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Photo: Girardon.

ST. GERMAIN'S SHROUD.

Fragment of a silk weave, representing rows of eagles with spread wings, joined by rosaces. The colours are gold and deep purple, the eyes and the ring are green. According to the tradition, St. Germain died in Ravenna in 448. His body was brought to France wrapped in a silken shroud, at the Empress Placidie's command. But this shroud dates from the ninth to eleventh centuries A.D.



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M. N. KENNEDY.

NOTICES

THE List of Members which is brought out every other year is to be reprinted in the spring. Those members who feel doubtful if their rank, decorations or addresses will be given correctly are asked to send a postcard to the office not later than February 15. More especially those who get any decoration at the New Year are asked to notify the office. The New Year's Honours List is carefully read, but it is a busy time of year, and it is very easy to overlook a name. The staff would be very glad if the list could be brought out with absolute correctness, and for this they need the members' help.

The small Reading Room is now ready for use and thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Sandford Storey it is comfortably furnished. Moreover the housekeeper will provide sandwiches for those who wish to put in an hour here in the middle of the day. There is room for a small table and some good Persian or Indian pottery. Mr. Charles Cain has very kindly lent three etchings, which are hung in the library, and Mrs. Alec Tweedie has presented two of her paintings to the Society, which are hung in the Council room. The Journal is exchanged for a number of interesting periodicals, American and others, as well as with the journals of other societies, and these can be seen at any time.

There are two changes in this Journal which it is hoped may improve it. In the first place the paper is thinner and, an important item, no heavier. The rather bulky paper on which the Journal has been printed for the last five years cost less to send by post than the thinner paper used up to that time, but the bound volumes are clumsy and difficult to hold. The Council would be glad to know if the present paper is approved.

In the second place, the lectures during this autumn have fallen quite conveniently into sections, and certain reviews of books are included in these sections, as they fill a definite place. Thus the reviews of books on China are placed directly after the lectures on China; the reviews of books on Palestine after the two main papers on Palestine; the review of "The Silk Road" comes after the lecture on the Silk Route. It will not always be possible to do this, but here again the convenience of members must be consulted.

Some of the lectures of the next session have been arranged. The Young People's Lecture on January 4 is to be given by Miss Evelyn Mould, who shows a film of Ceylon and Southern India.

January 18.—Mr. Emanuel, Chief of Staff to Mr. Barger on the recent archæological expedition to Swat and Afghanistan, gives an account of the work done and the country covered. 5.30 p.m.

January 25.—"A Settlement between China and Japan?" by Mr. Edwin Haward. 8.45 p.m.

February 15.—General Philip Neame, C.B., on "A Visit to Lhasa with the 1936 Lhasa Mission." 8.45 p.m.

February 22.—Miss Nancy Lindsay on her "Flower-Hunting Expeditions in Ghilan." 5 p.m.

March 22.—Mr. Laurence Lockhart on "Nadir Shah."

March 30.—Mr. Bowman on "Some Aspects of Education in the Near East" (with the Indian Village Welfare Association).

There will be two discussions on Palestine. Cards will be sent as usual. If these do not arrive, please notify the office immediately.

Mr. J. S. Furnivall will lecture on the "Training of Dutch Candidates for the Civil Service in Netherlands India."

Mr. H. V. V. Dowson will lecture on "A Date Grove in Basrah."

Captain N. R. Streatfield will show a coloured film of the expedition to K2.

For the Notice of the Special General Meeting, see p. 186.

NOMINATION FORM.

.....

 (Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL

ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend ^{him}_{her} for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

His
Her connection with Asia is :

THE KABUI AND TANGKHUL NAGAS*

By MISS URSULA GRAHAM BOWER

THE Kabui and Tangkhul Naga areas both lie in Manipur, and outside the Naga Hills proper. Manipur itself is almost cut in half by the long, flat trough of the Manipur Valley; the Kabuis live to the west of it and the Tangkhuls on the east, the Burma side, and though separated by a relatively narrow lowland belt they differ markedly in appearance, customs, and the general level of their culture.

They are only two out of the different peoples in Manipur State, and, before I go on to deal with them in any detail, perhaps I may give you a rough idea of the neighbouring tribes and the country they inhabit. The Manipuris themselves live only in the main valley and the few subsidiary patches of fertile low ground. The valley is dead flat, and except for a few isolated hills and the considerable lakