newcombe and Mr. E. M. Eldrid retire in order of rotation. Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, K.C.M.G., Sir Nigel Davidson, C.B.E., and Mr. F. H. Hale, of the Imperial Bank of Iran, have consented to serve on the Council if elected.

Sir Richard Maconachie, now Director of Talks at the B.B.C., retires owing to pressure of work, and Council propose Sir Denison Ross to fill the vacancy.

In accordance with Rule 16 the two senior Vice-Presidents, the Rt. Hon. Earl Winterton, P.C., M.P., and Mr. E. H. Keeling, M.P., retire, and the Council nominate Sir Telford Waugh and Colonel S. F. Newcombe to fill the two vacancies.

The names proposed for election as Honorary Officers of the Society and as new members of Council were put before the meeting; the elections were carried.

The CHAIRMAN gave the grateful thanks of the Council to Lord Winterton, Mr. Keeling and Mr. Eldrid for the work they had done, and said that he was glad to think that they would keep in close touch and could be called on by the Council for their advice and help.

The Council greatly regret the loss of Mrs. Fergus Allen, Mrs. J. R. Black, Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., H. J. Caple, Maj.-Gen. Sir Percy Cox, G.C.I.E., Rev. R. C. Cumberland, Colonel F. R. Gascoigne, Lt.-Col. Sir Wolseley Haig, K.C.I.E., Sir Reginald Johnston, K.C.M.G., W. Stenhouse Lamb, Lord Leigh, Rev. Dr. E. M. Macphail, the Hon. Desmond Parsons, the Rt. Hon. Earl Peel, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Sir Abdul Qaiyum, K.C.I.E., Lt.-Col. H. Picot, Colonel E. T. Rich, C.I.E., Sir Alexander Stow, K.C.I.E., Miss E. G. Tanner, Miss M. Thorpe, A. R. Trapman, the Prince Peter Troubetzkoi, Sir Henry Wellcome, E. Wilkinson, Sir Robert Williams, Bart., J.P., who died during the year.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

A Special General Meeting had been summoned in order to make a small addition to Rule 16:

*16. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for one year from the date of their election. They shall be eligible for re-election on the expiration of their tenure of office. The Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for *not more than four years. Two shall retire annually by rotation, and not be eligible for re-election until after the expiration of one year.*

Sir Percy Sykes said that this Rule had been passed in order to ensure an influx of new blood to the Council. The Council represented the heart of the Society and was apt to grow feeble if there were

not a constant influx of freshness and vigour. It was important that the Rule should be clear, and it was proposed to add the words " to the Council " after the word " re-election." This change was proposed by General H. Rowan Robinson and seconded by General Sir John Shea and passed *nem. con.*

For accounts see end of Journal.

TÜRK TAMASHASI

By MAJOR F. F. RYND

THE most primitive form of Turkish play is the Meddah or story-teller. The word is derived from an Arabic root signifying praise or eulogy. The art of the story-teller has been popular throughout the East from very remote times. In Arabia the story-teller was known as Kassas, and in Iran as Kissahan; it was probably through these countries that the art came to Turkey. Beginning, no doubt, with the simple narration of folk tales and fairy stories, or, in the early days of Islam, with stories from the lives of Moslem saints, the Meddah's rôle assumed by degrees a wider significance. He dealt with current events of the day, told comic stories of the lives of the lower orders and satirized the peculiarities of persons and classes. He possessed not only remarkable powers of observation and mimicry but also considerable linguistic ability, for he could imitate the innumerable dialects of the heterogeneous population of Turkey. The Meddah sat on a daïs in the coffee-house, and always carried a cudgel in his hand. A peculiar feature of his art was the play made with the Mendil or handkerchief which he wore round his shoulders. It was taken up on various pretexts: to close the mouth in making certain sounds or, during a pause, to take breath and then thrown over the shoulders again. These actions helped to rivet the attention of the audience. Although the Meddah remained seated he created an illusion of movement among his listeners by transferring imaginary objects from side to side. He was able to imitate perfectly the sounds of animals such as the howling of dogs and the braying of donkeys. It is related, indeed, of a Meddah named Abu Rebuhe, who lived in Basrah that while the donkeys in the town were wont to ignore the voice of one of their own number they one and all felt compelled to reply to the bray of Abu Rebuhe.

The Meddahs attained great popularity in Turkey, and in the seventeenth century they formed an important guild in Istanbul. Under modern conditions, however, and especially owing to the rise of the cinema, it is feared this ancient and interesting art is dying out. Although the names of many famous Meddahs are recorded

very few of their texts remain. This is unfortunate as they would have thrown valuable light on the manner of speech and customs of the times in which they lived.

Another very popular entertainment not only in Turkey but throughout the Near East is the shadow play known as Karagoz. Its origin is lost in the past. From the fact that the figures employed in the play resemble Chinese drawings both in form and colour, it is supposed by some to have come to Turkey through the Mongols. Some Turkish authorities, however, consider it was merely a development of the Meddah, and is of Arabic or Persian origin. Karagoz is similar to the English Punch, the French Guignol, the Russian Petroushka, etc. It was known throughout the Near East as Hayali Zill, Tayful Hayal (shadow show); the origin of the name Karagoz (Black Eyes) is uncertain. There is an old legend to the effect that Karagoz and Hacıvat, the two principal characters in the play, were workmen engaged in the construction of a mosque in Brusa. The continual jests of these two diverted the other workmen from their labours, so the Sultan had them executed. Later, the Sultan sent for them, forgetting they had been already put to death. They were shown to him in puppet form. Karagoz became almost a popular saint after his death, and it is said candles are still lit at his grave in Brusa.

The great popularity of the shadow play in Turkey is due to the fact that Karagoz and Hacıvat are deeply symbolical characters. Karagoz is essentially the simple and naïf Turk, and the audience could enter into all his thoughts and troubles. Everyone seemed hostile to him. In his house he is oppressed by his wife, outside he is beaten by the bystanders. He is involved in a hundred intrigues and escapades, but always manages to extricate himself in the end. He appears in various rôles, such as a Caikji or boatman, street-scribe, school-teacher, ice-cream vendor, etc. Hacıvat, on the other hand, is the Osmanli Effendi, pompous and vain and speaking a language the masses could not comprehend. These two characters represented a vital factor in the history of Turkey—*i.e.*, the wide gulf between the Ottoman Turk of the towns and the simple Anatolian peasant.

The figures are shown on a small screen called the Tasvir, which is made preferably of camel or donkey skin. Its preparation requires great skill and care as it has to be completely transparent. The puppets are made of thin, transparent leather, are flat, brightly coloured and lacquered. Their joints are articulated and worked by

means of threads passing through holes made in them. Bright lights are placed behind the screen and the operator presses the puppets flat against it by means of long sticks called Chibuk. These sticks are invisible from the front. The management of a shadow play requires the greatest skill, and this difficult art has been almost lost in Turkey to-day. In her Memoirs, Halide Edib gives an account of a performance she attended as a girl, which is worth quoting: "The entertainment took place in a large coffee-house in the Scutari market. Little wooden stools were placed in rows; and in a corner hung a small white cloth, behind which burned brilliant torches. . . . The tambourines rattled and the really pretty entrance song began to be sung behind the curtain. Laughter started when Karagoz appeared on one side and Hacivat on the other. At the leap of Karagoz to begin the traditional beating between him and Hacivat the delight was uncontrollable. I was charmed beyond description. The music, the colour, the humour, the absolutely original tone, the unpretentious artistry and the extraordinary ensemble have kept Turkish children as well as the grown-up public in thrall for centuries. It is one of the heart-breaking facts of to-day that our new taste, or rather lack of taste, has ruined this wonderful and simple art."

The spread of literary taste in Turkey gave rise to a new form of theatrical art. This was the Orta Oyun, or "middle play." It was so named from the fact that the performance always took place in the middle of the square or market-place. It corresponded somewhat with our early English open-air plays. The first historical reference to the Orta Oyun occurs in the twelfth century, and by the seventeenth century it had become a very popular entertainment. Wrestling has always been a favourite national pastime in Turkey, and this type of play probably developed from the quips and gibes with which the Pehlivan, or wrestlers, were wont to amuse the spectators.

The Orta Oyun consisted essentially of reviews, skits and satires on contemporary, social and political events. Much use was made of Taklid or mimicry—a much-esteemed art in the East—puns and the play upon words.

The arrangements were simple. The stage, called Meidan, was a roped-in space about thirty yards long. The public sat on rush chairs or benches. The women were screened from the rest of the audience by a veil, through which they could see without being seen. The stage was practically bare. A high screen with two chairs in front of it represented a house, always called Yeni Dunya, or New World; a low

screen represented the Dukkan, or shop. Sometimes rough scenery was painted on paper, which was pasted on the wings.

The principal character is Pishekiar, a clever wit, conjurer, or juggler. While Karagoz represented the illiterate and ruse' idiot, Pishekiar is the educated punster. He always opens the performance and remains on the stage throughout the play.

The other two principal performers are Kavuklu, the comic man, and Zenne, a woman. The first derived his name from the enormous pointed hat he wore, which was made up of odd pieces of cloth bound with a turban and called a Kavuk. Much play was made with this hat. He and Pishekiar carry on continuous dialogues and disputes. These three characters always appeared, but others were introduced from time to time, such as the Persian trader, the Albanian cattle dealer, the Armenian art dealer, the Yahudi, or Jew, etc. The play was not divided into acts, but was continuous. Music and dancing played an important part, the instruments used being the Zurna (oboe), the Saz (mandoline), drums, and castanets.

During the period of the enforced seclusion of women the part of Zenne was always played by a man. The Orta Oyun gradually lost its early refinement and tended to become coarse in later years.

It is only in comparatively recent years that plays of a modern or more European type have been produced in the Turkish theatre. In 1867 the well-known writers Namik Kemal, Noury and Ahmed Midhat founded the Gueduk Pasha Theatre in Istanbul. Adaptations of Molière and Dumas *films* were acted here. Kemal himself wrote several patriotic plays, one of which, *Vatan*, or *Fatherland*, produced a sensation at the time. It dealt with the gallant defence of the fortress of Silistria against the Russians, and evoked such enthusiasm that after the first performance crowds paraded the streets all night with torches, shouting: "Long live the Fatherland! Long live liberty." The popularity of the play and the spread of what he considered revolutionary ideas alarmed the despot Abdul Hamid, and on the second night of its performance Namik Kemal was arrested and exiled to Cyprus. Ahmed Medhat suffered a like fate.

It was not till the Constitutional Revolution of 1908, when freedom of thought was permitted, that a modern Turkish theatre was able to develop. Men and even women—though that required some courage—began to take up the stage as a profession.

In 1914 the Istanbul Municipality enlisted French aid in reorganizing the theatre.

Under the Republic the theatre has become a Government institution, and a School of Dramatic Art has been established. Ataturk is a staunch patron of the theatre, and through the society known as Halk Evi, or People's Houses, a knowledge of acting, and indeed of all the arts, is being spread throughout the country.

Up till recently the modern Turkish stage has been too much given up to an inferior form of French vaudeville to evolve a genuine tradition of its own. No doubt in the future a standard of drama will be produced more in keeping with the great literary achievements of the past.

THE LATE MIR OF HUNZA

THE MIR OF HUNZA, Sir Mahomed Nazim Khan, died in the capital of his State on July 22, 1938, at 10 p.m., at about the age of 73, or perhaps a little more. His death removes one of the most remarkable frontier personalities: and moreover the last link, since the death of Sir Shuja-ul-Mulk of Chitral, with the old régime, when the non-Pathan border States were the scene of a struggle for power between Great Britain and Russia.

The late Mir owed his throne primarily to his own pluck. When the British invaded and occupied the Gilgit agency, as it now is, the reigning Mir of Hunza—Safdar Ali—fled with his two half-brothers, Mahomed Nafis and Mahomed Nazim, to Chinese Territory.

A messenger was sent by the British asking Safdar Ali to return. His Wazir, Dadu, told his ruler that if he were so foolish as to do so, he would be put to death. Dadu had been consistently the evil genius of his master, both in prosperity and in exile, and on this occasion Safdar Ali unhappily listened to him.

Incidentally Safdar Ali has been cruelly maligned. According to his lights, he was a good ruler, being generous and open-handed—which were hardly his successor's virtues—and he was personally popular, and to this day his misfortunes are deplored by his people. The present writer knew him well, and much admired the ex-Mir's cheerfulness in his poverty and many afflictions. It was always regrettable that his brother, who sat in Safdar Ali's seat, consistently spoke harshly of him.

Mahomed Nazim, a mere youth, returned to Hunza and was at once placed on the throne by the British. He suffered from one drawback to his prestige—he was the son of a peasant woman, and of doubtful legitimacy. He fully justified his selection by the Paramount Power, and became a ruler of great ability with singularly few defects. The first Wazir of Mahomed Nazim was Humayun Beg, a man of great force of character, and possessing a remarkably clear political instinct. It is probably due to him as much as to anyone—not even excepting the political geniuses of the Government of India—that events have taken the course they have in that remote area. But Humayun was perhaps too dominant. He was too much the "Maire

du Palais" and the Mir too much the nominal ruler, and unquestionably this early subjection to his Wazir had a bad influence on Mahomed Nazim. No sooner was Humayun dead than the Mir became the real ruler of his country; and not once, from that time to his death, did he ever allow anyone, not even the new Wazir, Humayun's son, to exercise any control in the State. This was unfortunate. The people did not like it; the Wazir's family were covertly and consistently hostile; and when the Mir grew older, the administration suffered. Feuds and factions were frequent and troublesome, and it is probable that the Mir, astute though he was, often did not know what was happening. As one of the Mir's family told the writer, "All is now party, party."

But these are merely shadows on a long and successful reign. The late Mir attended the Coronation durbar of H.I.M. King George V. He was a K.C.I.E., and later was made a K.C.S.I.

Mahomed Nazim Khan was entirely illiterate. He could sign his name, and nothing more: and yet he could certainly not be called uneducated. He had an admirable knowledge of current events, and was perhaps sometimes too well informed of local events. He had an artistic eye and an original mind. He was a good gardener, as are all his people, and a present of seeds was always welcome.

The late Mir had a social gift which so many, in the East especially, lack; he was an excellent conversationalist. There was never any need to "make" talk with him. The Mir spoke well, in an unpolished but most effective mixture of Punjabi and Urdu, and his active mind never ceased to range over many subjects or to pry into whatever his visitor's mind might conceal.

Many of his guests must think with sad regret of the kind old Mir as he welcomed them to his summer "Stone-house" near Baltit, in Hunza. There was a pleasant absence of *gêne* or formality. There would be a well-served meal in the open, with boys who sang and danced, whilst the Mir discoursed with astounding but exhilarating freedom about everybody and everything. No man knew better how, when necessary, to hold his tongue. No man hesitated less to say what he thought if he wished to do so, and some blistering comments would come out at times, relished by everyone. The Mir kept excellent wine, but he liked a whisky peg as much as anything, and a present of a bottle or two was acceptable.

The Mir always liked presents, and made no concealment of expecting some. Visitors have been offended at times by the Mir asking

for certain things, but they forget that in a remote and primitive country, conducted on strictly autocratic lines, it is only reasonable to pay one's way, and make some considerable return for help which is often demanded as a right and not as a favour. The Mir was doubtless tiresome at times, but then, who is not? Generally speaking, he was always most courteous, and took an infinity of trouble to do what his visitors wanted—many of whom must have been, the writer not excepted—a perfect nuisance to the Mir. Of late years the Mir has been failing, and suffered from diabetes and cataract: and a severe if brief illness five years ago shook him very much.

As he grew older, he became—as so often happens—close and decidedly grasping. His mind did not move with the times so far as his people went, and he still wished to control them as did his father, Ghazan Khan, sixty years ago. He forgot, too, that the population was increasing, and his dislike of his subjects looking for employment outside the State was constant and crushing. It caused a great deal of irritation to his people, who felt, and rightly, that the Mir was interfering and oppressive in their private concerns.

Less illiberality would have smoothed the last ten years of the Mir's life and have added considerably to the prosperity of his State. On the other hand, the Mir always maintained, and sincerely so, that his people would degenerate if they left their remote and healthy valleys; but he failed to realize the pressure of population. He never lost the admiring respect of his people, who, despite their autocrat, are a race of singular independence and vigorous individuality.

The Mir left a numerous family, and the succession is assured, but he will be a difficult man to follow. His ripe judgment, his intimate knowledge of his country and of everyone's affairs, his firm control, and a certain suavity and temperance of outlook, rare in an Eastern autocrat, made a unique personality. His influence was enormous. He was not the master of a remote and impoverished Highland clan, but the chief personage in his part of North-West India, and as such enjoying an immense prestige.

He has gone, and his place can never be filled. His defects are forgotten and he will be long remembered as a sagacious and successful ruler who has carried his people from the calm of the middle ages to the doubtful benefits of the present civilization.

KUWAIT

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

THE territory of the Sheikh of Kuwait extends over an area of four thousand square miles along the shores of the Persian Gulf. Its north and north-west frontiers adjoin those of 'Iraq, while on the south-west, Kuwait borders on Sa'udi Arabia (Nejd). The boundaries of Kuwait have not yet been finally demarcated, and there is still an undefined neutral border territory between Kuwait and Sa'udia.

Kuwait is a desert country, with habitation confined to a few oases. In the north, the soil is gravelly; eastwards it is sandy, while in other parts clay soil occurs. The countryside presents a monotonous flat landscape, relieved occasionally by slight mounds. It is an arid land, and its one stream, the Maqta', running along the southern Sa'udia boundary, flows salt. It is no wonder therefore that vegetation is scanty except for the occasional oases, where date palms and the Sider (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*) flourish. In the desert, the usual hardy growth of shrubs provides grazing for the unexacting camel. Wild animal life is as poor as vegetation, and only the gazelle and the wolf are found in any numbers.

The climate of Kuwait is hot and damp. The cool Shamal wind blowing from the north-west alleviates the heat in summer but brings with it the winter cold. The average annual temperature ranges from a maximum of 114° F. to a minimum of 35° F. Rainfall averages three to four inches per year. In a year of plentiful rains, the desert is covered with grass which serves as pasturage for the herds of the nomads, but in years of drought the Bedouin suffer great hardship and whole tribes sometimes journey enormous distances in their search for sustenance in places more blessed with water and pasture.

The population of Kuwait numbers about seventy to eighty thousand, the bulk of which is centred in the city of Kuwait itself. With its sixty thousand inhabitants, Kuwait is one of the largest cities in Arabia. The rest of the population is mainly settled in seven villages, among which the most important is Jahrah. In addition, there are several nomad tribes wandering over the territory, the most important

of which are the Awazim and the Rasha'idah tribes. Three other Nejd tribes, the Mutair, the 'Ajman and the Beni Khalid, cross into Kuwait in the course of their wanderings. The 'Ajman in particular are frequent guests in Kuwait, and part of the tribe has pitched its tents here for good.

The city of Kuwait is situated on the sandy shores of the Persian Gulf, and its houses are one-storied clay structures mostly surrounded by high walls. Entrance is through a large wooden gate which is usually kept closed and which gives each house the appearance of a small fortress. The streets of the city are narrow and tortuous, meandering aimlessly, but clean despite the density of habitation.

The supply of drinking water is one of Kuwait's most difficult problems, for the few wells in and around the city are insufficient to meet its needs. Drinking water is brought to Kuwait by sea from Basrah and is sold there as a commercial commodity. The "water trade" is particularly brisk in drought years. Owing to the lack of sweet water for irrigation, Kuwait is devoid of palms or any other kind of plant and this treelessness accentuates the climatic inconveniences of this city, open to the burning winds of summer and the chill blasts of winter, and emphasizes the monotony of the desert landscape. Nevertheless, this small place on the sands of the Persian Gulf has a charm of its own, the halo of civilization's conquest over all the powers of the desert—climate, lack of water and the proximity of ruthless wandering tribesmen. Two other striking features go to make up the Kuwait panorama, the turbulent expanse of the Persian Gulf on the one side and the wide stretches of the Dahana desert on the other, with Kuwait thus poised between the devil of the desert and the deep blue sea.

The City of Kuwait

The city of Kuwait is surrounded on three sides by a clay wall running down to the Gulf. This wall, built in 1921 to protect the city against the Wahhabis who were threatening Kuwait in those days, is about three miles long and something less than twelve feet in height. There are four gates in the wall, and it is guarded by five towers and other means of protection on the wall itself.

The population of Kuwait is very mixed, containing both white and coloured elements, hailing from India and Zanzibar, Nejd and Jebel Shammar, and the islands of the Gulf, as well as from neighbouring 'Iraq and Iran. Religions in Kuwait are as variegated as

aces—Sunnis, Shi'ahs and Wahhabis, Hindus and Parsees, as well as Christians and a few Jews.

The most important section of the Kuwait population, both as regards numbers and influence, is that of the descendants of those Arab tribes which forsook their nomadic existence and settled in the town. Their origin is also evidenced in the family names in Kuwait, such as Muteiri, 'Ajmani, etc. (from the Muteir, 'Ajman tribes, etc.), and by the link which still exists between the wandering tribesmen and their settled kinsmen in the city. The two groups unite in joint camping in the spring, which incidentally is a common custom in Nejd and in some other localities in Arabia. It is usual for Kuwaiti townsmen, many of whom own herds of camel or sheep to leave the city in spring in search of pasturage in the surrounding countryside, returning to town when the desert grass gives out. This mode of living helps to keep the balance fairly level in the relations between the desert and the city and lessens the natural antagonism between them. Subtle psychological factors and deep-seated atavistic instinct draw the Kuwaiti townsmen even to-day back to the surroundings from which their forefathers sprang in the days before they became urbanized. Such is the life led by the Sheikh of Kuwait himself and by many of the old-established inhabitants of the city.

The majority of the Kuwaiti belong to the Sunni community, and have built fifty to sixty of the mosques in the town. The other dozen or so mosques belong to Shi'ahs who do not spring from Bedouin stock but have immigrated chiefly from Iran and 'Iraq. The Wahhabi influence is very strong in Kuwait's religious world; it appeared at the end of the last century and impressed itself deeply on many aspects of life, and on the traditions of Kuwaiti, who were at the same time fighting against the political domination of the Wahhabis. The Sunni mosques in Kuwait are simple and unadorned, in keeping with Wahhabi religious tenets; they are completely devoid of decoration, external or internal, and topped by low and unimpressive minarets, from which the muezzin calls the faithful to prayer. The Kuwaiti are not fanatical or intolerant against those who are not of their belief, but they conform strictly to Moslem religious traditions in their daily lives. There is, for instance, a very strict ban on the public playing of music by gramophone or radio, and the project for a cinema in Kuwait had to be abandoned by its enterprising initiator since permission was refused for this form of entertainment. At the same time, in private life, not all the Kuwaiti have remained impervious to the blandish-

ments of modernity, and the city boasts some 250 radio apparatuses used strictly in the privacy of the owners' homes.

The Kuwaiti still observe the traditional hospitality of the desert on the grand scale and as a religious precept. A striking illustration of this is that in the whole of this populous town there is not a single hotel, nor has anyone ever received permission from the Sheikh to open an inn, so as not to besmirch the good name of Kuwait, whose houses stand hospitably open to all wayfarers. The cultural level of Kuwait is comparatively high and the number of its literate population is relatively superior to that of many cities in 'Iraq. Education is provided in sixty *Kuttabs* (schoolrooms), while there are four schools providing more advanced learning. Teaching in the *Kuttabs* is chiefly in the hands of religious officials—Imans and Khatibs (preachers) of the mosques. The teachers in the secondary schools have received a general secular Arab education. These latter schools are of recent foundation, and the first teachers were brought from 'Iraq, where they had completed their course at the teachers' seminary in Baghdad. The experiment with these 'Iraqi teachers did not prove very successful, and some time later new teachers, drawn mainly from Egypt and Palestine, were invited to take their places.

The Sheikh has not so far authorized the publication of a single newspaper in Kuwait. He believes, apparently, that his people can be happy without knowing the excitements of the outer world and the tumult of events in either far-off Spain or in 'Iraq nearer home. Similarly, very few Arab papers are brought to Kuwait from outside.

One of the most interesting ethnic groups in Kuwait is that of the Negroids, a community of pre-war slaves who had escaped from their owners in the Persian Gulf or fled from ships anchored off Kuwait. These men, who derive a meagre livelihood from work in the port, are accustomed to the hardest kind of labour and are able to keep body and soul together on the barest minimum. There is a keen sense of kinship amongst these Negroids, and their mutual aid is highly developed. They gather every Friday at their usual meeting-place at the port which serves them as their "club," where they observe the traditional "tom-tom" ritual of their distant homeland. In the frenzy of their voodoo dance, accompanied by the drum and the pipe, echoing the sad and monotonous tunes of Africa, they dance themselves into a blissful oblivion of the present, back to the primeval forest of their native land and the days before the coming of the slave-trader.

The Christian community in Kuwait is small. In addition to the

British Political Agent, the European population includes a number of English and American missionaries and one doctor and his family. More recently the Christian community has been enlarged by the arrival of the engineers of the Kuwait Oil Company, whose prospecting work now seems to have been amply awarded.

The Jewish community is the smallest in Kuwait and consists of only four families who come from neighbouring Basrah. Before the war there was a larger Jewish community, numbering some 200 souls, but their numbers dwindled after the war with the political and economic transformations of the post-war period. Most of the Kuwaiti Jews returned to 'Iraq, some of them migrated to India, and there are in Palestine among 'Iraq immigrants a few families who at one time lived in Kuwait. There are no visible signs in Kuwait to-day of the former existence of a congregation of 200 strong. The four families still in Kuwait are engaged in trade with Basrah, but their economic situation is far from prosperous and it is very doubtful whether they will continue to remain for long in Kuwait, cut off from their brethren in 'Iraq and lacking all Jewish communal life, and its religious and educational amenities.

The Kuwait Harbour

Kuwait offers excellent natural harbourage; its bay is twenty miles long and ten miles broad and affords easy anchorage for vessels at almost all its points. The water is sufficiently deep to permit ships to anchor near the shore except for the large vessels, which have to stand some one and a half to two miles out of the roadstead.

The economic star of Kuwait did not begin to rise until the eighteenth century, after Basrah had passed into the hands of the Turks from the Persians in 1776. The trade between India and the cities of the Ottoman Empire (Baghdad, Aleppo, Izmir and Constantinople) which formerly passed through Basrah began at this time to flow through Kuwait.

Apart from Kuwait's importance as a centre of transit trade, its inhabitants excelled in exploiting the natural treasures of the Gulf—pearls and fish. The well-known Oriental traveller, Niebuhr, recounts that in the 1860's the population of Kuwait numbered some ten thousand souls, owning 800 boats engaged chiefly in pearl-diving and fishing, particularly for the "Zubeidi" fish, for which the waters of the Gulf are famous.

For generations Kuwait based its economic welfare on its position

as a transit port between the Arab peninsula and India and on the development of its natural marine resources.

Pearls and Boats

Before the war, Kuwait's economic position was comparatively steady. In 1913, pearl-fishing occupied more than 10,000 men and 700 boats. Boat-building was another important occupation in Kuwait, meeting the demands both of the pearl-divers and of shipping plying between the ports on the Gulf and India. Kuwait became famous for its boat-building, and even now most of the boats sailing the Persian Gulf and the Shatt el Arab are made in Kuwait. These wooden boats are built from Indian materials by local craftsmen who even to-day use no drawn plans or any modern tools, but rely entirely on experience and the traditional knowledge handed down from father to son through generations of boat-builders. The larger vessels, *baghlahs* "Buggalows," can take about 2,000 date-packages, and the smaller vessels, bums, about 1,200. The small boats used chiefly in pearl-fishing are known as *balams* and are among the most beautiful of the boats built at Kuwait. During the year 1912-13, some 120 pearl-boats were built at Kuwait, representing a value of £27,000.

Both pearl-fishing and boat-building, Kuwait's main industries after fishing, were hard hit after the war. The world depression and the development of the cultured pearl industry served almost to ruin the pearl fisheries, which are of basic economic importance on the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Despite the decline, however, there are still six to seven thousand men, and about 300 boats, employed in pearl-fishing. The pearls and shells found in the Persian Gulf are mostly sold to traders coming from India, but there are numbers of local merchants in Kuwait who themselves export these articles to the market of India and Europe.

The best-known and the wealthiest pearl-merchant in Kuwait is Hilal el Muteiri,* who forsook the desert and his tribe, the Muteir, while a young man and came to seek his fortune in the city as a pearl-diver. He was fortunate enough to find the pearl of great price which is every pearl-diver's dream, and thanks to the intervention of Sheikh Mubarak he was able for once to secure a fair price from an Indian merchant.

Hilal el Muteiri, famed for his hospitality, was also lucky enough to

* Died, aged about eighty, on July 15, 1938.—ED.

retire from pearl-trading before the depression in 1927 knocked the bottom out of the pearl market and ruined many other merchants. The pearl trade has not yet recovered from this slump. Prospects of improvement in the future seem to be uncertain because of the development of the artificial cultivation of pearls. Kuwait is still suffering from this decline of what was one of her major industries.

In 1932-33 the export of pearls from Kuwait was valued at £33,750, and in 1933-34 at £38,662.

The decline of the pearl trade led to a contraction in the allied boat-building industry. Boats are now built in Kuwait mainly for the transport of dates to India and Zanzibar. Shipping is to-day one of Kuwait's principal occupations, and many Kuwaiti are employed as sailors on the boats in the date trade. Even to-day, Kuwait-built boats still find a market all along the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. During the three years 1933-35 only fifty boats were built in Kuwait, representing a value of about £7,500.

Trade Decline

Kuwait's chief economic difficulty to-day is due to the deterioration of its commercial relations with the neighbouring countries, and chiefly with Sa'udia. In pre-war days Kuwait derived considerable importance from transit trade with the various territories of Arabia. The harbour of Kuwait was used not only by Jebel Shammar and Nejd but even by merchants in distant Yemen for the transport via Najran of caravans carrying coffee to India. Nejd and Jebel Shammar used Kuwait for the shipment of their chief exports—horses, sheep and *samneh* (cooked sheep butter, known in that part of Arabia under the name "ghi")—destined for the markets of India, Iran and for Bahrein. The choice of Kuwait as the transit port by these points, near and distant, in Arabia was not fortuitous. The caravan highway from Central Arabia to Kuwait is the easiest and most passable, for not only is it less sandy than other routes but springs of water occur here more frequently than on any other desert road from Central Arabia to the Persian Gulf. The sandy belt, Dahana, which runs along almost the entire length of Arabia and links the Nefud Desert in the north with the Rub'al Khali (the Empty Quarter) in the south, narrows down where it is joined by the caravan route from Riadh to Kuwait to about 40 miles. This asset of easier desert communication, combined with the anchorage facilities offered for boats and the discharge of goods in Kuwait Harbour, make it the natural outlet for Central

Arabia's foreign trade with India and Iran. Before the war the value of trade between Kuwait and Central Arabia was estimated to reach some £1,125,000. Since then a trade blockade by Sa'udi Arabia, in order to favour her own small ports, has much reduced it.

The decline of trade with Arabia, together with the depression in the pearl market, the contraction of boat-building, etc., have been responsible for the sorry plight of Kuwait's trade. The total value of Kuwait trade in 1934 was £397,546 (£291,210 imports and £106,336 exports), which compares with £570,538 (£370,817 imports and £199,721 exports) in 1913-14*. In his endeavours to break off economic connections between Sa'udia and Kuwait, Ibn Sa'ud was guided as much by economic as by political motives. His policy aimed at showing the Kuwaiti to what extent they were dependent on links with Sa'udia and what benefits they might derive through union with Ibn Sa'ud's empire. The value of trade between Kuwait and Central Arabia, estimated to have amounted to £1,125,000 per annum, has now shrunk to little more than a tenth of this figure. Many Nejd and Jebel Shammar merchants, prohibited by their rulers from official trading with Kuwait, have in the meantime developed a brisk contra-band business with this port.

The most important items of local industry are *samneh*, woven camel-hair, sheepskins, rugs—all products of the Bedouin economy, which are brought for sale to Kuwait. A part of these products (*samneh*, wool and skins) is also exported chiefly to 'Iraq. The restriction through political boundaries of the area of Bedouin wanderings after the war and the depreciation in the value of camels, has led to a decrease in the output of Bedouin production among Kuwaiti as other tribes. The continued decline in the Bedouin economy has caused hardship among the tribes and has led to far-reaching changes in their mode of living. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Awazim tribe changed over from sheep and camel-breeding to fishing. They folded up their desert tents and built themselves shacks on the shores of the Persian Gulf; instead of milk and date, their staple diet is now fish.

India is the leading supplier (39 per cent. of imports). Latterly, however, Japan has been impinging on the Kuwaiti market, and Japanese products dispatched to Kuwait through Indian agents are beginning to conquer the market.

* Trade with Central Arabia is not included in these figures, as records before the war referred only to the harbour and not to overland trade.

Economic Future

Kuwait's economic future is not as entirely bleak as the foregoing description of present conditions might have led the reader to believe. Kuwait's main hope is for the development of oil resources which are enriching neighbouring 'Iraq, for instance. The oil concession in Kuwait is held by the Kuwait Oil Company, shares in which are equally distributed between the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the Gulf Exploration Company, the latter being a subsidiary of the large American oil combine, the Gulf Oil Corporation. The Kuwait Oil Company is now drilling its second well in Kuwait (the first well did not show the existence of oil in commercial quantities). If reports of large oil resources are confirmed by further drilling, Kuwait may look forward to prosperous development.

Moreover, Kuwait may once again profit from its geographical position. The building of the Trans-Iranian Railway, whose southern terminus is at Bandersshahpur, four hours by boat from Kuwait on the Iranian side of the Gulf, offers Kuwait a new lease of life. The railway will give almost unbroken communication between all parts of Iran and Arabia, a fact of great importance both for the pilgrim traffic to the holy cities of Arabia and the stimulation of commercial relations between the two countries, from which Kuwait stands to gain much. Travellers report this route to the Hejaz from Kuwait preferable to that from Nejed to the Hejaz.

The development of motor traffic on the Arabian desert routes may also redound to the development of Kuwait, which is the terminus of a most convenient desert highway, likely to be as preferable for the automobile as it was for the camel.

MOTORING IN NORTHERN SUMATRA

By MRS. PATRICK NESS

WERE they not so remote from Europe and America Sumatra's hill stations would by now have become crowded all-the-year-round pleasure resorts. But it is so far away that it has not yet altogether lost the peculiar charm of a country with primitive peoples and primitive landscapes, though each year must bring nearer the time when all members of its tribes (even those who were cannibals at the opening of this century) will have put on at least a veneer of Western civilization.

Sumatra is the fifth largest island in the world* if you do not count Greenland, and lies in that part of the world where islands tend to assume large proportions, for two of those which exceed it in size—namely, New Guinea and Borneo—are its not too distant neighbours. The equator cuts it in two, and since there are no all-weather communicating roads between the northern and the southern portions, the equator could almost be looked upon as an invisible barrier, though actually the obstacle is the mountains further south.

The southern portion has in very recent years surrendered to the archæologists from Palembang (S. Sumatra) treasures of sculpture and of buildings associated with the great seventh-century kingdom of Srivijaya, whose power, according to Professor G. Cœdès, Dean of the French School of the Far East, stretched to the Malay Peninsula and Cambodia. But the north, too, has given up its secrets, and a shrine has been rescued from vegetation in Padang Lawas, which may date from even earlier times. Thus there is much of interest in Sumatra for the archæologist as well as for the ordinary traveller looking for some place on the world's surface which offers novelty accompanied by reasonable comfort and transport facilities. A motor journey across the north part of the island provides magnificent mountain scenery, interesting natives, some good hotels, fine roads, and a comparatively cool climate in spite of the proximity of the equator. Even in the rainy season the sun usually shines for the greater part of the day, so that Sumatra is not to be avoided in the

* 1,060 by 248 miles.

rains which coincide with the months when most Europeans choose to desert their own continent.

Air travel has brought the Dutch East Indies to within little more than a week of England. Sumatra is only an hour or two by air from the Malay Peninsula, so that remoteness is more a question of £ s. d. than of time. But the three- or four-day sea journey from Batavia (Java) to the western side of Sumatra is well worth while if one would see the beautiful wooded coast-line in the neighbourhood of the spot where the volcanic island of Krakatoa disappeared in 1883 and near which coast I was told an island is now slowly rising out of the sea. The Dutch East Indies has many active volcanoes (seventy-eight out of a total of four hundred), so that there are numerous opportunities of visiting craters from which steam issues with a fearful roar, and whose interiors are vividly coloured with sulphur yellows and greens. Alternatively, one can take a home-going steamer from Batavia, which, after touching at Singapore, calls at Belawan Deli, the east coast port of northern Sumatra.

I chose the western port, and after steaming round the south coast of Sumatra my good but small Dutch boat, carrying some twenty first-class passengers all told, called at Benkulen, where one was reminded that more than a century ago Sir Stamford Raffles of Singapore fame was its Governor (1818-1823) and that he was also Lieutenant-Governor of Java from 1811 to 1816. But the most frequented port of call is Emmahavn, where one leaves the boat for the Padang Highlands *en route* for Medan on the other side of the island.

I knew that on landing a car would meet me, to be placed at my disposal for the fortnight in which I intended to tour the island. It was to be a car from the Park Hotel in Fort de Kock, and I had been a prey to misgivings as to what type of car, and, above all, what type of driver would be provided. I anticipated at best a chauffeur with whom I could not converse, for I know neither Dutch nor any local dialect. But I need have had no fear, for not only was I provided with a good closed Buick car, but with two Menangkabau natives who talked between them enough English to make communication possible. The driver was excellent. The courier, or whatever he styled himself (actually he was a young clerk from the hotel who found my car a convenient means of transport for visiting parts of his own island he had never seen), could say more in English than he could understand, and was suffering badly from swollen head. He was never at a loss for a reply, whether he understood the question

or not, but it did not take long to discover that once he had left his own part of the country behind his information was not to be relied upon.

My departure from Padang, the west coast town for which Emmahavn is the port, was in the early morning. I frequently started soon after dawn, as during the rains the mornings are usually fine and the late afternoons and nights wet. Up and up we climbed, on what is called the most beautiful motor road in the Padang Highlands, for of the two routes from Padang to Fort de Kock, the chief town in the Highlands, I had chosen the longer by 100 kilometres and was bound for Singkarak Lake instead of the Anei Kloof. Not wishing, however, to miss the famous canyon altogether, when the roads from Padang eventually joined I motored back down the Kloof for several miles between its narrow towering cliffs to the thin thread of a waterfall which splashes near the railway line and then turned and made towards Fort de Kock again. Actually, to my mind the Karbouwengat (or Kloof) on which Fort de Kock stands surpasses the Anei Kloof in beauty, as does also the Harau Kloof, several miles away. But that is by the way. My original route lay so high that I was glad of coats and rugs. Far below I could see the sea almost lost in haze.

Singkarak Lake, which is twenty-two kilometres long and eight broad, scarcely, to my mind, lives up to its reputation. Its shores are level, but with great roots of trees stretching out into its waters as though anchoring the distant hills to the lake.

By its shores I saw for the first time the remarkable houses built by the Menangkabau people, an extremely intelligent folk, Mohammedan by religion but retaining old customs and pre-Mohammedan beliefs. They are a matriarchal people, a form of community which is anything but compatible with Islam. Their houses are of wood, much decorated in colours, with high peaks and saddle-back roofs thatched with the leaf-sheath of the Arenga palm except where the more modern corrugated tin is employed, a material which ruins the picturesqueness of the countryside, but demonstrates the adaptability and ingenuity of the Menangkabaus, for so dexterous are they that the tin roofs retain the identical and intricate shape designed before the coming of the Dutch. Nowhere, however, are these roofs seen better than near Poentjak Boekit, in the vicinity of Fort de Kock, where some roofs have six peaks, the additional wings to the original building being added as the family grows in size.

The interior of the houses falls far short of the exterior! Near the communal house stands the taboeah, or drum-house, in which hangs

the drum, which is beaten to call the people together on special occasions.

The view from Poentjak Boekit of the Manindjau Lake is incomparably lovely, as it is all the way down the road which leads to its shores—a descent of 2,000 feet in forty-one hairpin bends. At midday the lake reflected the sky—turquoise blue, with white cloud patches—mirroring too the Antokan Kloof at its far side, while the surrounding volcanic mountains shaded to deep indigo.

The mountains of Sumatra in their natural state are clothed in forest or dense undergrowth. Only where they have been cleared for cultivation are there miles of open country, and then so thorough has been the clearing (which is no longer allowed) that when deserted for fresh ground the land is as bare as the Sussex Downs but mostly red in colour, sparsely covered with coarse grass. The chief native cultivation is of rice, and one remembers with amazement the intricate irrigation which covers so much of Sumatra, as it does of Java. But the richness of the soil makes all agriculture profitable in the extreme, and before one has crossed the island one has seen sugar-cane, tobacco, rubber, coffee, coconut, tapioca and maize, to name some of the many prolific crops. One has delighted, too, in the young foliage of the acacia trees, pink at the tips, shining with the sun behind as vividly as the veils of the women that one meets along the road. Not that the women are fantastically attired, for many are the burden-bearers who walk upright with loads on their heads.

Fort de Kock, the chief town and the motoring centre of the Padang Highlands, boasts two good hotels. Between it and Lake Toba lie miles of mountain and valley with glorious views over the peaks or the sea. The accommodation *en route* cannot be recommended, but better could scarcely be expected in so newly opened-up a country. Far more astonishing is it that on Lake Toba, at a height of 3,000 feet above sea level, one finds a perfect pleasure resort, with an excellent hotel. The Dutch are to be highly complimented on what they have accomplished at Prapat, on Lake Toba, and also at Brastagi, nearer the eastern side of the island, where, at 4,800 feet, one finds golf, riding and climbing, not to speak of a large hotel with a jazz band and an equatorial climate so cool that tweeds do not come amiss.

Lake Toba, so comparatively unknown, was discovered in 1853 and is twice the size of Lake Geneva. Its natural shore sands make one think of the imported sand beaches on some of the fashionable

Austrian lakes. Its bathing, indeed, is an even greater attraction than its boating. Looking down on the lake from the many points of vantage round its shores it is almost as ethereally lovely as Lake Manindjau, but its size remains unrealized, since the high island of Samosir (really a vast peninsula but made into an island by cutting through the narrow strip joining it to the mainland) interrupts the view. The island itself is not intimately known by the Dutch, for it must not be forgotten that the Batak people who inhabit this part of Sumatra were cannibals up to thirty years ago, and in true traditional style ate the first Dutch missionaries who went among them. And the island people have so far come less in contact with Western civilization than those on the mainland. Even now the Bataks, though greatly changed—the credit for which is given by the Dutch unhesitatingly to the missionaries—are not always easy to manage and have not developed a love for working for others. They left me, for one, with a feeling that a rapid civilization had produced a thin veneer which might easily crack if too much pressure were applied. When the Dutch arrived in Sumatra the Bataks were heathen, not Mohammedan, and heathens many have remained, though Christian churches are well-attended, in any case at Prapat. Wages are low, but living is extremely cheap under the conditions still apparently preferred by a people accustomed to a life shared with the pigs, the hens and the water-buffalo. By the way, one could tell immediately by the presence of pigs when one had left the Menangkabau country, for the Mohammedan Menangkabau are, of course, prohibited by their religion from keeping an animal so popular among the heathen or Christian Batak. The Batak are a clever, capable people, and their development will be one to watch with interest. Dutch is taught in the schools and is becoming fairly generally spoken by the younger educated generation.

For a time Chinese and Javanese labour was imported into Sumatra, but this is no longer allowed. Nevertheless there is a very large colony of Chinese, particularly around Medan, the chief town on the eastern side.

Near Brastagi there are two Batak villages where one can still see the best type of Batak house with the thatched saddle-back roof ending, as a rule, with a buffalo head. Kaban Djahe is a well-preserved village with many family houses, a large chief's house and tombs of chiefs with queer statues crouching inside. The houses stand on carved piles and are either gaily painted or decorated with

matting or with a thick black cord twisted out of the fibre of the palm trunks. Under huge thatched open sheds women pounded rice, each in her individual hole along a tree trunk. The approach to the open, raised, unrailed porch was a bamboo ladder up which women scuttled perilously to escape from my camera. From the houses hung gourds containing foods, or pineapples, and bamboo poles twelve feet high were stuck with maize cobs drying. Rice was stored in large wicker-work drums or in houses closely resembling the tombs. The interiors of the houses were very squalid. Seldom did one see a woman with her gold necklaces and pendants, but always with a folded head-cloth, usually dark blue or brown.

From the excellent Brastagi hotel travellers may visit the interesting Batak museum, the Piso-Piso waterfall and the sulphur lake, or climb the Sibajak volcano (2,094 metres) in two and a half hours from the base. Horses are always for hire and a golf course awaits the golfer, not to speak of the jazz band provided for dancers. So that Brastagi is now a real tourist resort, and since it is only two and a half hours' motor run from Medan it is visited by cruise parties when their boats call at Belawan Deli, the port for Medan. The drive is lovely, through dense mountain forests in which rides have been cleverly cut, giving fine views of the plains below and in which you may encounter monkeys and orang-outangs. On the plains are the great fields of Deli tobacco used for the wrapper leaves of the world's best cigars, and (so I was told) not successfully grown elsewhere. This is the part of Sumatra best known to the tourist, but for those who have time a leisurely fortnight's motor tour across it well repays the time spent and leaves behind memories of fine scenery, of curious natives and of good and careful administration by the Dutch of a valuable island, which they are developing in the interests of the natives as well as in their own.

THE ASSAM HIMALAYA: TRAVELS IN BALIPARA—I

By F. KINGDON WARD

BEFORE telling of my travels in the Assam Himalaya during 1935 and 1938, it may be of interest to describe briefly the curious political situation which has arisen there; a situation pregnant with possibilities—unpleasant possibilities—the outcome of which no man can foresee.

Hitherto the term Eastern Himalaya has invariably meant the Himalaya of Sikkim and Bhutan. Up to twenty-five years ago practically nothing was known of the Himalaya beyond Bhutan, or even whether there was such a range; and the maps published early in the present century reflected this ignorance. Not until the Abor surveys carried out by the Survey of India in 1912-13 and 1913-14, and the journey of Bailey and Morsehead in the Tsang-po valley, 1913, was anything really known. It then became apparent that there is an Eastern Himalaya stretching far beyond the frontier of Bhutan, and the term acquired a new significance. Perhaps the fact that the main range turns north-eastwards from this point, while the foothills continue in an east-north-east direction, thus forming an ever broader screen between the main range and the plains, has something to do with the general obscurity of this region. But that is not the main cause.

From the Teesta, which forms the valley of Sikkim eastwards to the Subansiri in Assam, no large river drains the Eastern Himalaya. Consequently the monsoon has no direct access to the interior valleys. It is compelled to make its way by frontal assault *over* the outer range instead of through a wide breach in it, as in Sikkim and North-Eastern Assam. It is this structure which gives to Bhutan, and to a short length of the Assam Himalaya, their peculiar character; peculiar, that is, for the Eastern Himalaya in general. For the valleys which lie immediately behind the outer range are comparatively dry. They have a greatly reduced rainfall, not more than half that of the southern slopes of the outer range. Wherever this range is 8,000 to 10,000 feet high, as along the edge of the Assam plain from the Bhutan frontier

to the Subansiri, it protects the inner valleys from too heavy a rainfall. As these valleys are from 5,000 to 7,000 or 8,000 feet above sea level, with winter frosts, they are pleasant residential areas.

Most of the Himalaya between the Teesta and the Subansiri is occupied by the independent state of Bhutan. But at the extreme south-west end of the Assam Himalaya there is a passage some 50 miles wide between the Bhutan frontier and the beginning of the very wet region beyond the Bhareli river. This section is known as the Balipara frontier tract—one of the three frontier tracts into which the horseshoe of mountains enclosing the plain of Assam is divided for administrative purposes. These frontier tribal tracts, formerly part of Assam, are now “excluded areas.”

Several passes cross the outer range of the Balipara frontier. But until this year it has always been very difficult to cross them during the rainy season on account of unbridged torrents. Consequently the inner valleys have been virtually cut off from the plains for six months in the year.

Quite recently a more permanent track has been opened over the Piri La, and a better type of bridge constructed over the swollen torrent on the southern face of the range. (Previously only the flimsiest bamboo bridges were in use, and these were swept away every rainy season, to be renewed in the dry weather.)

The Balipara frontier tract is administered by a Political Officer drawn from the police and directly responsible to the Governor of Assam, who, under the new regulations, is himself the Agent of the Viceroy for the excluded areas.

Headquarters are at the village of Charduar, about 20 miles north of Tezpur, ancient Assamese town on the right bank of the Brahmaputra. A fair all-weather motor road now connects the two. There is also a narrow gauge railway from Tezpur to Balipara, a station about four miles from Charduar.

Two miles away on the other side of Charduar (and so six miles from the railway!) is Lokra, where two companies of the Assam Rifles are stationed. Why these three critical points are so widely spaced is a matter known only to governments. Assam is rarely “in the news,” but it is surprising that even the residents of Calcutta regard it as a remote, uncivilized and certainly jungly place; this in spite of the great tea-planting industry which flourishes there. Or perhaps because of it, since to the sophisticated townsman “planting” has always been regarded as a somewhat macabre industry! It is

only when the hill capital of Shillong is shaken by a more than usually severe earthquake, or the Brahmaputra stages an extra big flood, that Assam is mentioned in the telegrams. But recently the "line system" has occasioned heated controversy, which has found its way into the press of India. Briefly, the "line system" is concerned with immigration into Assam. And because the question of the world's empty spaces, some of which lie next door to teeming populations, is rapidly becoming a dominant issue in world affairs, Assam too is getting its share of publicity.

Assam is a sparsely populated province, whereas the adjoining province of Bengal is boiling over. Many Bengalis therefore are flocking into Assam, since nature abhors a vacuum. But nationalism being the current dogma, the Assamese at once raised a howl of protest. "Assam for the Assamese" was their slogan; not a very original one, but they had good precedent for it. (We will not here raise the awkward question, Who *are* the Assamese?) So the "line system" of which we read in the press was introduced. Certain lines were drawn on the map, somewhat arbitrarily perhaps, and immigrants were forbidden to cross them. But the line system is not new. It has been practised, in a different sense, on the frontier for many years.

Most of the Assam hill tribes are notorious for their hostility to strangers, who are or were regarded as fair game, and either captured to be sold into slavery or murdered for the sake of the social and economic advantage their heads conferred on the tribe. Naturally this practice had the effect of keeping the plainsmen on the plains.

Before the British occupation the tribes annually raided the plains villages nearest to them, and it became the custom for the villagers to buy off the raiders. The distinction between civilized plainsmen and uncivilized hillmen was a sharp one, nor was there any doubt where the territory of the one ended and that of the other began. All round the Assam valley the mountains rise abruptly from the plain.

With the British occupation, raiding had to be put down. A line was drawn at the foot of the hills to mark the distinction between administered and unadministered territory—which might or might not be under "political control." This line is known as the "inner line." Plainsmen are not allowed to cross it without special permission—in order to avoid "incidents." Hillmen raided across it at their peril.

The peculiarity of the Balipara Frontier Tract lies in the fact that four-fifths or more of it is beyond the "inner line." Administered

territory is confined to a narrow strip along the foot of the hills, east and west of Charduar, and containing no more than a few thousand inhabitants.

But though the Assam Himalaya has always been a rather mythical region, there was one name which geographers, and others interested in North-East India and its frontier, had long known well—Tawang. In a fascinating book published early in the present century, *Tibet the Mysterious*, the late Sir Thomas Holditch devotes several pages to a discussion of this almost legendary monastery and the possibility of an Assam route to Tibet. Tawang, he argues, lying so close to the plains of Assam, offers access to Lhasa (this was before the Younghusband mission to the holy city) by the most direct route from India. He concludes, however, that the hostile tribes inhabiting the Assam foothills would forbid the stranger even to approach Tawang, while the Tibetans themselves, then militantly exclusive, would certainly turn back visitors, even if they did not take more drastic action.

As regards the tribes Holditch was wrong; there are no savage tribes in this small section of the Assam Himalaya. But as regards the attitude of Tibet towards any European explorer trying to force an entry from Assam he was certainly right; for Tawang lies on a direct and much-used road to Lhasa.

But Tawang is placed well to the south of the main Himalayan range, in a district called Mönyul, inhabited by a people known to the Tibetans as Mönba. How comes it that Tibet was in occupation of territory south of the Himalaya? Mönyul is in fact an outlying district of Tibet like the Chumbi valley: and Tawang is controlled by Tsöna Dzong, an important but small district headquarters east of Gyantse on the southern plateau of Tibet.

In 1912 an extraordinary state of affairs existed on the Indian side of the Assam Himalaya. Most of the Balipara tract being unadministered, nobody knew how far it extended into the Himalaya, or where the frontier was. The country was not even mapped—most of it is not to this day. In point of fact, there was no frontier since none had been delimited. Probably the Indian Government blandly assumed, in its casual way, that the crest line of the Great Himalaya range was the frontier, and left it at that. (A passion for watersheds and similar "natural" frontiers is a British characteristic.) But while the main range might be the *de jure* frontier, there could be no doubt that the *de facto* frontier lay much further south, since the Tibetan Government, through Tsöna Dzong and Tawang, was actively—or perhaps

passively would be the better word—administering the whole of Mönnyul; while the influence of the Tibetan Church extended almost to the edge of the Assam plain—that is, into territory which had nothing to do with Mönnyul except propinquity.

After the Abor expeditions of 1912-13 and 1913-14 the Indian Government turned seriously to the question of the Assam frontier with Tibet. And in 1913, by a process well known to governments as “rectifying the frontier,” Mönnyul, including Tawang and all the districts south of the main range, was ceded to India.

It is very probable that concessions were made in return, but I do not know what they were. At least they were not territorial concessions.

Now, with regard to this treaty, it must be admitted that India had a certain claim to Mönnyul. We need attach no importance to the fact that it lies south of the main Himalayan range. So does the Chumbi valley, and so also for that matter does Bhutan. What is important is the fact that the Indian Government had for a long time been paying an annual subsidy to the *de facto* rulers of Mönnyul, apparently under the impression that they were independent chiefs! Possibly they were at the beginning. But it has lately come to light that most of this subsidy went into the purses of the powers at Tsöna Dzong and thence to Lhasa! The Indian Government was profoundly shocked. Naturally this established practice diluted the Indian claim to Mönnyul. Be that as it may, a deal was effected in 1914; Mönnyul was to become part of the Balipara frontier tract.

And now fate steps in. The Great War, unrest in India, financial stringency, and the familiar horrors of the peace that passeth all understanding, diverted attention elsewhere. For a quarter of a century the Balipara frontier tract, which in 1914 had been a live issue, was completely forgotten!

In 1936-37 the Political Officer visited Tawang in connection with another matter than the frontier and reported to the Government of India that Mönnyul was to all appearances a Tibetan province. The Government expressed well-simulated surprise. “Tawang Tibetan? Why, it has been in Assam since 1914!” But the Indian Government had surely overlooked the fact that previous to 1914 Mönnyul, and particularly Tawang, had been within the Tibetan administrative system for many years; that India had never done anything about it; and that therefore the administration had simply carried on. Obviously there had to be some form of government, and the Tibetan administration saw no good reason to move out until the Indian administra-

tion moved in. Better late than never. In the spring of this year (1938) an expedition was sent to Tawang to inform the Mönba of Mönyul that henceforth they were British subjects. The Mönba raised no objection; the Tibetan Government did.

In July the expedition returned to Charduar. And now—what next? There is really only one solution, and that is direct administration. The Indian Government has gone the limit; it cannot now throw in its hand. “Political control” has proved to be no control. However, direct administration cannot be set up overnight. In fact, it cannot begin till 1939 or 1940 at the earliest, and meanwhile the Tibetan administration carries on. I was in Mönyul for six months in 1938, and no sooner had the expedition returned to the plains than I began to feel the weight of Tibetan displeasure; not indeed from the Mönba, who are quite indifferent, but from *jongpens*. Had I possessed ponies of my own I should not have noticed the slightest difference, nor indeed would I have come in contact with the *jongpens*. But being dependent on the local people for transport, when I went on tour, I had to order it through the *jongpens*, who asked to see my permit from Lhasa!

The indignation of the Tibetan Government at these proceedings is at least intelligible. What claim Tibet had to Mönyul in the first instance is immaterial. The hard facts of the situation are: (i.) that she was in effective possession of the country politically, socially and economically; (ii.) that she ceded it to India in 1914. Had India been able to take up possession in 1914 no more would have been heard about the matter. But to present a cheque for payment a quarter of a century after it has been drawn is always apt to cause ill feeling. This was particularly so in this case, because the cheque had been signed by one government and was presented in effect to another not perhaps quite so well disposed towards India. It is inconceivable that the present Tibetan Government is entirely ignorant of the 1914 treaty. Somewhere in the archives of the Devashung there must be a copy, a minute—something. But the Kashag has apparently assumed blissful unconsciousness of any such transaction, and worked itself up into a state of moral indignation. It cannot, however, repudiate the treaty, because whether or not it possesses a copy, the Indian Foreign Office obviously has one. And so the matter stands at the moment, with the Indian Government forced to make up its mind quickly what it intends to do about Mönyul. And there is only one solution—effective occupation by 1939, or at the latest, 1940. The alternative is complete

retreat, not merely from all claim to Tawang, but from the whole of the Mönba country where the Tibetan Church dominates.

The reason for this forcing of the Government's hand is that the question is not one entirely between Tibet and India; there is a third party which complicates the issue—namely, the tribes of the Assam Himalaya, Akas and Daphlas, who occupy the hills to the east of Mönnyul. Neither the Assam Government nor the Tibetan authority has any control over these savages. And just as they levied tribute on the old Assamese Government, or on individual Assamese villages—tribute which the present Assam Government continues to pay to this day—so they levy tribute on the Mönba villages adjacent to their territory.

Whatever one may think of this system of Danegeld in principle—and obviously it is cheaper to bribe the tribesmen to be good than to be continually launching expeditions against them for being naughty (prevention being better than cure)—this much can be claimed: the plainsmen are protected and *they* don't have to pay for protection, at least not directly; the Government pays.

No such claim can be made by the Tibetan administration in Mönnyul. This administration levies the usual taxes on produce for maintaining order and stimulating, or at least not interfering with, trade; which is all it does. But it does not concern itself with pacts between Mönba and Aka, which may have been in existence before the Mönba came to Mönnyul.

So the unfortunate Mönba pay taxes to their uncouth neighbours, the Aka, also in return for being left alone.

The most farcical situation prevails at Dirang Dzong, where two *jongpens*, appointed from Tsöna Dzong, reside. Annually the Aka blackmailers call for their tribute, which is paid as a matter of course, the *jongpens* looking on, indifferent to these secret treaties. One would have thought that, in their own interests, they would have forbidden the Akas a share of the plunder. The obvious answer to that is they have not the power to stop it; there are no Tibetan troops in Mönnyul.

One adopts an attitude of moral indignation towards this arrangement, I suppose, largely because it is quite alien to one's ideas of good government; although the principle of double taxation is by no means unknown in more enlightened communities. However, the Mönba appear to be ground between the upper and nether millstone, and it is easy to work oneself up into quite a state about it.

But are they? Judged by any pragmatic test it would seem not.

The system appears to work smoothly and to cause no inconvenience to anyone. The Mönba are peasant proprietors, and it would be hard to find a more cheerful and contented people. True they work all day, nothing unusual in that; but the men at any rate have enough leisure to be able to spend a large proportion of their time fishing! They live in substantial houses; they have enough clothing and enough to eat—no surplus of either, I suspect. The Tibetan Church looks after their spiritual welfare; and if it is inclined to be parasitic, at least it has introduced the arts, brought consolation, and raised the standard of living.

It may, of course, be argued that however well off they may be, they would be better off were it not for the continual drain on their resources. That may be true in a sense, but it by no means follows. Contact with other peoples, whether cultured like the Tibetans or barbaric like the Aka, is about the only thing which could move the Mönba out of his apathy.

But whether or not the Indian Government is determined to supersede the present arrangement on humanitarian grounds is a matter of merely academic interest. Under present world conditions governments have to take a much wider view of their obligations. People as supine as the Mönba become a menace by their very helplessness and inactivity. Let us suppose for a moment that the Indian Government backs out, either on the ground of expense or for some other reason, tears up the 1914 treaty and leaves Mönnyul alone. What is likely to happen?

Apart from any loss of that mythical quality prestige, one of several unpleasant things may happen—unpleasant for India and Great Britain.

How long will Tibet retain its independence? It is not guaranteed by anyone; and since it could not defend itself against aggression by even a moderate power, only its geographical isolation prevents it from being gobbled up. It may at any time, through its own weakness and corruption, fall a prey to China. Or to Russia. Or it may turn away from India and willingly—perhaps under veiled threats—throw in its lot with China. And always in the background looms that restless giant Japan.

But these are direct and perhaps not the gravest dangers. One thing appears to me inevitable. Whatever the ultimate result of the Sino-Japanese war, this upheaval is bound to have a direct influence on the future of Tibet; and the repercussions will be felt soon.

A triumphant Japan in a completely disorganized China might

without much difficulty go on to Lhasa. On the other hand, if Japan is stopped—or stops—in Central China, one of the first actions of an independent Western China, centring on the great rich province of Szechuan, might be to incorporate Southern and Eastern Tibet.

Another possible alternative is that Russia, seizing her opportunity, might forestall China and Japan and move south-eastwards from Central Asia to occupy the Tsangpo valley. That Russian expansionists have always hankered after Southern Tibet cannot be doubted.

More dire than any of these possibilities, however, and far more certain, are the repercussions which the struggle will have on Tibet as it draws to an end. Whatever the final result may be, the disbanding of the Chinese armies—as disbanded they will have to be sooner or later—is likely to spell tragedy. Here is a huge, purely agricultural country laid waste, much of it subject to floods and all of it to epidemic disease, ravaged by war, with millions of half-starved, homeless people roaming about. The tendency of the Chinese population will undoubtedly be to move westwards, away from Japan and into less crowded areas—that is to say, towards Tibet. The longer the war goes on, the more Chinese soldiers will there be at the end of it and the greater the distress.

Bearing this in mind, one cannot but think that the days of that mediæval oligarchy which rules Tibet are already numbered. It has survived for long by a hermit-like seclusion, assisted by its geographical isolation; it can survive but a short time longer by such means in the new world which is rapidly arising from the ashes of the old.

To that new world the vast cold deserts which stretch northwards from the Tsangpo valley may still be a major obstacle; the Himalaya never. Even a moderate power established in the Tsangpo valley would be a menace to India. Sooner or later India must stand face to face with a potential enemy looking over that wall into her garden—or fight to keep her out of Tsangpo valley. With Mön-yul a Tibetan province, the enemy would already be within her gates.

Nor does the matter end there. Already there are potential enemies within the gates, as well as without.

I have mentioned the excluded areas not under the provincial government. Neither the Assam legislature nor the central government has any control over these areas. Nevertheless, India provides the money for their administration. Thus there are now two governments growing up side by side in what used to be called Assam: the plains government under the Assam Legislative Assembly, and the

hill government under the Governor acting as the Viceroy's agent. Two voices are there, one of the plains, one of the hills. . . .

India can hardly be expected to provide funds indefinitely, even such comparatively small sums as are required to carry out policies in which she has no voice. Sooner or later the central authority will have to be taken into confidence in matters concerning the frontier. If not there is likely to be trouble.

■

(To be concluded)

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Second Session, Copenhagen, August 1-6, 1938

By E. J. LINDGREN, M.A., PH.D.
(Delegate of the Royal Central Asian Society.)

THE second session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences was a brilliant success, and attracted over 700 members and associates from some forty-two countries. It was gratifying to note an attendance of about 150 from various parts of the British Empire. Great Britain was represented by Mr. H. J. Braunscholtz, of the British Museum, and Professor J. L. Myres, of Oxford; British India by Professor J. H. Hutton, of Cambridge; Hyderabad by Sir Theodore Tasker; the Straits Settlements by Mr. F. N. Chasen. The Irish Free State, Canada, Australia, South Africa, the Solomon Islands, New South Wales, South Australia, and Uganda had also appointed representatives.

The fact that many papers had an Asiatic theme reflects the attention given to this field by Danish and other Scandinavian scholars. Since the interests of the Royal Central Asian Society are known to range from Egypt to Kamchatka, and from the equator to Turukhansk, the list of relevant contributions is a long one.

The section devoted to the Ethnography and Folklore of Asia was opened by Professor J. L. Myres with an impressive review of "The Nomads of Asia," accompanied by numerous illuminating maps. The facile assumption that a fixed domicile always represents a later, and a superior, stage of development is challenged by his definition of nomadism as "that mode of life, in which a human community is enabled through its control of domesticated animals, to dispense with the cultivation of plants and a place of permanent residence. . . . More significant even than their mobility," he considers, "is the close-knit social structure and habitual discipline under experienced leadership, essential to the management and defence of flocks and herds."

In the section for Ethnology, Mr. H. J. E. Peake drew upon the pre-history of the Near East in assessing new evidence and theories bearing on "The Early Cultivation of Wheat" and "The Early Spread of Agriculture."

Communications more restricted in scope may conveniently be grouped according to the country or area concerned.

Turkey.—Professor S. A. Kansu, who with Professor R. O. Arik, also of Ankara, represented the Turkish Government, read four papers. Three of these dealt with the physical anthropology of the Turks and the Etis (Hittites), while the fourth described palæolithic objects found near Ankara. Professor Arik spoke on "Toponomie, au service de l'archéologie anatolienne," and on "Les fouilles de Karaoğlan : Les premiers résultats." Professor W. Ruben, of Ankara, expressed the belief that certain trance-like states described in the Buddhist canon of India are closely related to the primitive Shamanism of Central Asia and point to pre-Aryan cultural influences.

Iran.—Three members of the Congress were from Iran, M. Y. Mahdevi representing the Government. Professor W. Haas, of Teheran, who represented the Ethnological Museum of Iran, read a paper on "The Transformation of the Nomadism of the Iranian Tribes into Sedentary Life." An account of "The Physical Characters of the Modern Peoples of Iran" was given by Dr. H. Field, of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

Arabia.—"Some Anthropometric Studies in South-West Arabia" were reported on by Dr. S. A. Huzayyin, of Cairo, who, with Dr. El Batraw, represented the Egyptian University.

India.—There were eight members from India, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, being represented by Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, and Professor H. G. D. Turnbull; the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, by Dr. S. Konow; the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, by the Rev. H. Heras; the University of Bombay by Mr. R. P. Masani; the University of Calcutta by Professor S. K. Chatterji and Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay. "The Exhibits from Maski in the Hyderabad State (Deccan)" were described by Sir Theodore Tasker, and "An Indian Stone Age Culture in the District of Santal Parganas" was the subject chosen by Mr. A. B. Andersen, of Stavanger. Professor J. H. Hutton and Dr. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, of Vienna, both spoke on the Megalithic cultures of Assam, the north-eastern frontier area receiving further attention in Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf's paper on the head-hunting of the Nagas

and other peoples of south-eastern Asia, and in Dr. H. E. Kaufmann's papers, "Die Naga-Kultur und Melanesien" and "Über das Schreiben der Naga-Sprachen und über die Verkehrsprache der Naga-Berge." Dr. Kaufmann, who is from Zürich, also showed a beautiful and instructive film of the life of "Naga, Kopfjäger und Bergbauern in den Assamesischen Bergen."

Siam.—Dr. H. Bernatzik, of Vienna, presented some of the results of a recent journey to "Die Pi Tong Luang oder Yumbri, ein mongoloides Primitivvolk in Nord-Siam."

China.—Professor F. Weidenreich, who represented the Cenozoic Research Laboratory of the Peiping Union Medical College and the Geological Survey of China, gave an important lecture on "The Classification of Fossil Hominids and their Relations to each other, with Special Reference to *Sinanthropus Pekinensis*." The methods of excavation employed at the site of the discovery of Peking Man were illustrated by an excellent film, while casts of the famous skull were exhibited at the National Museum on behalf of the Peiping Union Medical College. Questions concerning the physical anthropology of the modern Chinese type were involved in an account of "Rassenkreuzungen zwischen Negern und Chinesen auf Trinidad," by Dr. Rita Hauschild, of Berlin. "Functionalism and the Theory of Incest" were treated by Mr. F. L. K. Hsü. Mr. J. Prip-Møller, of Jyderup, the Danish architect who has recently published a monumental work on Chinese Buddhist monasteries, presented "Notes on the Development of the Buddhist Monk Cell and its Present-Day Outfit in China," the subject also being illustrated by a special exhibition of his collection in the National Museum.

Mongolia and Manchuria.—Dr. N. C. Nelson, of New York, gave a brief descriptive analysis of the stone implements gathered in Inner and Outer Mongolia during the Central Asiatic expeditions of 1925 and 1928, which were led by Dr. R. C. Andrews. Owing to an extraordinarily good map, itself a product of the expeditions' work, the speaker's modesty did not succeed in concealing from his audience the imposing stretch of territory covered and the importance of the material found. Dr. E. J. Lindgren touched on various aspects of Mongol and Tungus life in papers on "The Study of Social Change due to Culture Contact" and "Tungus Reindeer Breeding in Manchuria," and in a film of the Khingan Tungus (Numinchen) tribe.

Japan.—Dr. M. Oka, who represented the Japanese Ethnological Society, spoke on the culture of the Kurile Islands, describing the

results of recent excavations by Dr. Baba and himself, which it is proposed to continue systematically from north to south.

Northern Europe and Asia.—In view of the outstanding Danish work on the Eskimos, the creation of a special section for “Arctic Ethnography” was appropriate and welcome. It was far from being confined to Eskimo topics, however, for the similarities and mutual borrowings of many northern cultures in Europe, Asia, and America have become an important and promising object of study. Besides the papers on the Kurile Islands and Tungus reindeer breeding already mentioned, this section included M. A. Levitsky’s on “Quelques phénomènes apparentés au totemisme en Asie septentrionale,” Dr. F. B. Steiner’s on “Hundeopfer und Wehengeständnis, ihre Beziehungen zum nordeurasiatischen Wiedergeburtsglaube,” Dr. B. Gunda’s on “Die Verbindung der ungarischen Hirtenkultur mit dem asiatischen Pferd- und Renntiernomadismus,” and Dr. W. Steinitz’s on totemism among the Ostyaks and the origin of the Ostyaks and Voguls. Dr. Steinitz also read papers in the linguistic section, one being devoted to the literary languages recently created for the northern peoples of the U.S.S.R.; examples of attractively illustrated primers and readers in some of these tongues were passed around for inspection. In his other linguistic paper Dr. Steinitz contended that the Finnish system of phonetic transcription was too elaborate to be successfully used in recording the sounds of Ostyak, Vogul, and Yenisei-Ostyak. Professor O. Streng, of Helsingfors, described the distribution of certain Blood Groups among the Finno-Ugrian peoples.

Abstracts of all the papers read at the Congress will be published in the *Compte-rendu* in due course.

But while the scientific work of the Congress was varied and important, the informal contacts between anthropologists from different countries, often studying similar problems in widely separated areas, were perhaps equally valuable. For these the many receptions and excursions, all enlivened by the proverbial Danish hospitality, provided an ideal setting. His Majesty King Christian of Denmark and Iceland, Patron of the Congress, was graciously pleased to honour the inaugural meeting with his presence, and Dr. P. Munch, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, made a speech of welcome. There were receptions at the Engineers’ Institute, the National Museum, the Ny Carlsberg Museum of Sculpture, and the Town Hall, where the Mayor of Copenhagen addressed the gathering, and a magnificent farewell banquet.

Among the hosts who generously entertained smaller groups in

their homes were Mr. H. V. Jacobsen, Director of the East Asiatic Company, and his wife, with whom the Society's delegate last had the privilege of dining ten years ago in Harbin, where Mr. Jacobsen was Honorary Consul-General and always extended every courtesy to Scandinavian and other foreigners. Their house at Hellerup, just outside Copenhagen, appears to have been built around their magnificent collection of things Chinese, ancient and modern, and one of the guests declared himself transported into "the atmosphere of the Arabian Nights." Another genial host was Professor Gudmund Hatt, a versatile scholar who has thrown light on Asiatic cultures, notably in his *Notes on Reindeer Nomadism* and *Arktiske Skinddragter i Eurasien og Amerika*. Our hostess, Emilie Demant Hatt, is known for her translation from the original Lapp text of *Turi's Book of Lappland*, which her determination induced Johan Turi to write, for her own publications on Lapp folklore and general ethnography, and for her paintings, some of them with Lapland themes.

The National Museum's Ethnographical Collection, claimed to be the oldest in the world, is now spaciouly housed in additions to the Prinsens Palæ of 1684 which have only been completed this year. Asiatic material is found in several sections. The collections from "Polar Tribes" include the Samoyed, Ostyak, Yakut, Tungus, Amur peoples, and Ainu; the collections from primitive tribes of the tropical regions range from Melanesians and Polynesians, and the natives of Java, Bali, and Sumatra, to Sudan and the Tuareg. The collections from the "High Civilizations of Asia" are very comprehensive, south-western Asia, Turkey, Syria, Iran, Armenia, Kurdistan, the Lurs, the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, Mongolia, Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, Siam, Burma, India, and Ceylon being represented. Rare Shamanistic cult objects from Mongolia and other areas deserve mention. During the Congress there was a special exhibition of Chinese Art by Mr. Sophus Black, formerly resident for many years in Peking and Tientsin, where he and Mrs. Black hospitably welcomed and assisted many travellers. Of their invaluable aid to Carl Krebs' expedition to North-Western Mongolia one of the members, Mr. Henning Haslund, writes eloquently in the second chapter of his book, *Tents in Mongolia*: "Black was a great help to us at the many tedious visits to the various Chinese *yamens*, and he understood how to handle the tardy officials with a mixture of smiling *chinoiserie* and steely determination." At Copenhagen Mrs. Black and the Countess Thea Ahlefeldt-Laurvig were members of the Ladies' Committee of

nine which arranged a delightful series of entertainments, at the Royal Yacht Club and elsewhere, for the wives of Congress members.

The Permanent Council of the Congress has received invitations from several countries for the third session in 1942, but no final decision has been made. In any case our next hosts will find it difficult to rival the *éclat* of Copenhagen, 1938.

REVIEWS

Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions. By Radhakamal Mukerjee, Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xx + 268. London: Macmillan. 1938. 7s. 6d..

Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions is the title of a book written by Dr. R. Mukerjee, Professor of Economics and Sociology at the University of Lucknow, India.

It contains statistics showing the population of India since the year 1600; by decades since 1851, and year by year since 1911. These figures are supplemented by the compilation of a mass of very interesting data on a wide variety of subjects affecting the welfare of the Indian people, which is rapidly becoming available now as a result of researches and investigations conducted in recent years by a strong body of government officials, private and semi-private bodies, and individuals. The author has also made original researches himself in collaboration with the Physiological Laboratory in King George's Medical College, Lucknow.

From this basis, Dr. Mukerjee gives a diagnosis of the factors involved in the amazingly rapid increase in India's population, which is apparent, especially since about 1930; and sets forth his views on the problem of food supply involved; on related problems; and on the lines along which he thinks action should be taken to check the birth-rate, and improve the condition of the people.

He shows that the population of India was 315 millions in 1911, 353 millions in 1931, and estimates that it will increase to 400 millions by 1941. Peace and security of rural life, and the introduction of public hygiene and sanitation are mentioned as the major factors concerned. In his opinion profound changes in the Indian social and village structure have contributed towards transforming this multiplication into a real economic and sociological problem. Neither the joint family, nor the caste, nor the village body politic, nor the time-honoured *dharma*, he says, now supply effective social standards to keep down numbers.

Among other factors mentioned as contributing to over-population are the climate—by reducing the age of puberty, as compared with Western countries—and infant-marriage, promoted after the Mohammedan conquest by the desire of the family to get its girls safely mated to suitable husbands in an age when there was danger of improper alliance due to Mohammedan contact. A witness before the "Age of Consent" Committee is quoted as saying that cases are not uncommon in which girls bring forth six to seven children before they attain their eighteenth year. These early marriages, however, are said to result in a high death-rate of both mothers and children.

On this point Dr. Mukerjee quotes the "Age of Consent" Committee as stating: "When the boy is not more than sixteen years, or the girl is twelve

or thirteen, a fairly large percentage of wives die of phthisis, or some other disease of the respiratory organs, or from some ovarian complication, within ten years of the consummation of marriage," and, apart from the neglect of female children, he adds, too early and frequent maternity, ignorant midwifery, dangers of childbirth, and disorders and diseases resulting from bearing too many and too frequent children, have all contributed, in the absence of selective epidemic diseases, towards a higher death-rate among females—especially in the reproductive ages—than among males in India. The result, he says, "is a deficiency of females in India as a whole, and in the higher castes in particular." This last statement is surprising, and one wonders whether there is not some other factor at work causing the deficiency of females to fall with particular severity on the higher castes.

Statistics are given of the number of females per 1,000 males of all ages in several upper and lower Hindu castes inhabiting the Indo-Gangetic plain, Bihar and Bengal, which show that, generally speaking, the number of females is greater in the lower than in the higher castes, and also in the same caste as one advances towards the less arid climate. As regards Southern India, it is stated that the Madras Presidency, on the whole, contains more women than men; that in Travancore most of the primitive tribes and castes included in Marumakkathayi show excess of females over males; and that in Cochin the Marumakkathayan communities and the indigenous Malayali castes generally show a striking excess of females.

One feels that one would like figures of the proportions of female *births* in such cases, therefore special interest attaches to the author's statement that in regions where Dravidian-speaking race elements and primitive tribes predominate, the proportion of female *births* is higher than where the Indo-Aryan-speaking elements and higher castes prevail. Dr. Mukerjee informs us that for several decades the intellectual social groups, by reason of such dysgenic customs as hypergamy and endogamy as well as paucity of females, have exhibited either a smaller increase or an actual diminution in numbers, as in the United Provinces; while the less literate and backward social groups, more progressive demologically, threaten to swamp the cultured stocks, especially in the prosperous areas in the Ganges plain.

Statistical tables show the "Disparity of Growth of Upper and Lower Class Hindu and Muslim Communities," the "Disparity of Natural Variation of Advanced and Backward Hindus and Mohammedans in Northern India," etc.

Dealing with over-population he mentions the occurrence of "a direct correspondence of birth-rate and an inverse correspondence of death-rate with favourable harvests," also "a gradual 'ecologic' adjustment of natality and mortality, so that an equilibrium density or an average abundance is reached." These, he says, are the unclassified malthusian "positive" checks which are now operating over large areas in India in a somewhat modified manner. Severe and recurrent famines are stated to have contributed to limit normal growth of numbers, and establish equilibrium density of population up to the end of last century—the number of deaths from famines between the years 1800 and 1900 being given as 32.4 millions.

In the famine of 1901—the worst of recent years—one million people are said to have perished; the loss of life in British districts being 3 per cent. of the population affected, as against 33 per cent. in the Bengal famine of 1770, when 10 million died.

But famines, says Dr. Mukerjee, have now lost their rigour, due to improvement of the means of communications and farming practices, facilities of irrigation and rural credit, migration and industrialization. A severe drought, however, he says, is even now followed by dysentery and diarrhoea, due to unwholesome and insufficient food or reduced powers of digestion and assimilation as the result of privation.

As regards epidemic diseases, he notes that they still play an important rôle in checking population growth, and estimates the mortality in India from the chief of these for the years 1901 to 1931 as follows: Cholera, 10.75 millions; influenza (1918-19), 14 millions; plague (since its appearance in 1896), 12.5 millions; and malaria, 30 millions. In ordinary years malaria is said to be responsible directly for at least a million deaths per annum, chiefly among infants and children; and Dr. Mukerjee thinks that its direct and indirect actions together are responsible for double that mortality.

These figures provide food for thought in view of the indisputably magnificent work which has been done in the reduction of the incidence of epidemic disease in India.

Dealing with measures to be taken to check a too rapid increase of population he says, "It is sometimes suggested, and that on the basis of historical experience, that there is only one way in which we can seriously reduce the Indian birth-rate; namely, by raising the standard of living." But it appears to him that the rise in the standard of living is thwarted by the population increase. The offensive against illiteracy, he says, is baffled because the population outruns the facilities for education, while taxable capacity hardly increases. Also, schemes for sanitation, agricultural improvement and rural uplift generally, are deferred because of expanding population. In his opinion a rational family planning and education of the masses in birth control must be accepted as the most effective means of combating population increase, but adds that better farming, industrialization, etc., should also be used to raise the standard of living, which "alone," he says, "can create the mental attitude that is the sole bulwark of the small-family habit."

In the birth-rate in British India as a whole there appears to be no definite downward trend, but the author refers to its steady decline over the last 30 years in the heavily populated provinces—United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal; also he states that an intensive study of the vital statistics over a period of 60 years in certain congested districts in the United Provinces indicates that there is a distinct tendency towards diminution of birth-rate after a district's saturation density is overstepped; such diminution not being due to human volition.

This diminution, he says, resembles the tendency of decrease of birth-rate and longevity found by Pearl and Swinney in the case of fruit-flies, when these overstep an average abundance, and is probably brought about through

malnutrition and diminution of hormone output and nervous activity due to economic pressure.

Here the thought forces itself on one's attention that the level of saturation density in India has been so raised since the year 1900 that an additional 80 millions of people are being maintained in it, and consequently that a remarkable compliment is due to government and the personnel of its numerous departments, who have worked for the maintenance of peace, and improvement in the conditions under which the Indian masses have lived.

The thought also comes to one's mind that wherever the new level of saturation density may be pitched, a rising population will tend to approach it, and with the rapid increase in population numbers in India—especially in very recent years—one wonders how far the population of to-day is off the present saturation level.

The author has made a collection of most interesting data regarding diets of human beings in different climates and conditions both in India and elsewhere, but the gaps in the information regarding Indian diets are still very wide. Dr. Mukerjee states that the standards of food requirements for Indians have not been worked out yet by physiologists, but that he, in collaboration with the King George's Medical College, Lucknow, has fixed up two theoretical standards—one for Northern India and another for Bengal and Southern India—on the basis of which various peasant and working-class diets collected from different provinces have been commented on. In this connection the general remark is made that "inadequacy of calories, lack of proper balance and lack of uniformity, seem to be the three great alarming drawbacks of the Indian peasant's diet, and these defects are rooted in the poverty of the people, the system of cropping in tiny holdings, and social and religious prejudices against the acceptance of cheap animal foods like fish, goat, mutton and eggs." Further on, he states that "a close investigation of the peasant and working-class dietary in different parts of India shows that the diet is usually adequate in its calorific value, but is not well-balanced and apt to be too bulky."

One is also interested to read (page 42) that "as a result of a questionnaire sent to physicians working in typical agricultural villages throughout India, and replies received from 571 of them, Sir John Megaw found that malnutrition due to unsuitable diet was the rule rather than the exception."

The author estimates a food deficiency for 12 per cent. of the population in a year of normal harvests, and urges "a systematic food and crop planning on a country-wide scale, based on the sciences of economics, agriculture and nutrition, and guided by true social foresight."

One is at a loss to understand what he means by this, as all the provinces in India and the major Indian states have departments of agriculture staffed with experts on these and other subjects equally or more essential for the investigation of problems affecting the prosperity of the agricultural community; also the Central Government has its staff of experts on various important subjects, and the Imperial Agricultural Research Council helps

to finance and co-ordinate agricultural research in different parts of India. Again there is the Indian Central Cotton Committee helping to finance and co-ordinate research connected with the cotton crop throughout India, etc. The work of the whole of these bodies has a direct effect on food and crop planning.

Nor, when one thinks of the results achieved, can it be said that the work is not guided by true social foresight. Let me give a few examples taken from a statement broadcast in January, 1938, by the Director of Agriculture, Punjab, which is at my hand. He states that a wheat (variety 8A) evolved in the department and made available to farmers in 1919 is so popular that now, either in pure or mixed form, it constitutes the bulk of the 10 million acres of wheat crop in the Punjab, and that on account of increased yield it represents an added money value of Rs. 3 crores annually to the province. Many people, he adds, hold that the increase in yield is at least double his estimate.

Again, he says that the Punjab has become famous among cotton-growing countries for medium and long staple Punjab-American cottons evolved in the department; that the various varieties of its 4F Punjab-American (which was given out to farmers in 1914) were growing on an area of 1,360,000 acres last year, and put an additional Rs. 95 lakhs into the pockets of cultivators that season. In his broadcast he also refers to the department's work in evolving high-yielding and high-quality varieties of rice, various new and improved fodders, oil-seeds, millets, etc., to achievements in connection with fruit-growing, control of insect pests and fungal diseases, better cultivation of the soil, the increased amounts of improved seeds made available to farmers; the training given to farmers and farmers' sons at the Agricultural College, Lyallpur, and elsewhere, demonstration work on farmers' own fields, etc.

This broadcast talk was limited to fifteen minutes, consequently only some of the department's work could be touched on. Several other valuable achievements occur to me, but I also must refrain from dealing with them for reasons of the printed space which would be occupied. It is sufficient to emphasize here that these are but some of the results obtained in one province only; that departments in other provinces, in Indian states and under the Central Government, also research workers under the control of other bodies, all have lists of achievements to their credit. This is not done without true social foresight.

Again, Dr. Mukerjee states "agriculture must now be approached *from a new angle in India*—viz., devising for each agricultural region an adaptive crop rotation which may ensure the most economical use of land, and of man and animal labour on the holding, and at the same time yield the highest number of calories per acre." "This," he says, "is the primary adjustment required in the face of the heavy and increasing pressure on the soil."

Here also one has difficulty in understanding just what the author means. The problem of devising rotations which will make the most economical use of land and labour-power available is not new—on the contrary, prac-

tical agriculturists find it one which presses itself insistently on their attention, therefore the *new angle* seems to lie in the aim to make the holding yield the highest number of calories per acre.

But herein lies a pitfall which is recognized only when the fact is realized that "profit per acre" is the foundation-stone of agricultural prosperity, and that if profit is reduced by substituting either a food crop for a non-food crop, or one food crop for another, increased poverty—not prosperity—will result.

Many battles have been fought over this point. For example, at the time the Punjab Agricultural Department was ready to let farmers have its 8A wheat—already referred to—it had other varieties with grains having a higher protein content, better bread-baking properties, etc., and there was a strong feeling in certain quarters that one of these varieties should be given out instead of 8A. But searching tests had indicated that 8A would give a higher profit per acre, over a series of years, in conditions of soil, climate, cultivation, etc., which the ordinary farmer could afford to give it, so the advice to give preference to one of the other varieties was not accepted. Had it been accepted, Punjab farmers—and the province—would have been the poorer by crores of rupees annually (see above).

Again, when 4F Punjab-American cotton-seeds were ready for distribution to farmers, the agricultural department had other varieties of Punjab-American cotton which would spin far higher "counts" than 4F, and spinning interests strongly urged that they should be grown instead of 4F. But 4F clearly promised to give much higher profit per acre in ordinary farming conditions, and, after a battle, 4F was given out to farmers, with the benefits already mentioned.

Similarly, in any attempts to increase the protein-yielding capacity per average holding, which is also urged by the author, the same rigorous test of "profit per acre" is essential.

In this connection it is also important to note that although the kinds of crops grown in a locality may still influence the kinds of foods consumed by the people living there, there is a decreasing need—owing to improved facilities for transport, marketing, etc.—for every farmer to grow all the foods which he consumes, or even for every locality to meet all the food requirements of its community; therefore that Indian farmers have now an opportunity of adding to their own profits and to the prosperity of the country by farming more of those crops which are specially suited for cultivation in their particular conditions of climate, soil, etc. This method of increasing agricultural profits and of raising the standard of living of the general public has been made good use of in democratic countries where farmers have the freedom to choose their crops; and full use of it should be made in India.

Some passages in this book incline me to think that the author has not appreciated the full importance of this opportunity, and it is pleasing to read, on page 166, a passage to the effect that owing to improved means of communication and transport, foods grown in parts of India specially favourable for their cultivation are now available to people in other parts of India

less suitable for that purpose. Also that wheat and ragi are cheaper than rice in Bengal and Madras.

So far as I can see, the possibilities of all other lines, mentioned by Dr. Mukerjee, which would increase farming profits, are also realized by the people concerned. One heartily agrees, however, with his view that the agricultural produce per unit area of land can be greatly increased. Indeed, the consideration of what has been already accomplished brings home the fact that the increase which may be expected is only limited by human knowledge. But the number of failures one has seen—sometimes by distinguished people—is evidence that the problem is less simple than many people think it is.

Regarding the cattle problem: the number of cattle and buffaloes in India in 1934-35 is given as 214.2 millions, of which the author thinks about 125 millions may be regarded as uneconomical and superfluous.

“To kill a bullock or a cow is a deadly sin in Hinduism,” he says, and “the orthodox Hindu often objects to sell, even in extreme circumstances, because sale is usually to a butcher, and leads to the slaughterhouse.” Again, he says, “One might expect that heavy human population density thins out bovine population. But it is one of the striking economic paradoxes in India that the provinces which have the smallest crop area *per capita* maintain the largest numbers of cattle.” Human and bovine competition for maintenance on smallholdings, he finds, has resulted in the steady deterioration of the breed and efficiency of the cattle, and aggravates human poverty and malnutrition. Indeed, there is “virtual starvation of cattle,” he says, in the dry season of the year in some parts of India. He proposes certain measures to ameliorate the position, but adds that “unless the Hindu sentiment is abjured altogether the Indian cultivators cannot take a practical view of animal-keeping, and will continue to preserve animals, many of which are quite useless from birth to death—the number of these being greatest among the small cultivators who can afford it least.”

This is certainly a tremendous handicap to agricultural progress in the Hindu section of the Indian people, but it is so bound up with their religion that one feels reforms must come from the Hindu people themselves, and perhaps Dr. Mukerjee may be inclined to take a leading part in this work.

Looking back on the title of this book I confess to a feeling of disappointment with the author's treatment of this important and fascinating problem of India's food supply. It seems to me that he would have added greatly to the value of the work had he, in collaboration with experts concerned, given an account of the various angles from which it is already being attacked, together with some indication of the results achieved, and a forecast of those which might be expected.

Here it may be of interest to mention that in the Punjab alone, since about the year 1900, some 12 million acres of barren jungle have been brought under canal irrigation which has converted them to some of the richest lands in India; and when it is realized that this is double the area of land usually cultivated in Egypt the magnitude of this addition to India's food supply will be appreciated.

In this note it has been impossible to comment on many of the points dealt with by Dr. Mukerjee, and I wish to add that although readers will probably not agree with all his views and recommendations, the book is full of matters of interest to the ordinary reader and to those who study sociological problems in particular.

D. M.

The Wheel of Health. By G. T. Wrench, M.D. (Lond.). London: The C. W. Daniel Company, Ltd. No date. Pp. 146. Frontispiece. Price 6s.

The writer of this pleasing and original book was for many years in practice in Karachi. He is the author of other books, but in this he has written a monograph on the secret of health through diet.

The members of this Society may reasonably wonder why a book of this kind should be reviewed in their journal.

It is because Dr. Wrench has chosen, to illustrate his thesis and to prove his contentions, the people of Hunza, a remote valley in the Karakoram. This small country has often been mentioned in the pages of this journal.

The author discusses the food of the men of Hunza, and satisfies himself, and, I hope, his readers, that the remarkable qualities of the people of this valley, their qualities not merely of physique but of character, craftsmanship, and individuality, are due to their varied and remarkably healthy diet. If it is not due to this, why then should the people of Hunza be in a class apart from all their neighbouring clans?

No doubt remoteness has helped, but there must be other reasons why they have not degenerated; and Dr. Wrench answers the question.

Although there is much about Hunza in this book, it is by no means a monograph on that country. The author roams agreeably about the globe, and invokes Peru and Indore to illustrate his arguments. Chapter VIII. on the Causation of Disease, and Chapter X. on Progress by Recoil, are very depressing reading for the members of the mock civilization of the West.

To encourage dietetic reform, Dr. Wrench tells us on page 141 what to eat, and encourages us to follow his advice by invoking the happy lot of the people of Hunza as the result thereof; and if the reader feels that too much has been ascribed to a remote Highland clan, page 124 offers the Chinaman as an encouragement, and page 94 American milling as a warning.

This interesting book deals adequately with social cultivation, and soil impoverishment, and the diligence and ability of the Chinese peasant are frequently cited. The book, in fact, can be warmly commended. It is not dull; it does not pretend to be exhaustive; but it does provoke thought, and even alarm, for the failure of our artificial existence to protect our health and our race is well indicated.

The book has, unfortunately, neither index nor map, but the frontispiece gives a good idea of what a man of Hunza looks like.

The Mediterranean in Politics. By Elizabeth Monroe. 9" x 6". Pp. ix+259. Oxford University Press. 1938. 10s.

This illuminating survey is particularly welcome at a time when the Abyssinian crisis and the Spanish question have more than ever before focussed public attention in Great Britain and France on the problems of the Mediterranean.

Miss Monroe has spent fifteen months in investigating the problems on the spot—in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Turkey, Albania, and the French possessions in North Africa. She has marshalled her facts so as to produce a picture in which both the wood and the trees are clearly discernible. An agreeable style, free from the usual clichés, makes the book attractive to the general reader as well as to the expert.

What are the principal elements in the Mediterranean situation which to-day call for study? First and foremost there is the threat to the security of British communications with India and French communications with Algeria and Morocco implied in the recent developments of Italian policy such as the conversion of Libya into an armed camp which may eventually be used to threaten either Egypt or Tunis, the creation of powerful new naval and air bases at Pantelleria and Leros, the intervention in Spain, and the intrigues in all those countries where Great Britain and France find themselves in conflict with Arab nationalism, whether in North Africa, Syria, or Palestine.

Secondly, there are the political tendencies of the secondary Mediterranean Powers, such as Turkey, Jugoslavia, Greece and Albania, whose geographical position makes them important factors, whether as allies or neutrals, in any future conflict between the great Powers in the Mediterranean.

Thirdly, there are the aspirations of the Arab populations in Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, Syria and Palestine, incipient in the first three, militant in the last two, which are an ever-increasing source of local conflicts and anxiety to the occupying Powers.

Miss Monroe is categorical in rejecting the policy of gradual British naval withdrawal from the Mediterranean, a policy which has the support of the so-called Cape school of naval experts who, since the Abyssinian crisis, have taken a negative view of the value of Gibraltar, Malta and Alexandria as bases in the event of a conflict with Italy. She argues convincingly that the slightest indication of such a withdrawal would be bound to react unfavourably on Great Britain's diplomatic position, on British commercial interests and imperial strategy. The hesitation of the British Government in proceeding with the fortification of Cyprus seems to suggest that, both from the technical and political point of view, responsible opinion on this point has not yet crystallized.

As regards the aspirations of the Arab Nationalists in Tunis, Algeria and Morocco, these do not for the moment appear to go beyond the limits of a demand on the part of the Europeanized Arab intelligentsia for a greater share in local administration, nor, given Italy's record in Libya, is Mussolini's claim to pose as the champion of Islam taken seriously in the Arab countries. But in the Eastern Mediterranean the growing unpopularity of Great Britain as the result of her Palestinian policy is a reality which cannot be ignored.

Fortunately, the loss of Arab sympathies is more than counterbalanced by the strengthening of Great Britain's ties with Turkey who, in the event of any major conflict, could be trusted to keep order in the region traversed by the Mesopotamian pipe-line. Turkey's determination, now crowned by success, to re-establish her predominance in the Sanjak of Alexandretta is a clear indication of her interest in this quarter. Miss Monroe underlines the growing importance of Turkey, thanks to the transformation she has undergone at the hands of that great statesman, Kamal Atatürk.

In Greece, Miss Monroe found that the traditional feeling of friendship towards Great Britain was as strong as ever among all classes, and she rightly refuses to draw exaggerated conclusions from the temporary economic servitude to Germany to which the country, like so many others in the Balkans, has been reduced as the result of the Schacht clearing-system.

A. A. P.

Foreign Affairs, 1919 to 1937. By E. L. Hasluck. Cambridge University Press. 8s. 6d. net.

Everyone who has to deal with public affairs knows the difficulty of ascertaining what happened in the quite recent years which have not yet passed into history. Newspapers help with their annual summaries, if one has had the foresight to keep them, and sundry annual publications contain the facts scattered through various volumes. For large-scale studies Chatham House has done invaluable work, but those who want first-aid will welcome the appearance of a handy volume which contains all that are important conveniently summarized for each country. Such a book is Mr. E. L. Hasluck's *Foreign Affairs, 1919 to 1937*.

Mr. Hasluck's method is not that of the historians who would weave the facts together into a consecutive story; it is that of the encyclopædist who groups them under headings or subjects—*i.e.*, for this purpose under countries—and leaves the reader to make his own use of them. It is the only method for a book of reference, and the only one that lends itself to approximately unbiased statement. I say "approximately," for facts have their own way of telling a story, and no writer who was not a mere machine could avoid the conclusions that are stamped upon them. Mr. Hasluck seems to me to have got substantially right the conclusions to which the post-war settlements have brought us after nineteen years. The Versailles settlement, he says, "has left a whole crop of Alsace-Lorraines all over the world." It may be argued that nothing else was possible in the passionate atmosphere of 1919, but that unfortunately does not absolve us from having to deal with the consequences. Thus we are left to-day with the problem of maintaining—or what is equally difficult of revoking—a settlement imposed upon a disarmed Germany at a time when Germany is formidably rearmed. When we turn to the story of the League of Nations as told in the final chapter of this book, the conclusion brought home to us is that the real failure of the League (beside much that may be set to its credit) is not the failure to impose sanctions but the failure to secure disarmament while it was yet possible, and to use its machinery for the revision of treaties to redress grievances. It is unlikely that a successful combination to coerce aggressors will ever be possible except on a basis which is generally regarded as just. The settlement of Versailles needed drastic revision before it could provide that basis.

For students of Near-East and Middle-Eastern affairs Mr. Hasluck does useful work by unravelling the extremely tangled skein presented by the course of events in Syria, Palestine, Iraq and Arabia. The Englishman thinks of Palestine as a unique instance of trouble falling on his innocent head, but the whole record shows the difficulty which the European has in taming the Arab and which the Arab has in governing himself. The French gave it up in despair in Syria after bombarding Damascus; we have found an escape from it in Iraq; in Arabia Ibn Saud has carried on war in the old style with the insatiably warring tribes that trouble her peace. Mr. Hasluck does not enter deeply into the vexed question of what the Arabs were promised or led to expect in the last years of the war, but one of the serious aspects of the Palestine question is that it is keeping alive

throughout the Arab world the sense of a grievance which would otherwise have been forgotten.

Two very considerable figures who may rank as personalities with the European dictators have been thrown up in the East since the war. One is Kamal Ataturk, as he is now styled; the other Riza Khan, who has made himself Shah of Persia. Both have made short work of the democratic institutions into which by a queer paradox the East has plunged just at the moment when half Europe is turning its back on them. A special experience that I had of Kamal during the negotiations on the question of Mosul left on me a deep impression of shrewdness and caution combined with a strong will. I think of him as more resembling an enterprising American bringing the business spirit to bear on the affairs of his country than any other Oriental I have known. In modernizing Turkey he has gone to work in a persistent and methodical way which gives hope that his building will endure. The material is more difficult in Persia, and road and railway construction alone will not overcome the resistance to modernizing in the older generation. Nevertheless the construction of the railway from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf is a great work, in which incidentally British engineers have played a heroic part.

A recital of facts often leaves us wondering what exactly they amount to in the world to-day. Mr. Hasluck's account of Russia, for example, is useful and painstaking, but it leaves us to find our own way between a multitude of conflicting reports about the consequences of the Soviet experiment. He rightly gives full details of the new Russian "constitution," but before we can understand it we need to realize that it is fundamentally, according to our ideas, unconstitutional. It specifies a large number of "rights"; it provides for a "Parliament" and "elections"; but when we look a second time we find that only members of the dominant party enjoy these rights, that no others can stand for or be elected to Parliament, and that any opposition, as we understand the word, to the policy of the ruling executive or dictator, is liable to be denounced as a form of "counter-revolutionary" activity which may be punished with death or long terms of imprisonment. The Germans too claim to have a constitution (*Verfassung*), but that, as expounded in the works of the official lawyers, turns out to be little more than an impassioned affirmation of the unlimited absolutism of the Führer and of the submission and obedience due to him from all others. In the totalitarian States the word "constitution" seems to be only a sort of lingering homage which absolutism pays to the liberty which it has extinguished.

Mr. Hasluck's account of Japan and of the political feuds and economic causes which have led to her aggressive policy in China takes us about as far as present knowledge permits. But one point, I think, should be added. At the Washington Conference in 1921 the other Powers consoled Japan for the loss of the British alliance by pledging themselves not to construct advanced fortified bases in the Pacific before the year 1936. The effect of this, unperceived at the time but painfully discovered in subsequent years, was to make the coercion of Japan so difficult as to be a practical impossibility. This situation will not last for ever, but it has given Japan a free run for a period of years, and to make the best of it, while it lasted, has probably been one of the principal motives of Japanese militarists.

Kamal Ataturk's Land. The Evolution of Modern Turkey. By August Ritter von Kral. Translated by Kenneth Benton, published by Wilhelm Braumüller, Universitäts-Verlagsbuchhandlung, Wien-Leipzig. 1938.

In his preface, the author, who was the post-war Austrian Minister to Turkey, says that he has taken pains to be strictly objective and impartial, avoiding anecdote and personal comment. He claims that his book is a conscientious report on the present position and conditions in Turkey, a balance sheet of her achievements up to date.

It is a fair claim, and the report has been drawn up with German thoroughness. The translation is very well done.

A striking feature in the book is the appreciation of the genius of Mustafa Kemal, now known as Ataturk—"The Father Turk" is a better translation of this name than "Father of the Turks." An inconspicuous army officer in 1919, in a country down and out after eight years of continuous and disastrous war, he conceived the stupendous ambition of creating a new, independent and modern Turkey. The story of how he achieved his aim is well and succinctly told in the first four chapters. Although his method of acting through an authoritarian party, created by himself, resembled that of the dictatorships of Stalin, Mussolini and Hitler, there was a very big difference. The author points out that "the way of Mustafa Kemal was not that of a dictator," but rather that of an intelligent leader who is capable of adopting the opinions of others when circumstances make it advisable. Thinking that a reasonable opposition would be of use, Mustafa Kemal, in 1930, allowed the formation in the Grand National Assembly of an opposition party under Fethi Bey, now Ambassador in London. The time was not yet ripe, violent clashes occurred and showed that broad toleration of free speech provoked outbursts of passion. Mustafa Kemal gave up his plan for the moment, but in February, 1935, came back to his favourite idea of allowing independent members admission to the National Assembly. The Popular Party decided to leave sixteen free seats for the purpose "of giving upright republican and democratic-minded men, who are not bound to the Party, the opportunity of contributing to the Nation's progress by means of free criticism of Government and Party affairs." How unlike Russia, Italy and Germany!

The many reforms needed to convert an intensely conservative peasantry to Western ideas and to break away from the Asiatic sphere of culture to which Turkey had always belonged are sympathetically described. "The most important reform in commerce, trade and industry was the systematic training of the purely Turkish population for these spheres of activity, in which they had previously found little interest and for which, as many foreigners wrongly thought, they were little qualified."

A very detailed account is given of the progress in agriculture and forestry, of the various schemes for creating new industries, of the organization of banking and insurance, of railway construction, aviation, navigation, public works, public health institutions and of the armed forces.

Especially worthy of attention is the chapter on Turkish domestic policy, a new type of statecraft, which, as the author emphasizes again, is *not*

dictatorship. The builders of the new Turkey had come to the conviction that the catastrophe of their people was the natural consequence of the evils of the Sultans' rule and of the subsequent parliamentary government suddenly grafted on to a population totally unprepared for it. They felt that the new régime they had erected on the ruins of the old must neither in form nor essence resemble either of these two systems. The new domestic policy includes a healthy revolutionism as regards Turkish life, and is leading to the adoption of European civilization and to the intellectual and economic solidarity of the Turkish people with the Western nations. This conception of "revolutionism," which is simply a form of natural evolution, implies that man must not stand still but must continually strive after improvement and progress in his national and social life. The democratic conception has always been a characteristic feature of the Turkish nation, and it has been intensified by the Kemalist axiom of the equality of the people without privilege of class.

A final chapter deals with Turkey's relations with foreign powers, and shows how she has become a strong influence for peace.

There is a good map of the country.

The book is a well-compiled and serious study of the new Turkey in all its aspects and should certainly rank as a standard work on the subject. If it is objected that the picture is painted in bright colours without any shadows, the author has declared in his preface that a too critical or sceptical examination of the various reforms has not been considered necessary. Moreover, his hopeful outlook is shared in the Turkish Number published by *The Times* on August 9.

Eight years ago the present reviewer in the chapter "To-morrow" of his book on Turkey asked, Do the Kemalist reforms mean a changed mentality, sufficient to create a modern State? and left the question unanswered. Herr von Kral answers Yes; and we may hope that he is right.

A. T. WAUGH.

Anglo-Russian Relations Concerning Afghanistan 1837-1907.

By William Habberton. Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Vol. XXI. No. 4. Published by the University of Illinois at Urbana, 1937. Paper covers. Price \$1.50. Pp. 102. Two maps.

This is an interesting and, on the whole—with certain exceptions given later—a well-documented account of the relations between India and Russia during the fifty years stated on the title page. The brochure is rather a running commentary than an original examination of the complicated relations between the two countries, and the author is careful to support his statements with a reference to his authorities, and the documentation is elaborate. The result is a useful and concise, though necessarily somewhat superficial account of the events in the rather arbitrary period laid down, as 1907, the date of the Anglo-Russian agreement regarding Afghanistan, did not unfortunately end our anxieties.

The first chapter describes the genesis of the Afghan question, and the author calls Palmerston a Russophobe, though it is doubtful if that remarkable man ever allowed his feelings to gain the upper hand.

On page 29 we are told of the territories and boundaries which Lord Granville considered to belong to the Amir, and which were defined with great liberality. The hostile critics of Britain in Afghanistan have been numerous and vociferous, but a little reflection and a little less *parti pris* should convince them that the western and northern boundaries of the present Afghan kingdom owe their existence solely to British statesmen: and this book will prove that not merely the extent but the very existence of the country are the result of their foresight and sense of justice. Under the most favourable circumstances the Afghans, without British help, would have lost the northern and western provinces, although, be it noted, the Russian annexation of Badakhshan, Afghan Turkestan, and even Wakhan or Herat, was not only ethnically justified but would have done no harm at all to Afghanistan as a buffer state. The Russians gave up Badakhshan and Wakhan in deference to British protests, but the retention of Wakhan was endangered during the discussion of the Pamir question and that of Afghan-Turkestan and Maimenat (see p. 51, where it is spelt Maimeneh and not as spelt by Lord Granville on p. 29) during the Penjdeh crisis. It can only be repeated that the British Government was consistent in maintaining unimpaired the frontiers of the Durrani kingdom.

In the chapter on the genesis of the Second Afghan War a reference is made (pp. 39, 40) to the determination to keep Russian and Indian frontiers apart, a wise policy which recent changes in Central Asia have not made obsolete. The events which led up to the war, and particularly the behaviour of the Amir to Russia, are clearly described, and it is evident that the Amir and the Russians were both to blame for both were ill-advised and provocative. When it was too late, Kaufman advised the Amir to make peace (p. 46). It was a general muddle with Afghanistan as the chief sufferer. The writer next discusses the Penjdeh incident, and he appreciates the activities of the Russians in the early "eighties" in Central Asia, for it was their expeditions against the Tekke Turkomans and the occupation of Merv which undoubtedly justified British alarm for Afghanistan. The crisis is well described and the minute "documentation" of the various episodes is of real value, as it is throughout the book. The delimitation of the N.W. Afghan frontier was the immediate result of this episode. In Chapter V. we have the Pamir Question. It is difficult when viewing the constant crises and disturbing phases of Russo-Afghan relations not to criticize the piecemeal fashion in which the various Afghan questions were resolved by the interested parties or to explain why, once for all, the Afghan frontiers were not defined. The Pamirs proved another problem, and the British were once more justified in their alarm at the Russian advance for, as soon as any troublesome question was settled, the Russians at once began to insinuate themselves elsewhere. There was no excuse at all for the Russian aggression in the Pamirs, Hunza, Chitral and the like, but there was every excuse for the British to be alarmed. The Russian bogey which

silly politicoes laughed at then as they laugh to-day, was, and is, very real indeed, and is a genuine menace and not a mere boggart.

After devoting a chapter to the "Entente of 1907," which is the rather curious terminology given to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, the author, in his last chapter, asserts that after the "entente" the Afghan question ceased to be an important factor in the relations of Great Britain and Russia. This is a debatable matter, but this is not the place for the debate. In this chapter the writer sums up the questions discussed with impartiality, and he agrees with Lord Curzon that Afghanistan owes its existence wholly to its geographical position.

The bibliography on pages 94 to 99 shows commendable research, but there is a marked absence of books in Russian and German. There is also a curious distinction between "Authorities" and "Biographies, Memoirs, Speeches, and Letters." Why should Krausse, who is chided on page 33 as giving a statement "contrary to the facts," be included in the former, and the "correspondance diplomatique de M. de Staël" in the latter? If C. T. Marvin is an authority, then why not Mountstuart Elphinstone and (Lord) Morley? This is only a small blemish, but certainly an unfortunate one as it appears to deny authority to a large volume of first-class historical data.

The book is admirably printed, with appendices giving the text of the Anglo-Russian agreements of 1873, 1895, and 1907. There is a commendable absence of misprints, and the index is adequate.

The only criticism is of the two maps, which have been reproduced by a photo-mechanical process. The result has been disastrous, as two attractive-looking maps, potentially just what were wanted, are, on examination, utterly useless, even with the help of a magnifying-glass, and one wonders why they were allowed to spoil a fine example of typography. The author is to be congratulated on an excellent monograph.

Q.V.O. Corps of Guides. The History of the Guides, 1846-1922.
Gale and Polden.

The year 1847 saw the birth of the Corps of Guides which, in the words of the most distinguished of Indian frontier soldiers, "bears a name of world-wide celebrity, for not only are its exploits well known in its own country, but they are also familiar in every country in Europe." "Its exploits are well known." They deserve to be even better known; and there could not be a better medium for this purpose than the regimental history of Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides. Although it is the work of several hands, the style is even and continuous, the narrative clear and graphic. Moreover, with a record of service which must call forth the admiration of all who read it, there is not the faintest trace of self-gratulation.

In an introduction which is worthy of the tale which follows we are told something of the nature of the country in which, through a procession of so-called "small wars," it was the fate of the Guides to do the work for which they were, in the first place, created. It is the most formidable country

that the troops of any nation have ever been required to operate in, and it breeds a race of men than whom there are none more hardy, brave and fanatical in the world.

The choice of that fine old soldier Harry Lumsden to raise the Corps and to be its first commandant was a happy one. "A braver and better soldier never drew a sword." The roll of his successors contains names famous in the history of the Indian Army—Hodson of Hodson's Horse, Wilde, Sam Browne, Henry Daly, Hammond, Charles Egerton and others; and their subordinate officers were like unto them.

The first employment of active service came to the Guides in July, 1847, by which time Lumsden had collected some 50 horsemen and 20 infantry. In 1849 the strength was increased to 400 cavalry and 600 infantry. "Men from every wild and warlike tribe were represented in its ranks, men habituated to war and sport, the dangers and vicissitudes of border life, Afridis and Gurkhas, Sikhs and Hazaras, Waziris and Pathans of every class, and even Kafirs speaking all the tongues of the Border"—a composition which of itself contains all the ingredients to make of the history a story replete with incident and adventure. And what are we to say of those British officers who, with their lives in their hands, tamed and trained from the goose-step upwards this heterogeneous collection of fierce and lawless men of divers races, religions and tongues, welding them into one homogeneous military formation which through the years since its birth down to the present day has fought, endured hardships, given its lives, and for ever remained true to its salt. They are among the unsung soldier Empire-builders that pass out of recollection until we come across their names in some regimental history and read them as we idly read the names on the tombstones in an old churchyard.

The history is something more than a record of hard fighting. Even second-rate troops will generally put up a stout fight when it comes to "push of pike." But there are other qualities besides fighting which are required of good troops. There can be few units in any army who can produce as fine a marching record as can the Guides. Other things being equal, it is the most mobile troops that bring victory. Time and again the Guides, by their marching feats alone, saved a critical situation, and changed disaster into success.

Between the years 1848 and 1857 the Guides took part in the Second Sikh War and in operations against the Afridis, the Mohmands and in the Black Mountain. Only six years after their formation we find them crossing the Bori heights in face of Afridi opposition—and opposition which Avitabili with 20,000 Sikhs had been unable to overcome. Then came the Indian Mutiny, when the Guides made their historic march from Mardan to Delhi, 580 miles in 26 days, of which 22 were marching days, on one occasion turning off the road 12 miles at night to deal with mutineer villages. The average daily march for the 22 days and 4 halt days was between 26 and 27 miles. It would have been a fine performance in any circumstances. Done, as it was, during the hottest time of the year—viz., between May 12 and June 6—this march can be assessed at its full merit perhaps by those only who have

experience of a Punjab summer. Having consideration to the conditions—the great heat, the sleep lost owing to the necessity of marching at night, the sweat, the thirst, the dust, the mosquitoes and flies and other discomforts—one can, in the reviewer's opinion, fairly add 10 miles on the length of those daily marches when making a comparative valuation between them and marches made in temperate climates. "No soldier can hear of such a march without admiration, and their deeds of arms were equal to their march" (Major-General Sir Sidney Cotton). And the Guides went into action against the mutineers at Delhi on the afternoon of the day when the last 32-mile stage of the march was ended!

It would have been interesting to the military reader had the historian been able to give some information regarding the condition of the horses, the casualties from falls and sore backs, the arrangements for rations and fodder, the weights carried during the march.

With the fall of Delhi the Guides returned to Mardan, to be employed soon after against the Hindustani fanatics of Satana and the Waziris.

During the twelve years 1848 to 1860 the Guides were engaged in no less than thirteen expeditions across the North-West Frontier, apart from the Indian Mutiny. The accounts of these expeditions contain several instances of marches made by the Guides infantry of 48 to 50 miles in 24 to 36 hours, often in great heat, over rough, broken, mountainous country.

On the outbreak of the Second Afghan War the Guides joined the Peshawar Valley Field Force under Major-General Sir Sam Browne. It was when leading his men in a brilliant charge that the gallant Wigram Batty was killed. Sir Sam Browne wrote in his despatch: "The Cavalry of the Q.O. Corps of Guides has, if such a thing is possible, surpassed its old reputation as a model of what Light Horsemen should be . . . this splendid body of horsemen has never been found wanting."

The first phase of the war was scarcely over when the Guides were required to furnish the escort to the ill-fated Cavagnari mission. Of the 80 men who formed that escort 71 fell in defence of their trust, the escort commander, Lieutenant Hamilton, who had recently won the V.C., being among the number. The Court of Enquiry recorded the opinion that "the annals of no army, no regiment can show a brighter record of devoted bravery than has been achieved by this small band of the Guides." In the second phase of the campaign the Guides held the most exposed front in the defence of Sherpur cantonment under Sir Frederick Roberts and were present at the battle of Charasia. They did not, however, accompany Sir Frederick Roberts in the famous Kabul-Kandahar march, returning to Mardan by way of the Khyber.

Following the Afghan War, the Guides enjoyed some years of comparative peace, broken only by two minor expeditions against the Bunerwals and the Black Mountain.

The Chitral campaign of 1895 found them again in the forefront, doing invaluable work at the battle of Dargai. Two days later, 52 sabres of the Guides' cavalry attacked and dispersed a hostile gathering of over 1,000 tribesmen. It was while directing a retirement on the Panjkora river,

described by the force commander, Sir Robert Low, as a splendid performance, that the commandant, Lieut.-Colonel Fred Battye, was killed.

The Guides' entry into the Tirah campaign was marked by one of their phenomenal marches. The infantry covered the 32 miles from Mardan to the Malakand Kotal in 16 hours, "the road being for the greater part of the way entirely destitute of shade or water, and the last 7 miles a steady climb of 2,000 feet, in the hottest period of an Indian summer" (July 27). Immediately on arrival they were sent into the piquet line and became engaged with the enemy.

In the second phase of the Pathan revolt the regiment took part in General Sir Bindon Blood's operations against the Mamunds, the Utmankhels and in Buner. Winston Churchill, in the "Story of the Malakand Force," writes of the Guides: "The skill and experience of their officers, the endurance and spirit of their men . . . and their conduct in the Mamund Valley fills a brilliant page in the history of the finest and most famous frontier regiment."

No frontier expedition was complete without the Guides. Consequently they had their place in Willcock's week-end wars against the Zakkakhels and Mohmands.

During the first two years of the Great War the Guides were occupied in supplying drafts for units overseas and in training recruits to fill the vacancies. Their old foes, the Mohmands, however, instigated as usual by fanatical mullahs, gave them a chance of seeing some active service. There was severe fighting, and the infantry made a great march of 54 miles in 51 hours in great heat over a difficult country, in the course of which the men had to unload and reload the luggage ten times.

At last in 1917 came the call. The cavalry went to Mesopotamia in October of that year, being detailed to the 11th Cavalry Brigade, and were associated in the operations which ended in the defeat of the Turks on October 30, 1918. The Regiment subsequently proceeded to Kazvin in Persia.

The infantry left India for Mesopotamia in February and was employed on the Line of Communications. Later it joined the 7th (Meerut) Division and went to Palestine, participating in the operations which culminated in the destruction of the Turkish armies. It returned to India in December, 1918.

Meanwhile, two more battalions were raised as a war measure—the 2nd Battalion in January, 1917; the 3rd Battalion in October, 1917. The 2nd Battalion went to the 60th (London) Division and was in the thick of the fighting during the final advance. It had caught the spirit of the Guides, whose standard it worthily upheld throughout the operations. Fortunately its services did not end with the Great War. Its identity has been preserved, and it is now the training battalion of its group.

The 3rd Battalion did not go overseas. But it did not go entirely empty-handed. It saw active service in the Third Afghan War, and did good work on the Frontier and in Waziristan as part of the Waziristan Field Force during the autumn of 1919 and the early part of 1920.

The Corps of Guides was reconstituted in December, 1921, the cavalry and infantry being separated and organized on the same footing as other regiments and battalions of the Indian Army. As the history says with justifiable pride, "The decision marked the end of an organization which had endured nearly three-quarters of a century, not without glory to the British Army and advantage to the British Empire."

Through all the frontier wars in which the Guides had been engaged up to the year 1915 there had never been a single stain in its records, although the Pathans had, in every expedition, been obliged to fight against their co-religionists and even against their own kith and kin. Unfortunately in 1915 a number of Afridis deserted, in consequence of which the Afridi element had to be eliminated and replaced by Punjabi Mussulmans.

Changes have come to the regiment in recent years: changes there must be; but with their great tradition the Guides will never know decay, until, in the course of nature, they at last fade away.

This history will naturally be read by every Guide officer past and present: it ought to be read by every British officer in India who may some day be serving across the North-West Frontier; it deserves to be read by everyone whose soul reacts to the recital of adventure and gallant deeds.

G. DE S. BARROW.

The Greeks in Bactria and India. By W. W. Tarn, Litt.D. 9½" × 6½".

Pp. xxiv + 540. Plate and three maps. Cambridge University Press. 1938. 30s.

The story of the Greeks in India has hitherto been invariably treated as forming a part of the history of that vast country. This view, which neglected the fact that it should complete the history of Hellenism, has now been rectified by Dr. Tarn's admirable work.

We first read two introductory chapters dealing with the mighty Seleucid Empire, its literature and its social contacts, and the reader enjoys the skill with which a connected story has been pieced together, in some cases from fragments and coins. To quote one pregnant passage: "Individual exceptions apart, the Asiatic remained, at bottom, unaffected by Greek civilization; he had no wish to become a Greek, though he might take what Greeks could give him; he did not regard Greek culture as his culture or Greece as his spiritual home."

The main theme of the work centres round Euthydemus and his eldest son Demetrius. The founder of the independent dynasty of Bactria was a Greek of Magnesia who killed Diodotus II., the Seleucid satrap, and mounted the throne in about 230 B.C. His predecessor had rebelled against the Seleucids and had made an alliance with Parthia, which was ultimately destined to oust the Seleucid dynasty from Persia and to be the protagonist of Asia against the rising power of Rome.

Euthydemus ruled Bactria—the name is retained in Balkh—which is now known as Afghan Turkestan. Northwards Sogdiana (with its capital Marcanda, the modern Samarcand) and Ferghana, the beloved home of the

Emperor Baber, situated on the upper reaches of the Sir Daria, also obeyed his orders. But it is impossible to give a connected story of the founder of the dynasty, whose coin, which our author publishes, proves him to have been a master of men.

We know more about his successor Demetrius. Favoured by the crushing defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Roman legions on the stricken field of Magnesia in 189 B.C., which gave him a free hand, we know that somewhere between 187 and 184 he annexed to his kingdom the three Seleucid provinces of Aria, Arachosia and Seistan. Of still greater importance was his conquest of the Paropamisadæ, a province which included the modern Kohistan and the Kabul Valley. Its capital was Kapisa, where Hsuan Tsang spent the summer of 630 before descending to the plains of India.

Demetrius, who regarded Alexander the Great as his ancestor, followed in his footsteps. He conquered the province of Gandhara.* He also crossed the Indus and occupied Taxila, with its celebrated university and its merchant guilds who struck their own city coinage. As Tarn puts it: "Demetrius' aim was to restore that huge derelict [Mauryan] empire, but under Greek rule and with himself on the throne of Asoka."

The years passed, the Euthydemed Empire waned, and in 160 the Seleucid general Eucratides conquered Eastern Iran. He then invaded India and conquered the successors to the Bactrian throne. But he suddenly disappeared off the scene and returned to rule Bactria and the Paropamisadæ. In his place Menander, a general of Demetrius, who also was a great conqueror, became the sole ruler in India over an empire which stretched from Mathura (Muttra) in the east to Barygaza (Broach) in the west. He strengthened his position by marrying Agathocleia, the daughter of Demetrius.

The later chapters are devoted to the nomad conquest of Bactria. The original cause of this wave of invasion was the fight for power near the Chinese frontier between the Huing-nu (Huns) and the Yueh-chi (the Asii of Appolodorus). The latter were finally defeated and driven westwards in about 174 B.C. They attacked the Wu-sun, who grazed their flocks around Lake Issyk Kul, and occupied their lands, but were not allowed to settle down, but were again attacked by the Huing-nu. Driven further west, the Yue-chi finally overthrew the Greek kingdom of Bactria. During the reign of Augustus, their leading tribe, the Kwei-shang, or Kushan, opened relations with Rome.

This brief account gives but a bare outline of Dr. Tarn's great work which shows how the nomads of Central Asia attempted to conquer what is now the kingdom of Afghanistan, and the land-gates to the fabulous wealth of India.

P. M. SYKES.

* Gandhara included the country between the Kunar River and the Indus with the modern district of Peshawar. It was the centre of the Buddhist religion and of the celebrated sculptures, which were the work of the Greek sculptors.

The Valley of Flowers. (The Bhyundar Valley, Kamet Massif.) By Frank S. Smythe. 9" x 6". Pp. xiv + 322. Sixteen coloured photographs. Two maps. Hodder and Stoughton. 18s.

Mr. Smythe is one of the fortunate ones of this world. He is able to do the things he likes best and the result is this book of his enthusiasms written in a free and natural style. He was particularly lucky in being able to revisit his valley of flowers which he had stumbled on six years previously. How many of us have been torn away for ever from such opportunities!

The author's excellent description of his gallant porters shows one of the secrets of his success as a mountaineer—his interest in his subordinates which evokes their devotion and confidence, and leads to harmony and the success of the enterprise.

The first half of the book describes his journey from Ranikhet up to his valley and the flowers and incidents and minor climbs of his Himalayan holiday. Later we come to more serious climbing with his companion Captain Oliver. This portion of the book is of more interest to the mountaineer than to the lover of botany and nature study.

The abominable snowman has come to stay. The author proves that the tracks he saw were those of the ordinary Himalayan red bear. There is no need to invent either wild men or strange beasts to account for tracks in the snow. One writer in the press even went so far as to suggest an unknown relative of the giant panda!

It will be no surprise to find a member of that wonderful organization, the Survey of India, already calmly climbing peaks and surveying in the almost inaccessible valleys when our author arrived.

The coloured illustrations from coloured photographs are certainly beautiful works of art, but the colours of flowers are clearly wrong. A glance at the meconopsis opposite page 227 will show this. *Primula denticulata* is almost a blue flower, but in the photograph the blue has apparently been eliminated, leaving a pink. A few uncoloured photographs would have been very welcome—especially that taken when ascending the ridge in the attempt on Mana from the south-east, about which the author writes: "Seldom is the photographer presented with such perfect lighting and beautifully arranged composition, and though no photograph can do justice to the grandeur and ethereal beauty of such a scene, the photograph I was able to secure does suggest the splendour of this noble mountain."

The two maps are clear and not covered with too much detail, but are not titled. It takes the reader a little time to realize that the map on page 7 is that referred to in the index as "The Kauri Pass" map when there is no title to the map itself, and the word "Kuari" only appears inconspicuously in the centre of the map. The confusion is added to by the wrong spelling of Kuari in the index.

The importance of thorough reconnaissance of a major peak and the delight and interest of this part of a mountaineer's work is in striking contrast to the very strenuous tasks in the actual ascent. More especially is this the case in attempts on records. The author says: "At moderate elevations he (the mountaineer) is able not only to test himself to the uttermost of his strength and skill, but to appreciate the beauties of Nature and enjoy the same thrills that the pioneers of Alpine mountaineering enjoyed. It will be a happy day for Himalayan mountaineering when the 'conquest' of high altitudes is achieved." We agree, but add a note of regret that the author has himself again been defeated by the weather on Everest.

To be able to rest among flowers, to collect them, to return after the ripening of the seeds—to do all this interspersed with serious climbing makes an ideal holiday, and Mr. Smythe has led us to these delights for which we must all be

grateful; but perhaps even more grateful when the tangible results of his "holiday" are seen flowering in our English gardens.

F. M. B.

Black River of Tibet. By John Hanbury-Tracy. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xiv + 305. 1938. Frederick Muller, Ltd. 12s. 6d. net.

This is a very well-written, observant, and humorous account of a 21 months' survey-exploration, in the course of which Ronald Kaulback (who had previously been in S.E. Tibet) and John Hanbury-Tracy (who had not) hoped to discover the source of the Salween—called Gyamo Ngo Chu, the "Blue River of China," "for it flows in the direction of China, and in winter it is a deep, clear blue or green."

They had actually reached Nakshö Biru, their extreme north-west point, less than 300 miles from Lhasa, when Hanbury-Tracy's unfortunate beard led to their being detained as possible Bolshevik spies from Sze-chuan. The early spring of 1936 passed while their case was referred to Lhasa for orders, and liberty to continue their journey only arrived by the time that the nomad bandits from the north had already started on their annual trek south, rendering it impossible for the explorers to travel up the Black River (Nak Chu), as the Upper Salween is named. Thus forced south again they planned to survey the river from Shopandu to Dzika, filling in the blanks left by Bonvallot, Bower and Kingdon Ward. A war scare on the East Tibet-Chinese frontier prevented this, and also, later, stopped them from locating Pashö, "one of the last hidden towns of Asia," a place not yet seen by any outsider (not even by the famous Kishen Singh).

The outstanding results of the expedition are as follows:

(1) In the Middle Area.

(a) A very complete placing on the map of the country between Sangacho-Dzong on the south, Chö Dzong on the north-west, Shari Dzong on the north, Dzika on the east, and Situkha to Gotsong to the south-east. Thus the southern halves of Potö and Pashö provinces are now for the first time, to a major extent, surveyed and explored.

(b) Settlement of the vexed question as to where the Eastern Himalaya ends. It is now proved that that end is Namcha Barwa peak (25,446). "The Tsangpo-Salween divide" (its crest averages 19,000 ft., most of its passes being over 16,000) "is a distinct range with a north-west-south-east trend": "while the Malay arc, running down the west coast of Burma and on into Java, can evidently be the only continuation of the Himalaya." The Tsangpo-Salween divide, in fact, forms a rough T with the eastern end of the Himalaya, which culminates in the peak of Namcha Barwa.

(2) In the Eastern Area.

In Pashö, Kingdon Ward had reached Dzika, near Po. Kaulback and Hanbury-Tracy worked south-east to Thenthok Gompa, Tongpar, Situkha and Gotsong, and plotted the Salween Gorge to near

Wosithang as the most south-easterly point reached by them in South-East Tibet.

(3) In the Western Area.

At Shugden Gompa, by Ngan Tso Lake, the explorers separated, to meet later on at Dashing; Kaulback by the unsurveyed Purtsang-Kangri Karpo-Shingke Gompa route; Hanbury-Tracy down the unplotted Ngagong-Chu, a tributary starting in Ngan Tso Lake and running west-north-west through Sum Dzong to Dashing, where it joins the Tsangpo. By Gotsa La he had his reward: "As though blindfolded, I had stumbled on one of the geographical secrets of Tibet: it was the backbone of a range. A trickle of water oozed out from the stones, pressed flat by winter snows, on either side the Pass. So you, I thought, go down to Bengal, and you to Burma." From Dashing they surveyed the Tsangpo up-stream to Shöwa.

(4) In the Northern and North-Western Area.

From Dashing, they worked up the Potö Chu over Tungla La (17,280), and examined the world-famed Gya Lam (the China Road). Then, from Pembar Gompa, in the dead of winter, they worked north to Sating, striking the confluence of the Salween and its tributary, the Ge Chu. The latter they followed due west beyond Pengar Gompa, above which point the stream splits into a fan of small tributaries. They surveyed the Ge Chu-Salween divide over the Shar La (16,384) and Thamsa La (16,970). In these upper reaches the Salween is called Nak Chu ("Black River"). They put on the map the river's course from Dege to Nakshö-Biru, their farthest north-west point. It must have been a bitter blow when the misfortunes referred to above prevented them from following the Black River towards a solution of its source.

Apart from a detailed and most picturesque account of all this survey and exploration, carried on at very great heights, and often in appalling cold, Hanbury-Tracy has filled his book with countless points of interest and humour. He sets out briefly but well the method of decentralized government in Tibet; he entered into the life of the peasants and the priests. Both explorers were at all times on the best of terms with all classes, from a friendly boy of 12, a Trüku (the Incarnation of a Spirit), from highly honoured Lamas—a body of men far less in number than is commonly supposed—to priests, jugglers, villagers, soldiers and beggars. Thus Hanbury-Tracy is able to record innumerable points, whether of political, local, religious or purely mundane happenings, and he takes his opportunity with insight and humour. Tibet is riddled with endemic syphilis, while goitre is universal in the south. Contrary to their expectations the explorers found the country well populated, even at very high altitudes, while "the Tibetans are not priest-ridden but are the most religion-loving folk in the world." Kaulback pleased his fellow-explorer by purchasing "saddle-bags of red leather, with green trimmings made from the skin of human buttocks, a rare and costly material. Presumably the skin is taken from corpses."

The book is, in fact, well worth reading, whether as a modest but meticulous record of noteworthy exploration and endurance, or as a human document entertainingly describing all sorts and conditions of men, beasts, leeches, snakes, fleas and lice: even the "abominable snowmen's" tracks were seen. In the actual realm of exploration the two young travellers covered some 3,000 miles of route and put some 25,000 square miles of country, most of it till then unknown, on the map.

There is an excellent map at each end of the book containing most but not all of the places visited and discovered.

One word of criticism seems called for—a word of regret that, with this so excellent map, the outward route and the homeward track are not distinguished from each other. Had the outward line been traced in red, the homeward in blue, and the criss-cross routes of closer survey been marked in brown, the reader could have obtained with far less trouble a far more accurate picture of a piece of exploration which takes a worthy place in the history of those who go "ever a little further."

W. H. LEE WARNER.

Studien zur arabischen Musik auf Grund gegenwärtigen Theorie und Praxis in Ägypten von Alfred Berner. Schriftenreihe des Staatlichen Instituts für Deutsche Musikforschung, II. 10" × 7". Pp. 71 letterpress, 46 music, 3 addenda. Leipzig: Kister u. Siegel. RM. 4.

This small book is a thesis for a doctorate at the University of Berlin, and, as such, deserves attention. The author spent two or three years in Cairo (1931-33), where he made a study of the theory and practice of Egyptian music as he found it in Egypt's capital.

Modern Arabian theory is based on what is known as the Quarter-tone System, and the author expounds this theory as he found it in the works of Mikhā' il Mushāqa and the more recent Muḥammad Kāmil al-Khula 'i, the former a Syrian and the latter an Egyptian. Yet he does not take cognizance of a very important fact that the very *élite* of the practitioners in Egypt, and Syria too for that matter, do not strictly adhere to this scale which, according to Mushāqa, is actually a tempered scale. Of course this section dealing with theory is confined to a dozen pages, which is altogether insufficient for so important a subject.

More satisfactory is the chapter on instruments, in which some eighteen pages are devoted to the lute ('ūd), psaltery (*qānūn*), violin (*ḡamānja*), flute (*nāy*), and tambourine (*riqq*). The chapter on modal formulæ and musical form is also well done, but that on rhythm, the all-important and the most fascinating feature in Arabian music, is discussed all too briefly.

By far the best contribution is the author's excellent transcription of twenty-one H.M.V. and Odéon gramophone records, although a much more legible reproduction of the music would have added to the usefulness of the book.

On the whole this small work deserves to be read by all Orientalists and musicologists.

HENRY G. FARMER.

The Spoken Arabic of Iraq. By John Van Ess. Second edition. 7¼" × 4¾". Pp. 280. Oxford University Press. 1938.

Arabic must definitely be classed as difficult. The ordinary European student starts with the initial handicap of having to learn a strange script; it is, moreover, probably his first experience of a language of the Semitic family, constructed on lines logical and systematic to a degree, but none the less elaborate and, to the beginner, bewildering. There may be other languages more difficult than this, but surely none so heart-breaking to the earnest seeker after proficiency. The rules of word-formation are as systematic as those of the grammar; there is almost no limit to what can be done with a root; you may study your subject academically for several years and follow up with a dozen in an Arabic-speaking country, yet you are liable at any moment to be floored by a strange word which, on investigation, may turn out to mean nothing more unordinary than "lady" or "table." A second complication results from what appears to us the deplorable canon of literary excellence which has decreed that the rare is better than the familiar, the elaborate than the simple, the abstruse than the obvious; there are certain common words of unsullied classical antecedents which it is simply not done to write. Finally, to the mind used to Aryan languages the syntax seems halting and clumsy.

In the early days of the war—for those serving in Iraq the war, for all practical purposes, dragged on three years or more after the Armistice, and 1917 must be reckoned early—the Reverend J. Van Ess, of the American Mission at Basra, put hundreds of officers and men of the I.E.F. "D" in his debt by preparing for the Administration of the Occupied Territories a manual entitled *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia*. For some, perhaps, it meant no more than the cash reward granted for passing the colloquial "Field Service Test"; for others it opened the door to a more intelligent understanding of the people among whom they were campaigning, to real enjoyment, and perhaps to a career.

"The object of this book," says the preface to the first edition, "is to assist the reader in acquiring a knowledge of the spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia; only so much of the literary language has been inserted as is required by those who prefer thus to approach the colloquial." The general arrangement may be summarized as: explanatory article (*e.g.*, "the Plural," "Pronominal Suffixes of the Verb," "Numerals," etc.), followed by examples, exercise, word-list, exercise; each exercise and list consists of three parts giving the same sentence or word in (a) English, (b) colloquial Arabic in Latin character, and (c) literary Arabic in Arabic script; (b) is thus not a mere transliteration of (c). A full vocabulary, occupying 136 of the 256 pages and giving the Arabic equivalents of about nine thousand English words, adds greatly to the value of the book.

The method chosen is particularly appropriate. It is of course true, as the preface goes on to point out, that "while the written language retains the forms and grammar of an earlier age, the Arabic spoken in Mesopotamia to-day, though its direct descendant, is much simplified in structure and has acquired many dialectal peculiarities." But, contrary to popular belief, this dialect is much nearer the literary language than that of most other parts of the Arabic-speaking world outside the Arabian peninsula. The consonants, for instance, all have their classical values, and although *qaf* and *kaf* may be, and in certain words generally are pronounced, respectively, as hard *g* and *ch*, the correct pronunciation is equally permissible and does not sound exotic or pedantic. The above-mentioned grammar of an earlier age is manifested principally in the position and values of the short vowels which are normally not written at all; it is therefore possible to read simple Arabic, such as that of the *Arabian Nights*, in an easy

colloquial style not differing profoundly from that of the conversation of the middle and upper classes of Basra and Baghdad. Furthermore, however unsuitable the Arabic alphabet may be for languages such as Turkish, Kurdish or Pashto, on which it has been thrust in the past, it is admirably adapted to Arabic itself and, once the initial difficulty has been overcome, simplifies the task of mastering the mechanical rules of grammar and word-formation, which at first seems so alarming. Time spent on literary Arabic is never wasted: knowledge of it enables the foreigner who has so learnt one dialect to adapt himself readily to another anywhere from Morocco to Oman, and is, moreover, a *sine qua non* of moderately advanced studies in several other important languages. The humiliating experience of a certain prominent member of the Arab Bureau in Cairo, now to be related, may serve as a warning to the unconvinced.

It was in the autumn of 1915, during the interval between the first capture of Kut and the advance to Ctesiphon. The present reviewer was then a very junior officer devilling for the late Sir Percy Cox. We ate, slept, worked and generally had our being on a small steam-launch named *Muhammara*, waited on by the C.P.O.'s private servant Ghulam Riza, an alert, efficient, polyglot little Bushiri with the most terrible squint imaginable. The Prominent Personage had come from Egypt to establish political liaison between the two forces, and put up with us on board. The day after his arrival it so happened that the stoker burnt his arm on a hot pipe, and the Personage, as an expert in first-aid also, offered to treat him. When ten minutes, twenty minutes, half an hour passed with no sign from below the young devil went down to the cabin to investigate and found the stoker still writhing in agony, the Pillar of the Arab Bureau standing, sleeves tucked up and chin stuck out with a never-say-die expression, and little Ghulam Riza gibbering like a nervous wreck in the corner. The facts were quickly established, and praise and blame apportioned as tact rather than justice demanded. But, like Galileo, Ghulam Riza, rolling his swivel-eye indignantly in its socket, had the last word: "*Hindūstānī namīdūnad, Fārsī balad nist, 'Arabī va Ingilīzī ham durust ḥarf namīzanad; garum pānī namīgūyad, āb-i-garm namīgūyad, moy ḥārr, hāt wāter namīgūyād; hāeīmūn namīshed.*—He knows not Hindustani, with Persian he is not familiar, Arabic and even English he does not speak properly; he doesn't say 'garum pānī' he doesn't say 'āb-i-garm,' he doesn't say 'moy ḥārr' or even 'hot water'; we can't make head or tail of it."

But much water has flowed past Fao since 1917. From the first days of the Occupation, Arabic had replaced Turkish as the official language of the administration and of public instruction. In the last twenty years education has spread and the literary level is now higher; newspapers reach every corner of the country; even the illiterate tribesmen have become familiar with the technical terminology of the government departments and . . . the penal code. Persian, Turkish and English words, formerly well acclimatized, have in consequence disappeared and been replaced by pure Arabic words. To cut a long story short, Mesopotamia has become Iraq. Although Mr. Van Ess's manual had been reprinted in 1918, 1920 and 1930, the continuing demand has justified a new edition in 1938. For technical reasons it was not found practicable to introduce changes into the text itself (indeed this was hardly necessary), but, what is far more useful, the author has added a supplementary vocabulary of thirty-three pages (over two thousand words); the words involving a change in, or addition to, the former equivalents are conveniently distinguished from the entirely new by an asterisk. The name is changed to *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq*.

The supplement will greatly enhance the value of the manual to Englishmen living in Iraq, whether employed in the services or in business. A rapid glance

shows that it covers almost every aspect of governmental activity, with medical and military words notably numerous; but modern specialized terms such as atmospherics (*aḥdath jōwiya*), broadcasting (*idhā'a*), sheep-dipping (*taghtīs*), League of Nations (*uṣbat al umam*), are well represented. Some of these come pat and will stay; others sound clumsy and will doubtless fall into disuse and be replaced by happier choices. For, as has already been mentioned, word formation is largely mechanical in that nouns of agent, action, instrument, place, time, the diminutive, and so on, are constructed from root letters according to fixed formulæ, as also are nine usual and five rare measures giving modified meanings of the simple verb. It follows that, rather like the unembodied spirits in the Sufi doctrine of the Primal Compact, every word has existed potentially, in the exact form it will one day assume, ever since the Arabic language took shape; individual ingenuity is applied only to the selection of the appropriate root or measure or formula to represent the object or convey the conception for which a word is required. Ninety-nine journalists out of a hundred would probably have hit on *maṭār*, the noun of place from the root meaning "to fly," "bird," etc., for aerodrome. On the other hand there is no obvious reason why the inspired wordmaker of the not-too-distant past should have fixed on *manākḥ*, the noun of place from the root whose fourth aspect means "couch a camel," to convey "climate"; but the idea is pleasant (where my caravan has rested) and the conventional specialized meaning is well established. Some words grow up naturally and pass quietly from one Arabic-speaking country to another through the medium of the press, with Egypt hitherto leading the van. For others, the process is more deliberate and artificial; for instance, the majority of the military terms now in use, from army corps to haversack, were deliberately invented, or rather selected for transfer from the potential to the actual, over a table in the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, as the various English manuals of training and instruction were translated. Reading the dictionary is proverbially a dull pastime; nevertheless anybody with a smattering of Arabic who takes the trouble to run through Mr. Van Ess's supplementary vocabulary, comparing it with the old, will find much instruction and, perhaps, some entertainment.

The first of the examples, quoted in the opening paragraph, of the heartbreaking possibilities of the Arabic vocabulary was based on actual experience. Between the acts of an Arabic performance of *La Dame aux Camélias* in Baghdad some years ago the present writer asked an Egyptian friend in the next box about the word *ghāda*, used in translating the title, and received the reply: "Yes, it means 'young lady' exactly; a very good word, hardly anybody knows it." The second example was chosen at random as a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* of the possibilities. Just as he was about to put his initials at the end of the last paragraph above, some mysterious impulse led the reviewer to look up "table" in the supplementary vocabulary. *Mindhada!* At the risk of exposing himself to the reproach of having undertaken to review *The Spoken Arabic of Iraq* without adequate qualification he confesses, but not with shame, that to this day he had never used, never heard and never seen the beastly word, nor does he suppose he ever will again.

C. J. E.

Other Ranks of Kut. By P. W. Long, M.M., Flight-Sergeant, R.A.F.

With a Preface by Sir Arnold Wilson. Williams and Norgate.

I must admit that I opened this book—the first to be written by one of the rank and file of the Kut garrison—with some misgiving. I anticipated a cata-

logue of horrors punctuated by denunciations of the Turk, and it seemed that a review of it must be largely concerned with the question whether it was expedient that these old wounds should be re-opened and these animosities revived. Do we owe it to those members of the Kut garrison who suffered and died in captivity that the memory of their sufferings should be kept green, or would it not rather allay passion and promote goodwill among men—between East and West especially—to let such memories fade? This dilemma, however, disappears with the reading of the book. The horrors are there right enough, but the manner of their presentation avoids offence. The author is evidently a matter-of-fact sort of person with no trace of morbidity or neuroticism, and all his experiences seem to have failed to shake his nerve. His straightforward, artless narrative, free from passion or invective, proves a very suitable medium for the telling of a terrible story. While the reader's sympathies are fully engaged, his feelings are not unduly lacerated—the wounds are uncovered but the knife is not turned in them.

And the book is far from being a catalogue of horrors. Driver Long, as he was then, seems to have been an exceptional kind of "other rank" in that he made it his business to learn any language with which he came into contact, and apparently had little difficulty in doing so. This enabled him to obtain many small privileges and even to establish friendly relations with the more human of his captors. Thus there is plenty of light beside the shade. After the ghastly march northwards following the fall of Kut, with which the book opens, the author's experiences were variegated in the extreme. At one moment he is being clubbed and thrown into a foul prison, the next being greeted as an old friend by a Turkish officer and saluted by the rank and file. Of desperate escapes there are no less than three, all ending in failure, for the distance to freedom was too great for starving half-clothed men, however stout-hearted. But the Turks seem to have treated escaped prisoners of war with comparative leniency. The author's linguistic abilities enabled him to gain an insight into the Turkish character which often stood him in good stead. He soon discovered, for instance, that a bold and even threatening front was much more efficacious with the Turk than one of cringing servility—a trait which has also been apparent in the past in their political character. Once he was brutally bastinadoed but, again characteristically, for no offence of which he or the apologetic executants were aware.

The final impression left by the book is not one of horror or of resentment against the Turk, but of pride in the indomitable spirit of those Kut prisoners who endured such sufferings with heads "bloody but unbowed." Not that there is any hint of self-glorification in the book itself, which is a modest, sincere and at times even humorous recital of Sergeant Long's remarkable experiences during those years of captivity.

Sir Arnold Wilson contributes an eloquent foreword on a subject on which he has always felt deeply, and the book is illustrated by a number of photographs not directly related to the text, one of which might well have been omitted.

R. S. M. S.

L'Evolution Politique de l'Iran. By M. Nakhai. Preface by M. H. Gregoire. 8½" × 6½". Pp. xiv + 158. Edition J. Felix. Brussels. 1938.

We welcome what must be one of the first books written in a foreign language by a son of Iran on the political evolution of his country.

Two very brief chapters bring us to the reign of Nasir-u-Din, during whose long reign many concessions were obtained by the subjects of European Powers, both Great Britain and Russia, whose rivalry was active, obtaining concessions for the foundation of banks; the British also secured an oil concession, which finally developed into the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. To-day the royalties which it pays constitute the anchor-sheet of Iranian finance. During the reign of Nasir-u-Din, who was assassinated in 1896, the old feudal order prevailed. Under his incapable successor Muzaffar-u-Din, however, large sums of money were borrowed from Russia, mainly to defray the expenses of the Shah's extravagant journeys to Europe. The movement for reforms took root and bore fruit after a struggle with the Shah and his ultra-Conservative advisers. To gain their constitution, merchants took sanctuary at the British Legation while the Mullas left the capital for Kum and Shah Abdul Azim. Unable to resist the public demand, a constitution was granted by the Shah just before his death in January, 1907.

Under his successor, Muhammad Ali, our author refers to the appearance of Germany on the scene, who opened a school, staffed by German teachers, and induced the Shah to subsidize it. Germany was working mainly through her stranglehold on Turkey to build the Baghdad Railway, which was intended to have its terminus in the Persian Gulf. In May, 1907, Lord Lansdowne, owing to these activities, made his famous declaration on British policy in those torrid waters which the author quotes in full.

The Anglo-Russian Convention, which was also signed in this momentous year, is especially referred to by M. Nakhai, who considers that its negotiation was partly due to German pressure. He considers that, although Great Britain's commercial sphere was very small by the terms of this Convention, yet her influence in the neutral sphere, with its rich oil deposits, was dominant.

The fight between the Shah and the constitutional party is given in detail, but M. Nakhai is mistaken in his statement that the Shah was supported by Great Britain. Nothing could have been more alien to our policy. A good account is given of the siege of Tabriz, which gave time for the Nationalist forces, which included hundreds of adventurers from the Caucasus, to form at Resht. The Shah finally abdicated and was succeeded by his son, a boy of eleven, represented in the Government by a Regent.

In 1911 Russia, in spite of the recently negotiated Agreement with Great Britain, yielded to Germany the right to build a railway line from the capital to Khanikin, if she herself did not construct it within a fixed period. Generally speaking, Germany was gaining strength in Persia and Iraq, at the expense of both Great Britain and Russia.

Our author gives an interesting account of Iran and the Great War and describes how Germany took over and paid the Swedish gendarmerie, officers and men. In November, 1915, the Turkish Ambassador and the German and Austrian Ministers almost persuaded the Shah to quit his capital and march off south with them—but finally failed.

His account of the operations of the British in South Persia under Sir

Percy Sykes is accurate, but later on he mistakenly attributes the post-war actions of Sir Percy Cox to the same officer.

The post-war campaign against the Bolsheviks who had invaded the Caspian provinces was led by the Russian Cossack Division, in which the present Shah was serving as an officer. It was defeated, but was re-organized by Riza Khan who used it as his instrument for the seizure of power and his ultimate coronation as Shah Riza Pahlavi. To quote: "En effet, S. M. Pahlavi a fait subir à la politique persane une transformation profonde. On peut dire qu'avant lui, l'Europe avait une politique persane et qu'aujourd'hui l'Iran a une politique européenne." This is well said.

To conclude this brief review, the author gives the text of the Saadabad Treaty of friendship which was negotiated between Iran, Afghanistan, Irak and Turkey, but the engagement of the Crown Prince of Iran to a sister of the youthful ruler of Egypt is too recent to be included. It will, we hope, widen the outlook of the future Shah and bring him into closer contact with the world outside Iran. We can recommend the work, although occasionally somewhat inaccurate, to readers of our journal.

Silvestre de Sacy : ses Contemporains et ses Disciples. By Henri Dehérain. Paul Geuthner. Paris. 150 francs.

This book, which forms one of the series of historical and archæological works published under the auspices of the Haut-Commissariat of the French Republic in Syria and the Lebanon, will certainly be of much value to all those who are interested not only in Silvestre de Sacy himself, but also in those French consular officials, diplomats and others who, under his brilliant inspiration and influence, made such a name for their country in the realm of Oriental learning.

In an introduction, 33 pages in length, entitled "Le Rayonnement de Silvestre de Sacy," Monsieur Dehérain gives an outline of the great Orientalist's wonderful career. Then follows the first part of the book, "Les Amis du Levant," consisting of eight biographical studies of French officials in the East who, far from limiting themselves to the performance of their ordinary duties, made serious attempts to study the languages and cultures of the countries in which they served. These eight individuals were: Antoine and Alix Desgranges, Caussin de Perceval, Jean-François Rousseau, his son Joseph, Félix Lajard, Asselin de Cherville and Antoine-Joseph Ducaurroy.

In the second and concluding part, "Les Amis de France," the author gives chapters on, amongst others, Georges Cuvier, Etienne Le Grand (one of Silvestre de Sacy's teachers), and the Russian savant and educationalist Count Sergei Ouharov. In another chapter in this portion of the book we are shown how those German Orientalists, who had received their early training in Paris under Silvestre de Sacy, revered and admired their master, and how, in later years, they would turn to him for help when baffled by some problem. Such help was invariably given. It is a matter for regret

that Monsieur Dehérain did not add another chapter dealing with the relations between Silvestre de Sacy and the British Orientalists, such as Sir William Jones.

It is manifestly impossible to discuss in detail in a review (unless it were extended to an inordinate length) all the numerous personages and topics dealt with in this book. All that one can do is to make some remarks of a general nature, and single out for comment or criticism such points as seem to call for notice.

Two facts emerge very clearly from this work. One is the pre-eminent position occupied by Silvestre de Sacy. His fame was by no means confined to France, and Monsieur Dehérain has shown how much he was esteemed and admired in Germany and Russia. The other striking fact is the importance attached by successive French governments to the provision of adequate facilities for the study of Oriental languages by those youths who were destined to serve in the embassies, legations and consulates in Northern Africa, the Levant and the Middle East. We are also shown what difficulties many of these officials had to contend with not only because of local conditions, but also because of abrupt changes of régime in France.

There is a certain amount of repetition in this book, but most of this is really unavoidable in such a work, as it is concerned with a large number of persons, all of whom were in relationship, in one form or another, with the central figure of Silvestre de Sacy, and often with each other as well. On the whole, the author has marshalled his facts very well, and he has evidently taken great pains to collect his material. There appear to be very few inaccuracies. There is a misprint on page 56; in the third line of Napoleon's letter regarding de Gardane's unauthorized departure from Tehran, "parler" should read "partir." In the chapter on Jean-François Rousseau (No. III. in the first part of the book), Monsieur Dehérain states that his father was a certain Jacques Rousseau, an uncle of the famous Jean-Jacques. He was a Geneva clockmaker, who, having accompanied the French envoy Michel to Iran (in 1706), settled at Isfahan, where he married a Frenchwoman named Reine de L'Etoile. He passed the rest of his days there, and died, according to Monsieur Dehérain, in 1754. However, I have read, in a recent article by Monsieur André Godard in the *Athar-é Iran* (Part I., 1937), that a *Jacob* Rousseau is buried in the Armenian cemetery near Julfa, on the outskirts of Isfahan, and that it is stated on his tombstone that he was a clockmaker of Geneva, who, after spending 48 years in Iran, died at Isfahan in 1753. Monsieur Godard adds that Jacob married Reine de l'Estoile at Isfahan. It would thus seem that Jean-François's father was named Jacob, and not Jacques, and that he arrived in Iran in 1705. Another point, which is likewise of small importance, is that Jacob—or Jacques—must have accompanied not Michel, but his predecessor, Jean Baptiste Fabre, to Iran. Fabre, who was attended by a numerous suite, reached Iranian soil in 1705, but died soon after, under suspicious circumstances, at Erivan, while *en route* for Isfahan. His mistress, a Marseilles woman named Marie Petit, then endeavoured to proceed to the Iranian court as head of the mission. On these truly surprising tidings reaching de Ferriol, the French

ambassador at Constantinople, he dispatched Michel post-haste and unattended to Iran to set matters right and to take charge of the mission, a task which he successfully accomplished.

It would be ungenerous to end on a note of criticism, especially as the points with which I have attempted to deal above are not of any real moment. Let me therefore conclude by saying that Monsieur Dehérain's work is worthy of serious study, containing as it does, interspersed with interesting biographical details, a large amount of valuable information respecting the foreign policies—often conflicting in those days—of France, Great Britain and Russia. Of particular interest in this respect is the chapter on Félix Lajard's mission in Iran (1807-09).

L. L.

Les Tribus Montagnardes de L'Asie Antérieure. Quelques aspects sociaux des populations Kurdes et Assyriennes. Par P. Rondot. *Bulletin d'Études Orientales*. Année, 1936.

The substance of this article was provided by a series of discussions held at the Institut des Études Islamiques (Faculté des Lettres de Paris) in February, 1936.

In effect it provides a summary of all that is at present known concerning the social organization of Kurdish tribes. The material, however, is by no means complete, and, as M. Rondot himself points out, the main effect of his article is to demonstrate the urgent need for more intensive research into the subject before Western influence obliterates all trace of the normal tribal life of these interesting peoples.

M. Rondot would maintain that the influence of religion upon social structure has been generally exaggerated by all students of the Near East, and he goes on to show that the neighbouring Kurdish and Assyrian groups have close cultural similarity despite their religious differences. In his arguments he shows clearly how the social organization of a mountain people such as the Kurds is necessarily influenced by the necessities of environment, economics, and defence.

M. Rondot argues that the Kurdish "clans" are to some extent independent of kinship ties, but this seems open to question. The article should certainly be read by all interested in the subject. The numerous footnotes provide many valuable bibliographic references.

E. R. L.

Week-end Caravan. Compiled and edited by S. Hillelson. 6¾" × 5¼". Pp. 352. Illustrated. Edinburgh: William Hodge. 7s. 6d. net.

To dip into a good anthology is equivalent to making a leisurely visit to the library of a friend of discrimination in the company of its owner. Here and there he stops to pull out a volume, opening at a passage which he knows will delight you for its wit, its wisdom, its beauty or its whimsicality. Mr. Hillelson is the scholarly host in this case, and he opens many enchanting pages before his week-end visitor, tempting him, if I am not much mistaken, to enrich his own library with many of the books from which Mr. Hillelson has drawn his treasure. One finds oneself saying, "How is it that I have never read this?" and vowing to explore a forgotten book or read some author whose works one has never had the curiosity to open.

In this *Week-end Caravan* one finds translations from Arab and Persian poets, travellers and sages; quotations from Western travellers in the Near and Middle East, both ancient and modern; stories of Oriental love and magic, actual and fictional; folk-songs of Egypt and the Sudan, together with the melodies to which they are sung; anecdotes of Eastern monarchs and their courts, descriptions of their pleasures and their women, and quotations which show the West through Eastern and the East through Western eyes. It may relieve some readers to hear that the anthologist has avoided the romantic and high-falutin' poetry written on Eastern themes in the early nineteenth century. There is no Byron, no Moore. Mr. Hillelson prefers the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries. He gives us Lady Mary Wortley Montague's sprightly description of her visit to a women's bath in Turkey:

"The lady that seemed most considerable among them, entreated me to sit by her, and would fain have undressed me for the bath. I excused myself with some difficulty. They being, however, all so earnest in persuading me, I was at last forced to open my shirt, and shew them my stays; which satisfied them very well; for I saw, they believed I was locked up in that machine, and that it was not in my power to open it, which contrivance they attributed to my husband."

In juxtaposition are Tavernier's lively notes on his call on the Shah which lasted for seventeen hours ("hard labour" Tavernier calls it), his accounts of Persian hunting, and his delightful recipes for preparing various Oriental dishes.

The section of the book which deals with Magic and Jinn has many useful spells, such as ibn Al-Haj's "Cure for Wicked Women" and "Spell to Fold up the Earth," while the traveller in Eastern countries will be tempted to test the efficacy of the "True and Tried Remedy for Fleas." The drawings by Olga Lehmann are in harmony with the spirit of the collection, which I heartily recommend as a bedside book, while its size makes it easy to slip into the pocket at a week-end. Congratulations to Mr. Hillelson.

E. S. D.

The Message of the Gita, as Interpreted by Sri Aurobindo. Edited by Anilbaran Roy. 9½" × 6½". Pp. xiv + 281. Allen and Unwin. Agents in India: Allied Publishers and Stationery Manufacturers, Ltd. 1938. 7s. 6d. or Rs. 5 net.

This book contains the text of the Gita in Sanskrit, with an English translation after every couplet or two. The author has, further, taken, by permission, a large number of extracts from Aurobindo Ghose's rather lengthy *Essays on the Gita* (2 Series, 1926 and 1928), and inserted them as introduction and footnotes.

So far as can be ascertained by a cursory comparison, the extracts have been well chosen, and inserted in appropriate places.

The Gita, while not very abstruse, is not very easy to understand without a commentary, and this will be a convenient one for those desirous of studying it not from a critical but from a progressive Hindu point of view. Mr. Ghose, the political revolutionary of 30 years ago, appears in his character of school divine as merely a Liberal. He looked forward to a fresh philosophico-religious synthesis in the future, but held that this must, to be on firm ground, proceed from what "the great bodies of realized spiritual thought and experience in the past," such as the Gita, had given.

A. F. K.

Himalayas of the Soul : Translations from the Sanskrit of the principal Upanishads. By J. Mascaró, M.A. Cantab., Reader of English, University of Barcelona. Preface by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Foreword by E. J. Thomas, M.A., Litt.D. Wisdom of the East Series. 6½" × 5". Pp. 93. John Murray. 1938. 3s. 6d. net.

Mr. Mascaró's complete version of some of the Upanishads, with extracts from others, comes up to the high standard which is expected in this series. The rather overstrained title is the only feature to which exception may be taken. It might have been better to come straight out with the word "Upanishads," known though it is only to a restricted public.

The extraordinary interest of these compositions, from 20 to 25 centuries old, or thereabouts, and combining keen analysis with a spirit of high devotion and reverence, hardly requires emphasis here. Goethe at one time never travelled anywhere without a version of them.

This simple text, without notes but preceded by a suitable introduction, is very welcome. The wonder is that some such version had never been produced in this series before.

A. F. K.

The Psalm of Peace. An English translation of Guru Arjun's "*Sukhmani*." By Teja Singh, M.A. With a Foreword by Nicholas Roérich. 7½" × 5". Pp. xviii + 122. Oxford University Press. 3s.

Under the title of *The Psalm of Peace*, Sirdar Teja Singh has given us a delightful translation of the *Sukhmani* of Guru Arjun.

It may be, perhaps, that we should use the word interpretation rather than translation, for a literal word-by-word translation of such a book from one language into another generally makes difficult reading and, even though it be textually correct, fails to give the spirit of the original.

Sirdar Teja Singh is to be congratulated on giving us, in a form which bears witness to his command of the English language, the spirit of the Guru and an insight into his moral and mental attitude as expressed in the *Sukhmani*, which forms so important a part of the Granth Sahib of the Sikhs.

Europeans in India come mostly into contact with Govindi Sikhs, the members of the Khalsa, that essentially martial sect who fought for their existence against Mussalman oppression, fought each other until the Sikh "Missals" were suppressed and unified by Ranjit Singh; fought stoutly against Afghans and British, and have since given their lives on many a field of battle for their King-Emperor, and now, alas! since politics have been introduced into India, look like fighting again amongst themselves in another arena.

So to most of us mention of a Sikh conjures up the picture of a warrior caste, a "Singh" or "lion," who is indeed "proud as a lion of his strength"; one who in his supremacy is inclined to swagger and be truculent, so that the Kashmiris, with some none too tender memories of Sikh rule, have a proverb which says: "Curse and swear, grow a beard and call yourself a Sikh!"

Such men as Ranjit Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa seem to be more akin to Can Grande of Verona, that "*belligero terribile e robusto*" rather than to Gautama, Nanak, or the gentle Arjun of brave yet simple faith.

Arjun, by his resistance to oppression and by his martyrdom, no doubt sowed the seeds of "race" amongst that mixed following who became his disciples; but it was the course of events over a long period, the attendant circumstances of a vast empire in decay and the fiery preaching and organization of Govind that finally welded an ever-growing multitude of religious disciples into an army and a nation.

In reading the verses of Arjun one cannot resist the temptation to compare his conception of fundamental truths, as expressed in the *Sukhmani*, with those of other great thinkers and teachers throughout the ages.

If one makes allowances for local environment, one is at once impressed by the similarity of their ideals, and even by their manner of expressing them for the benefit of their followers.

Take, for instance, Arjun's conception of the all-pervading presence of God:

The Infinite is within us as well as without.

He is contained in everything.

He is on the earth as well as above and below it.

As Providence he fills all regions teeming with life.

As the Supreme Spirit he works in mountains and woods, nay, even in the blades of grass.

How similar to this is Laotze's description of Tao (as interpreted by Henri Borel):

"Tao is the one; the beginning and the end. It embraces all things and to *it* all things return."

Again, how like is the definition given by Confucius of a "saintly person" to the "Ideal man" of Arjun. The latter says:

"The Ideal man is known by these signs; he thinks the *true one*, talks the true one, and sees nothing but the true one everywhere."

To which may be compared the reply of Confucius to one of his disciples:

"He who intuitively apprehends truth is one who, without effort, hits upon what is right, whose life is easily and naturally in harmony with the moral law. Such a man is what we call a Saint or a man of Divine nature."

To multiply examples would be tedious, but one may perhaps be forgiven for drawing attention to the great similarity between Canto II. 2 of the *Sukhmani* and our own Twenty-third Psalm.

H. L. H.

A History of Chinese Philosophy. The Period of the Philosophers. By Fung Yu-lan, Ph.D. Translated by Derk Bodde, with Introduction, Notes, Bibliography and Index. Peiping: Henri Vetch. London: George Allen and Unwin. 1937. £1 5s.

The first thing to be said about this work is that no other modern Chinese work more worthy of translation could have been found. Dr. Fung, the descendant of an old scholar family, trained in his family traditions and then studying Western philosophy in U.S.A., has been Professor of Philosophy at Tsing Hua University for just on ten years. He published this work in 1931, the period dealt with being "from the beginnings to *circa* 100 B.C.," and then, three years later, published his second volume, which brought the subject down to K'ang Yu-wei and Liao Ping at the beginning of the present century. Although these two volumes did not achieve the same excited popularity that Professor Hu Shih's brilliant *jeu d'esprit*, *An Outline History of Chinese Philosophy* (1919), did (running to eight reprints in three years), Dr. Fung's volume bids fair to be the more standard work for years to come. It shows also in comparison with Dr. Hu's volume the advance in higher critical studies that had been made in the twelve years between the two works.

Mr. Bodde (since publishing this translation "Dr." on the merit of his thesis on "Li Ssu, China's First Unifier") has taken the utmost pains with his task and is to be congratulated on an admirable piece of work. He has not restricted himself to the bare work of translation, but has gone outside and included a Chronological Table of the Philosophers (*cp.* Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's table in the *Ku Shih Pien*, Vol. IV., p. 76) and an excellent classified bibliography of "all works referred to in the text." Both there and in the main body of the book he follows the new practice of putting the date in *anno domini* of every scholar and commentator to whom reference is made. Also, the Chinese ideograph and its romanization (Wade's system) are given side by side. The novice in this field of study could not have his disabilities more carefully considered, whilst the general reader gets the feel of the living language behind these alien sounds. With regard to his "Historical Introduction," Dr. Bodde writes with the modesty of youth, but knows his own mind. Having given the traditional account of pre-Chou times, he then states how the modern critical historian regards these early ages: a very different story, and as indispensable for the novice as the traditional, if he is to have at all a scholarly approach to this great period in Chinese history.

For the general and rather more intelligent reader Dr. Fung's work will be extraordinarily useful, particularly if that reader has some general knowledge of Eastern Asia. People have been hearing about Chinese philosophy for some considerable time, but when they try to discover what it really amounted to in its early, formative stages, they find a lot of Western books on Confucius and some on Taoism, but nothing in English which really shows the variety and significance of the thinking done during those four centuries. Take the Confucian tradition alone, only one among "the Hundred Schools": it is impossible to appreciate this stream of intellectual-

ization without taking into account all the other streams. It is necessary also to know how later works, which have no direct connection with Confucius' own way of thinking, came to be attributed to him and his immediate disciples. Take the Taoist tradition with its beginnings still so wrapped in mystery that every sort of hypothesis can claim a hearing to-day. So also with the later developments in Mohism and its and other schools' achievements along the lines of epistemological discussion. Dr. Fung has an account to give which may not be more than hypothetical at certain points—he himself would be the first to acknowledge it—but it is a closely reasoned account, showing “development” in ways which are intrinsically cogent. From time to time he indicates points of comparison with Western philosophy, referring to Aristotle and Descartes, Bentham and Hobbes, and, coming to recent times, to William James. He does this with great discretion, for the references are few and far between, so much so that the reader may wish he had thought fit to let his mind run more along these lines. If he had, it would have been illuminating; but how easily he might have been decoyed into fitting Western philosophy to a Chinese pattern or Chinese philosophy to a Western. Undoubtedly he chose the right course in sticking to his own more immediate sphere of learning. That is where the value of his History lies, that he speaks with the authority of the man who ‘has the stuff in his blood and bones’ and who at the same time realizes how immensely his country is part of the great fellowship of mind and soul throughout the civilized world. That world has reached the stage where it has had to abandon its old pre-conceived ideas about Greek culture or Chinese culture as the one arch-type which fixes the real lines of intellectual development. As we think in terms of more mystic or more rationalistic philosophies, or of more synthetic or more analytical philosophers, both Eastern and Western students have to consider Hsün Ch'ing alongside of Aristotle, or the religious utilitarianism of Mo Ti with that of Paley; though for this, of course, there is need for a history of Chinese philosophy which brings the Western reader right down to modern times. The point is that if, for example, Western philosophy developed quickly along certain lines at an early date, it does not follow that Chinese philosophy, by developing slowly along those particular lines, had not its own strong points; hence the significance of comparing Mo Ti of the fifth century B.C. and Paley of the eighteenth century A.D. From this angle of enquiry Dr. Fung gives the Western reader something to go on with, and when the translation of his second volume is completed—Dr. Bodde is working on that now—there will be a great deal more.

There are only two complaints which the pernicky scholar can make. Dr. Fung has not only omitted reference to one or two of the minor philosophers but has also been a little over-sparing in his statements on matters of historical criticism. With such excellent reconstructive work before us, *e.g.*, on the authorship of the *Tao Te Ching* and on Yang Chu's influence, our appetite is whetted for more along these lines. The other complaint is slightly less pernicky. It is that Dr. Bodde has perhaps not paid as much

attention to the philosophic significance of technical terms as he has to the general requirements of style.

In conclusion, congratulations must be extended to M. Vetch, the publisher, for both the high standard of accuracy in printing and the whole format of the work. In a word, with his expert co-operation the Western world now has this book which carries it whole stages further in its understanding of China. It is the biggest event in Chinese studies since Dr. Alfred Forke's *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie* was published in 1927.

E. R. H.

Comptes-rendus de Onze Années (1923-1933) de Séjour et d'Exploration dans le Bassin du Fleuve Jaune, du Pai Ho et des autres Tributaires du Golfe du Pei Tcheuly. Par Emile Licent, S.J. Tome III. (1930-1933) and Tables. Tientsin, China: Mission de Siensien. Agent de Vente, Henri Vetch, French Bookstore, Peking. 1936.

In a review* to which the present is only an addendum the late Sir Reginald Johnston justly described the first part of Father Licent's *Exploration in North China, Mongolia and Manchuria* as a "monumental" work. The two volumes under review complete the account of eleven years of travel and observation, and cover the years 1930-1933. The volume of Tables consists chiefly of indexes, a table of Chinese sounds, a table of contents, and lists of page references to atlas and text. Tome III. comprises 342 pages (pp. 719-1,061) of text in French, and 14 plates relative to journeys undertaken by the author and his companions.

Sir Reginald Johnston's criticism of the plates in the earlier part of the work is true of the latest volume also, but such of the illustrations as have special scientific interest serve their purpose adequately enough. Among these may be classed the neolithic vases (Pl. XXXI.), and the grave-site, showing a newly discovered skeleton (Pl. XXIV.). The reviewer regrets that at least one of the photographs, *Le soleil par vent jaune* (Pl. XXIX. Fig. 2, and p. 887), is not reproduced in colour. The blue sun of Peking, like the red mistletoe-berries of Manchuria, is a phenomenon generally heard of with polite incredulity.

The text more than compensates for the shortcomings of the illustrations. Father Licent continues the narrative of his itineraries of observation from Shan-hai-kuan where the Great Wall runs down to the sea, to Wei-hai-wei, Japan, Chahar, Mongolia, the Ordos and Shansi. The years required in the preparation of the work are explained by the fact that the text is the diary kept by Father Licent during the course of his travels. His notes and observations are set down in a manner so apparently simple that at first sight the reader might be misled as to the weight and quality of the work. Systematic chiefly in the sense that it is arranged chronologically, it is yet

* *Journal*, January, 1938, p. 93 ff.

scientific and at the same time absorbingly entertaining. Browsing through it, the reader will find himself becoming the eager companion of the author's journeyings; tracing subjects systematically with the help of the *Table Analytique*, he will accumulate a remarkable amount of information on archæology, botany, entomology, geology, meteorology, ornithology and zoology, besides sharing the author's interest in the social and political affairs of the regions he visited.

Political obstacles, though fewer, still hampered the last years of the decade of travel. Forty-seven references to bandits, and a further forty-seven to brigands, indicate a not uneventful progress. Father Licent, however, appears to have been very little disturbed by fear of them. Much more distressing was the theft, in a crowded train, of his travel notes and observations for the period August, 1930, to July, 1931. The seriousness of the loss may be judged from the fact that it necessitated the reconstruction, from other documents, maps and collections, of one-third of the present volume.

May one hope that these volumes of collected notes are only the fore-runners of a book on one or more of the special subjects on which Father Licent shows himself expert?

E. D. EDWARDS.

Affairs of China. By Sir Eric Teichman. Methuen and Co., Ltd.
12s. 6d.

Sir Eric Teichman has a knowledge and experience of China which must command respect. He knows the interior—the real, far interior—as well as he knows the treaty ports. He speaks with authority on matters of governmental policy and international relations. His position must have brought him into close touch with all the Chinese leaders of recent years. Yet his book is strictly impersonal. At times one is allowed a glimpse of the more human side in a mention of the comforts of a river steamer or of snipe-shooting on the Yangtse, only to be called back firmly, and rather regretfully, to business.

The book is written to give “a true and objective account of China's recent history and present circumstances, in the hope of rendering the news from China more intelligible to the uninformed reader of the daily press.” But though the author states his purpose thus, it does not mean that the book should be ignored by those who consider themselves experts upon Far Eastern affairs. The chief merit of the book is that it deals with the complicated history of post-Revolution China with clarity and without undue complication, and provides a summary of foreign interests in China without which it is impossible to have a true understanding of present history. It is in fact likely to be of greater value as a book of reference than as an explanatory introduction to the present war.

A fair appreciation of the Far Eastern situation necessitates a knowledge not only of Chinese history but also of Japan's position on the mainland. The author hardly deals fairly with this. At the conclusion of an admirable

summary of Chinese railway development he says, "In the above review of Chinese railways nothing has been said about Manchuria. The story of railway enterprise in Manchuria would need a chapter or a volume by itself; and is in any case no longer of any but academic interest." That may be true in many ways, but for an understanding of the rights and wrongs of recent Sino-Japanese affairs it is of the utmost interest. Nor is it enough to say, as he does on another page, "Japan had a case in Manchuria—however displeasing to Chinese susceptibilities. . . . Japanese policy had made it very plain that the retention of Manchuria was regarded as essential to the strategic and economic safety of Japan; and that Japan would not hesitate to hold by force what she had won by war. Chinese Nationalism should have taken all this into account before challenging Japan on the sacred soil of Manchuria." That may do as history, but it gives no picture of the gradual divergence of fundamental national policies which led inevitably to war.

The quarrel is perhaps not so much with the book, which is excellent, as with Sir Eric Teichman's statement of his intention, which he fails to fulfil.

The position of the Chinese Communist Party is a question which must interest any student of Chinese affairs. Sir Eric Teichman confesses that he has never met a genuine Chinese Communist and is therefore to be ranked with the majority less qualified to express a definite opinion. In spite of this diffidence, his views deserve the most careful consideration. "The class struggle," he says, "and its object, a classless society where all shall be on a footing of equality; the abolition of private property; the eight-hour day and equality of wage for all; control of industry and government by proletariat—these and the rest of the slogans of the Communists seem altogether inappropriate to the Chinese character." And he sums up his opinions as follows: "From the outset 'anti-imperialism' and the abolition of all foreign treaty rights and privileges were placed in the forefront of the programme of the Chinese Communists. Ten years later the early anti-foreign slogans were replaced by the call to national resistance against the aggression of Japan. In the eyes of Young China, the Kuomintang Government had betrayed the revolution and retreated before the consummation of its aims. It was, and is, as revolutionary nationalism undiluted that Chinese Communism makes its appeal to the educated youth of China. Remove the nationalist grievances—the unequal treaties and the aggression of the Japanese—and the hammer and sickle lose for the Chinese much of their significance."

R. H.

Japan the Hungry Guest. By G. C. Allen. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

Japan the Hungry Guest is an excellent and opportune book. Professor Allen spent three years after the war teaching in a Government college at Nagoya, and went back in 1936 at the request of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University. With studied impartiality he describes some of the changes which took place between his two visits. In his opinion the Japanese are revolting against most of the principles which underlie Western civilization.

They are staging a recrudescence of nation worship under the guise of Shinto. This has involved the brutalising of their national life, and the process is accentuated by the fact that they "have no tradition of individual liberty, no recognition of the rights of private judgement and no general acknowledgement of a loyalty to universal ideals which are far removed from the State and its purpose."

In spite of recent industrial development, Western forms and institutions have not penetrated beneath the surface. When Professor Allen complimented the manager of an up-to-date clock works on his new factory shrine, the manager replied, "Yes, business has picked up a lot since we had that." Then he found that a cultured pearl establishment had been closed for three days, so that the employees could offer prayers for the oysters killed during the year. And so on.

In the structure of Japanese society stress is laid on the family system and on the subordination of women, love being regarded as a dangerous basis for marriage. Between the state and the family stand four groups, "the peasants and small landlords; the small manufacturers and shopkeepers; the great industrial and merchant families with their managers and executives; and finally, the Services and the intelligentsia," who have replaced the old administrative and fighting classes. Political conflict is based upon these functional groups, and bears less relation to income and the ownership of property than in the West.

In the government of the people the Japanese have never recognized any distinction "between the duties that a man owes to the State and those that his conscience enjoins." They "can scarcely conceive of a good man who at the same time sets himself against the purposes of the State." Hence the weakness of their Parliament and the triumph of a Cabinet controlled at the present time by the Army and Navy.

Professor Allen then describes the nature and development of the Japanese economic system which is based on a depressed "peasant agriculture not untouched by modern influences, but still preserving in its tiny farms and methods of cultivation conditions that have come down from a remote past." It is only "the heavy industries and the trades producing standardized intermediate goods . . . that have adapted . . . the large-factory system of organization," yet even in them a place can generally be found for the small producer. The most remarkable thing about Japanese industrial life "is the extent to which control over the modern types of industry is concentrated in a few business houses" owned by a small number of great families known as the *Zaibatsu*.

After devoting three chapters to a technical description of the development of Japanese industry and commerce in the last 70 years, the Professor discusses the present condition of the working classes. This is characterized by "a wide diversity." Factory wage-earners form only a small class, "so that the outlook associated with the proletariat of other great industrial nations is lacking." It is not, however, "in the length of the working day but in the absence of a weekly rest day that Japan is in sharpest contrast with most Western countries."

Wages are not only lower in Japan than in the West, but there is a greater gap between those of skilled workers and of labourers, and a much greater variation according to seniority. There is also "a wide disparity between the wages received by skilled workers in different districts and between the wages in the same industries in different parts of the country." As a result, the rigidity of system produced by trade unionism in England is absent, while resiliency and adaptability are enhanced by the rising birth-rate. And yet the greater part of the peasant wage-earners and small producers are underfed and have an inferior physique to that of Western peoples.

Professor Allen then turns to foreign policy and the genesis of the present struggle in China, rightly stressing the connection between these and the economic development outlined in chapters seven, eight and nine. In conclusion, he writes, "Up to now Japan has been skilful in avoiding extremes in her social, political and cultural life, and experience should warn us against the assumption that the present disastrous trends will continue indefinitely. Her future course will depend in some measure on the policy of Western Powers, and it must be remembered that the clumsy treatment which she has received from them in the past has helped to foster the present national temper. Abhorrence of Japan's current policy ought not to cause us to withhold sympathy from her in the difficult problems with which she is faced."

G. J. YORKE.

Japan's Gamble in China. By Freda Utley. Secker and Warburg. 6s.

Japan's Gamble in China is a useful but uninspired appreciation of the present situation in the Far East. Miss Utley begins with an historical sketch of Japanese aggression on the mainland, and balances it with an account of Chiang Kai-shek's success in achieving a measure of political unity inconsistent with Nipponese aims. Moreover, native industry and banking developed to such a degree that China was able to get credits for railway and industrial development on terms which, for the first time in her history, ensured Chinese control and independence. Since Japanese policy demands a weak China, war followed.

Both politically and economically Japan is the weakest of the Imperialist powers, so that she needs complete control of China to protect her interests, while her "social maladjustment and peculiar political system" make for aggressiveness. This Miss Utley proves in two chapters which summarize her recent book *Japan's Feet of Clay*.

The account of British policy rightly stresses the importance of the Leith Ross mission, since Sir Frederick put through the currency reform of November, 1935, and reported favourably on the grant of a substantial loan to China. As a result the Japanese are now determined to squeeze the British out of the Far East.

After discussing the prospects of the present hostilities Miss Utley sums up the position accurately in the following words: "This war is a war to make or break Japan. Most observers, even amongst those most favourable to her cause and most contemptuous of China, think now that it will break her. For the peace of the world and the future of civilization it is to be hoped that China will be able to endure her terrible ordeal, even if none of us assist her, and that Japan's military imperialism will vanish from the face of the earth like that of Genghis Khan, whom some Japanese proudly claim as their kinsman, and since whose day the world has not witnessed such wholesale massacres of men, women and children as those being carried out by the Japanese army."

G. J. YORKE.

Sunburst. By Lorol Schofflocher. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 320. Nineteen illustrations. London: Rider and Co. 1937.

Mrs. Schofflocher describes in a naïf and complacent way her early years, her embracing the Bahai religion, and her visits to the more accessible countries of Asia, in the course of which she took every opportunity of advocating or confirming the pursuit of the vague Bahai ideals. Of these, world peace took the principal place. An audience of Chinese students was enthusiastically in favour of it. The interviews with Asiatic rulers and other incidents in her travels are occasionally interesting.

A. F. K.

Mi Fu on Ink-Stones. A Study of the Yen-shih. With Introduction and Notes by R. H. Van Gulik. Pp. xii+72. Illustrations and map of stone sites. Peking: Henri Vetch. 13s. 6d.

In China, where learning is traditionally prized above all else, the "Four Jewels of the Study" (the scholar's writing-brush, paper, ink, and ink-slab) have always been regarded with affectionate care and surrounded with respectful symbolism. The best brushes are made from the selected hairs of special animals and are beautifully mounted in decorated bamboo shafts; good-quality paper is ornamented with designs emblematic of the elegance of the writings it may bear; the ink-cake (miscalled Indian ink in this country) is perfumed with musk and powdered with gold leaf; while the slab on which the ink is rubbed is made in significant forms of metal or rare stone.

Of these "Four Jewels," the ink-slab—the only enduring one—has been highly prized by connoisseur collectors, and ancient specimens are still part of the stock of curio shops in China.

Such a collector was Mi Fu, generally (but erroneously, as Dr. Van Gulik shows) called Mi Fei, the eccentric Sung artist who painted impressionistic landscapes of amazing artistic feeling shortly after the Norman invasion of England, and a century and a half before the days of the Italian primitives. There were two of his paintings in the Chinese Exhibition in London, and Dr. Syren, in his *History of Early Chinese Painting*, gives details of his life and character and an enthusiastic description of his work.

That Mi Fu was a scholar and a calligraphist, as well as an artist, goes without saying; in China the three are inseparable. He also held high office in the state. But he is equally noted for his personal eccentricity which so affected his writings that "his style was exaggerated and unconventional to the last degree" (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*).

His essay on the Ink-stone, one of his writings which survive, is conveyed in only three or four thousand characters; but its style makes translation difficult, and Dr. Van Gulik in giving us the original text, together with a careful English rendering so well annotated and illustrated, has accomplished a notable task in a very thorough and scholarly manner.

The artist describes the beauty and texture of the various kinds of stone used for the ink-slab, and the shape and significance of those that he has seen. But, being a thoroughly practical person as well as an artist, he is most insistent upon their chief desideratum, the satisfactory production of ink. "The merit of an implement depends on its being usable; of jade one does

not make sacrificial tripods, of earthenware one does not make pillars." He also defends his choice as a collector. "Let each man have his hobby; and if that hobby is rather out of the common, this can be no reason to consider it as inferior."

Dr. Van Gulik points out that, so far, most Chinese painters remain, for Western students, merely as names connected with certain rare paintings of this or that style. It is time, he says, that we should begin to know more about the individuality of the painters themselves, a knowledge only to be gained by a study of their writings and of the old Chinese histories of painting which as yet remain little known to the West. And with this knowledge, he adds, we shall see many an old Chinese painting in quite another light.

The book is admirably printed, illustrated and presented; and M. Henri Vetch the publisher is to be congratulated upon adding one more to his lengthening list of outstanding productions.

E. B. H.

Buried Bethlehem. By D. R. Chalmers-Hunt. 9½" × 6½". Pp. vi + 46. Historical Research Publishing Co. 1938. 5s.

This pamphlet is intended to be the first of a series of lectures on "the lost city and tomb of David," which the author identifies with the tumulus of Herodium, three and a half miles south-east of Bethlehem. Its object is the worthy one of raising funds for the proper excavation of that most interesting and somewhat neglected site, the palace of Herod the Great.

The author considers that Bethlehem in the time of Solomon was the name of a whole locality, which included both the tumulus and the village which bears that name to-day: and that the events connected with Bethlehem in Holy Scripture all occurred at the southern end of the valley. On these two assumptions, for the first of which he adduces no evidence, he rejects also Constantine's site for the Church of the Nativity, just as General Gordon, on other grounds, rejected Constantine's site for the Holy Sepulchre.

However annoying it is to have doubts cast on what has been taken as matter of course, a re-examination of the material here produced might have interesting results, and an excavation of the site of Herodium might well settle the question of whether it was or was not built on the site of an older town, and possibly on whether King Herod ever claimed descent from David.

But until that has been done, it is bold, to say the least of it, to assume that the evidence will be of sufficient weight to carry the very elaborate structure that the author proposes to build on it. He hopes to prove that the second chapter of Matthew's Gospel was a late forgery, designed to cover the fact that Christ Himself was a son of Herod the Great, probably Archelaus; that inconsistencies in Josephus' dates imply that most of the reign of the latter never occurred, but that he was early banished to Gaul, and that he later returned, and his subsequent life was that recorded in the Gospels of the adult years of Christ. It would have appeared to the reader more necessary at this stage to explain the author's treatment of his authorities: for instance, why he believes in the existence of the city and tomb of David on the authority of the writers of 2 Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, but rejects their equally plain statements—corroborated by Nehemiah—that the city of David was within the walls of Jerusalem.

R. O. W.

The Antiquities of South Arabia. Being a translation from the Arabic, with Linguistic, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Eighth Book of Al-Hamdāni's *Al-Ikhlil*. By Nabih Amin Faris. Pp. 119. One map. Princeton University Press, Princeton. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1938. English price 11s. 6d.

English translations of the Arabic primary authorities for the history of South-West Arabia are rare, and an English translation of the all-important Hamdāni is especially welcome at this time, when Great Britain is taking a greater interest in that part of the Peninsula, and in particular in the welfare of the large area under British protection. There are nowadays a large number of officers and travellers interested in the kingdom of Yemen and the Aden Protectorate, and the book, which is considered by educated South-Western Arab opinion to be the most important on the ancient history and geography of the country, will be indispensable to all who take more than a cursory interest in their work.

Of eight of the ten books of the *Ikhlil* we know little more than the titles, but from those we learn that the most useful is the eighth book "concerning the castles, cities and tombs of the Himyarites, the extant poetry of 'Alqama, the elegies, the inscriptions, and other matters." Many people in South Arabia hold that the whole of the *Ikhlil* is preserved in the library of His Majesty the Imam. Whether that is so, perhaps not even His Majesty knows, but if it is, it is to be hoped that one day he will allow the world to have the benefit of it as of many of the other historical treasures his country contains. As Hamdāni died in Sana prison, albeit nearly 1,000 years ago, Sana would be a likely place to find his work, and there are no doubt in the Yemen better written copies than the MS. illustrated in Nabih Amin Faris's translation, which, written in a deplorable hand, would do scant credit to the beautiful calligraphy of educated Yemenis.

When a competent translation such as this genuinely fills such a long-felt want it is perhaps churlish to criticize, but the rhyming translations of the verses which have been retained do seem, to say the least, inadequate.

From the point of view of one who will probably have the book at his side for constant reference, fuller historical and geographical notes would have been appreciated, and the map is really far too poor. Many names of quite important towns do not appear on it—in fact there are barely twenty Yemeni place-names on the map, and the only place in the Aden Protectorate marked does not figure in the text.

Nevertheless, we do owe Nabih Amin Faris grateful thanks for his translation, and I advise all those whose lot, like mine, is cast in that part of Arabia to acquire it. It will certainly give them a new and more lively interest in their journeys.

W. H. I.

Ostturkistan Zwischen den Grossmächten. Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftskunde Ostturkistans. By Dr. Fuad Kazak. From *Osteuropäische Forschungen*, Vol. XXIII. Pp. 160. Prussia: Osteuropa-Verlag, Königsberg. 1937. M. 7.50.

The author must have had exceptional opportunities for compiling this gazetteer of Kashgaria. Although most of the detailed trade statistics cover the period between 1920 and 1930, we discover much recent information from this troubled corner of Asia. One can hardly expect a more up-to-date book of reference.

Contents: General Geography; Population; Political History; Industry and

Trade; Agriculture; Cotton; Cattle-breeding; Wool; Game; Minerals and Mining; Gold; Coal; Oil; Ore; Traffic; Policy of the Powers during the Nineteenth Century; Rivalry; Trade Routes; Transport Costs; Export Trade; Full List of Political and Commercial Treaties; Bibliography.

W. R. R.

The Russian Workers' Own Story. By Boris Silver. $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. iv + 251. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 1938. 7s. 6d.

The author has good qualifications for writing a book about Russia. He is himself a Socialist with a wide experience of Socialist endeavour in various European countries. He has had experience of Czarist Russia, and was active amongst revolutionaries there before the war. He welcomed the Revolution, hoping that the Bolshevik leaders in building a Socialist state would be able to erect a landmark of the utmost importance in the spread of Socialism through Europe and the world. He went back to Russia sixteen years after the Revolution, not as a tourist, but as a worker looking for a job. After varied experiences, and an intimate contact with its people, he left disappointed. This book consists of reports of conversations in which he took part, tales which were told him and incidents in which he was involved. All are bound together by a common theme: the iniquity of Stalin, the usurper of Lenin's position, and the suppressor of the Communist spirit of the early Bolsheviks. In the towns he found a dictatorship second to none in brutal efficiency, wielded by Stalin through a vast bureaucracy. On the land he found some oases of the spirit of the old Bolsheviks, successful in a varying measure, sometimes in a high degree; but always the shadow of Stalin and his bureaucracy waiting a chance to stifle this spirit and substitute the soulless uniformity of his own rule. This is the author's view of the recent history of Russia: a gallant attempt of the people of Russia led by Lenin, having rid themselves of the Czarist aristocracy, to express themselves in Communism, but frustrated by the new bureaucracy of Stalin. Stalin himself a soulless aspirant to power, with an understanding of American methods of big business. Having once by the use of chance and tactics gained control of the Communist party, and filled its important posts with men after his own heart, Russia is almost irretrievably in his grip. This view of the Russian situation is not peculiarly the author's. Some authorities would agree with him. Others would read their facts differently.

The time has now come, not for further books on Russia itself, but for books on those who write about Russia; books championing and attacking the manifold theories about that interesting but enigmatic land. Indeed, the time is ripe for the science of U.S.S.R-ology.

The author finally left Russia partly in disgust, partly in apprehension of the attentions of the G.P.U.

C. P.

Women in the Soviet East. By Fannina W. Halle. Translated from the German by Margaret M. Green. Pp. 351; bibliography and index. Seventy-seven plates in half-tone and sketch-map. 8vo. Martin Secker and Warburg, Ltd. 1938.

In spite of its alluring promise, the title covers a very, very serious, not to say ponderous, textbook of sociology. What Mme. Halle does not know about the revolutionary history of Soviet womankind is not worth knowing. She travelled extensively and came into contact with all the notable reformers. We thus obtain a first-hand picture of female emancipation under Russian rule. The objectivity

of the account does not seem to suffer from the author's sympathy with Soviet ideology and method. We follow step by step the accomplishment of a fact which no old traveller in the East could have believed possible twenty-five years ago. If the Quran was the spiritual corner-stone of Islam, the status of woman was its foundation on the material plane.

The photographs form a really instructive accompaniment to the text.

From the Contents: Lingerings Echoes of Matriarchy (Amazons, Priestesses); Patriarchy (Islam, Woman as Chattel, Marriage); Dawn of the New Era; Byt Crimes; Away with the Veil; Propaganda; Eastern Women as Social Workers; various Glossaries.

W. R. R.

Assignment in Utopia. By Eugene Lyons. 1937.

The author spent some years (from 1928) in Russia as an American journalist. His Left-Wing faith received a shock almost on arrival. He found the Shakty political trial of 1928 worse than the Sacco-Vanzetti case, which he had just been denouncing in his native land. For he could not help noticing how accused were broken by what must clearly have been torture, between one day of the trial and another. However, the "egg and omelette" proverb and the "sacrifices for a new world" slogan kept him quiet for some years. But the famine of 1932-33 lifted the veil from his eyes and he saw Russia as she really is. "Why not down the lot, Comrades, and start afresh with a He-Stalin and a She-Stalin?"

The sufferings of the peasants struck the author most. But he notes that in the factories the system of piece-work, resisted by Trades Unions all over the world, was introduced in 1931. His remarks on low pay, high prices, and bad housing conditions confirm Sir Walter Citrine's statements. He gives the scale of ransom for escape from Russia—500 gold roubles for a proletarian passport, 1,000 for a non-proletarian one. He describes how the OGPU (now "abolished" into the Commissariat for Internal Affairs) has a "gold-mining" department. This consists of a series of tortures for the extraction of Valuta (foreign currency, precious metals, and jewels). It includes "the sweat room, the lice room, the cold treatment, and the conveyor (hurrying the victim from table to table of the inquisitors for hours on end)." Such fiscal methods recall the old Orient. Equally suggestive of the East, in its grimmest vein of humour, is the execution of three persons for "sabotaging" the rabbit-breeding scheme. One of them had sent all the buck rabbits to one city, and all the does to another.

Verbal jokes are not lacking in Russia. Thus, son to father, "Why don't Jews eat ham?" Father: "Do *Russians* eat ham?" In Moscow a comic actor's favourite gag is, "One night I heard a loud knock on the door. So I took my little suitcase and went to open it." A reference to the ever-hovering shadow of arrest.

From 1932 there is the death penalty for theft of any "collectivized" thing (everything except such personal belongings as clothes and furniture). From the same year internal passports have been revived in a more stringent form than under the Czar. The censorship is so severe that foreign correspondents at Riga are often in advance of their colleagues in Moscow. This statement would appear to justify the policy of *The Times*. Mr. Lyons found political outcasts in Nazi Germany startlingly bold in approaching strangers as compared to Russia.

Mr. Lyons sums up the results of the Five-Year Plan (ending in December, 1932) with transatlantic succinctness under seven heads:

1. Under-nourishment.
2. Rigid internal passports.

3. Death for theft.
4. Fascist reactions outside Russia.
5. Livestock over 50 per cent. below the 1928 standard (the peasants in desperation had killed their animals).
6. The Political Police the largest employer of labour.
7. "Gold mining" by the Ogpu continued.

Stalin, with whom Mr. Lyons had an interview, impressed him as "power—naked, clean, and serene in its strength." Stalin is the calm engineer—of human flesh instead of steel. His historical ancestor is not Karl Marx but Peter the Great. He has imported socialism from Germany and France, and industrialism from England and the United States. On occasion, and when safety permits, he employs the vigorous technique in foreign affairs of his Imperial predecessors. Thus between September and November, 1929, in a war unnoticed by the general press (but not by the *Royal Central Asian Journal*), Russia invaded Manchu-Kuo, routed the Chinese, and made them conform to her will. (Russian penetration over Sinkiang and Mongolia is another illustration of this policy.)

Mr. Lyons has an explanation of the idealization of this strange Oriental despot by world-wide Liberal intelligentsia. Liberal intellectuals often have kind hearts but fuzzy minds. If there were no Communist Russia they would be ready to invent one. For its picture is fashioned in the image of their hopes. Still, in effect the defenders of Russia commit mental *hara-kiri* as a protest against social inequalities.

On a visit to his homeland Mr. Lyons was summoned to Washington to inform a former Secretary of State on conditions in Russia. He went in some trepidation, for his mind was still in strife. But he found his fears unfounded. For the Secretary of State spent half an hour enlightening Mr. Lyons on the real situation in the Soviet Union. During the Great War an officer fresh from Lord Haig's staff in France had a similar experience with a well-known politician in Whitehall.

J. C. FRENCH.

CORRESPONDENCE

ANGKOR WAT: ORIGIN OF ARCHITECTURE

It was my privilege to address you some two years ago on the religious ceremonies of Bali Island, and I then commented on the influence of Hinduism on the architecture and to a much less degree on the religion of that remarkable little nation—the Balinese.

Last year I planned an itinerary with a view to tracing the pathway of Hinduism in the East, going over ground which I had not yet covered. With my camera I made a survey which included the huge temples of Southern India, and the mediæval structures of Baijnath and Mandi in the North, with their curious conical domes and heavy architecture. My pilgrimage included a one-day visit to Angkor Wat—the most magnificent of all the Hindu temples I had yet seen.

As I jogged through the jungle in the one first-class carriage on the one train on the one railway through Cambodia, I had the pleasure of a long conversation with the only other occupant—a charming French lady who was in charge of the French Government's scheme for village libraries. We naturally discussed, among other subjects, the architecture of Angkor Wat and found that we had both reached the same conclusion with regard to it—namely, that it was the precursor and *not* the successor of the Dravidian architecture of Southern India which it so closely resembles.

According to legend, an Indian Prince Kambu visited Cambodia in the fourth century “and married a princess of the Nagas, a race of gods who represented themselves as seven-headed cobras” (I quote from Mr. Deane H. Dickason's book *Wondrous Angkor*). These seven-headed cobras—the huge sphinx-like faces emerging from the walls of the gates—the tremendous balustrades supported by crouching figures, are all architectural features which do not appear, to my knowledge, outside Cambodia. The legend previously quoted, no doubt, was the source of the abiding tradition that the culture of the Khmers (or Cambodians) was derived from India, though it is now conceived to have had as a nucleus the art and legends of a “small-eyed people who worshipped snakes,” probably the aborigines in the valley of the Mekong. The Cambodians were known as marvellous craftsmen, and, comparing the work of the designs round the doorways

and the great bas-reliefs on the walls with those of the temples of Southern India, one cannot but note the inferiority of the latter. There is nothing either in the racial origins of the Dravidian stock which points to a high level of art among them, and this has never existed.

Although the Brahmin missionaries came into Indo-China as early as the second century, the temples of Angkor were not built till very much later and those of Southern India later still, and I believe them to be imitative art. In the ninth century a Javan influence crept into the architecture of Angkor through the invasion of one Prince Chenha who built several temples. May not this mingled Cambodian and Javanese architecture have found its way to Bali Island before the Hindu invasion of the eleventh century? for the Balinese are believed to have migrated from somewhere north of Siam. The gateways of the Balinese temples bear no more real resemblance to the architecture of Southern India than they do to that of Cambodia, save in their general structure, which might be traced to either source. These observations would serve to contradict the accepted theory of the origin of Cambodian architecture as well as that of Bali Island.

The conclusion of the whole matter would seem to be that Hinduism and Hindu architecture emanated from two entirely different sources. As a religion Hinduism has taken comparatively little hold outside its country of origin, while its architecture (or shall we say Cambodian architecture) remains a standing memorial of a once great kingdom.

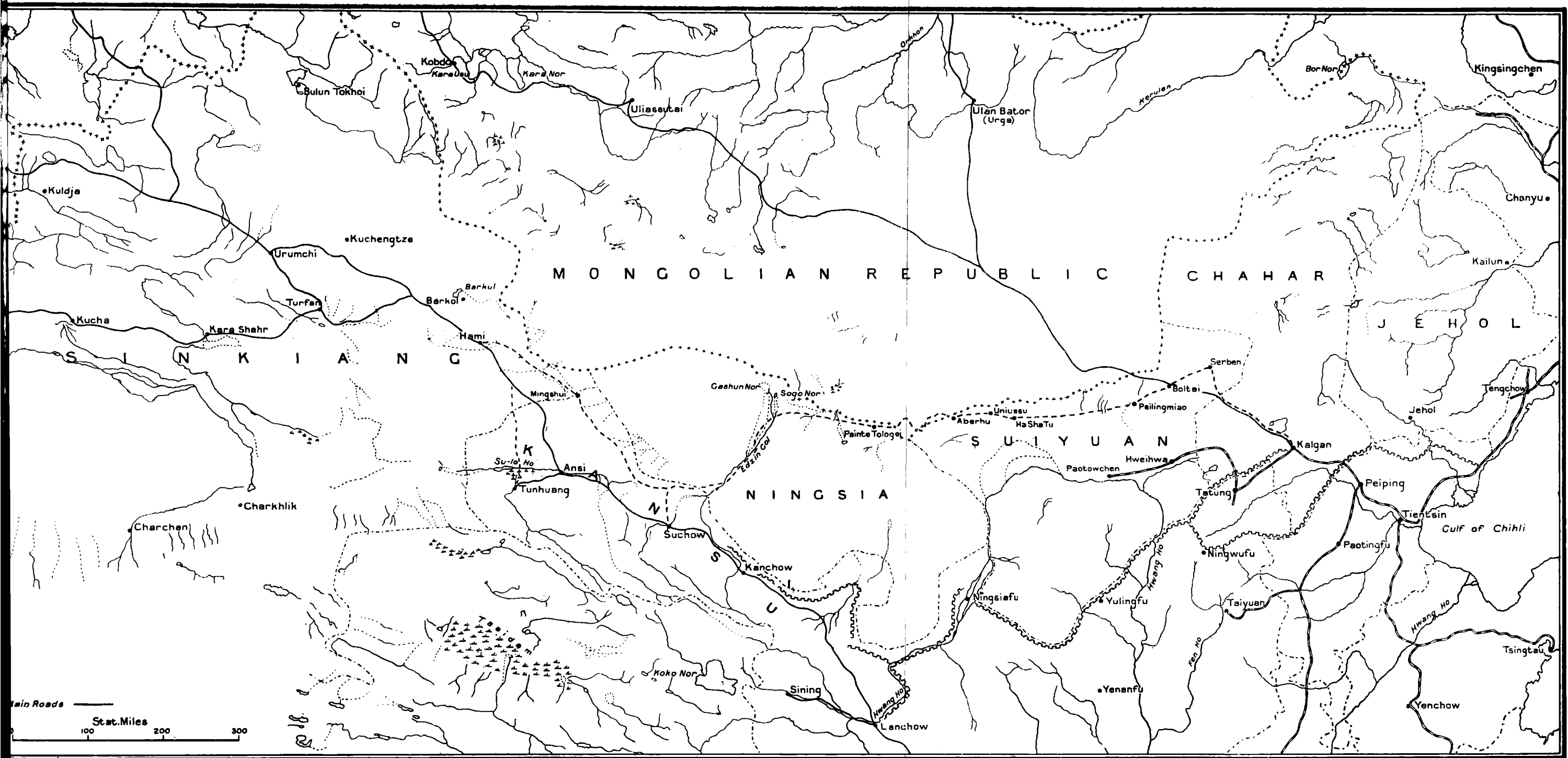
EDITH F. HOPEWELL.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 77, GROSVENOR STREET, W. 1.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1937.

EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.										
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.						
To <i>Office Expenses</i> : Salaries and National Insurance ... Secretary's travelling allowance ... Rent ... Telephone ... Stationery and Printing ... Postage ... Office cleaning ... Audit fee ... Bank charges ... Lighting and heating ... Sundries ... Legal expenses	457 100 160 13 44 76 27 5 8 12 17 3	1 0 0 4 4 15 11 5 17 18 1 13	2 0 0 8 2 8 3 0 1 11 6	£ 926 13 4	By <i>Subscriptions received</i> ... „ <i>Donations</i> ... „ <i>Journal Subscriptions and Sales</i> ... „ <i>Interest Received</i> ... „ <i>Annual Dinner</i> ... „ <i>Dinner Club (Contribution to expenses)</i> ... „ <i>Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Income</i>	1,634 28 82 27 192 48 66	15 18 10 18 0 10 7	10 0 9 4 0 5 8	£ 2,081 1 0			
„ <i>Journal</i> : Printing ... Postage ... Reporting ... Maps	608 80 27 9	4 9 1 10	4 0 6 0	£ 725 4 10	„ <i>Lectures</i> : Lecturers' expenses ... Lecture halls and expenses ... Lantern ... Slides ... Reporting ... Printing	11 153 5 9 1 23	5 8 1 10 9 7 0	0 5 0 3 7 0	£ 204 17 3 35	1 9 10 2	3 9 10 0	£ 2,081 1 0
„ <i>Annual Dinner</i> ... „ <i>Library</i> ... „ <i>Abdullah Reception</i>	186 3 35	17 1 2	9 10 0	£ 2,081 1 0									
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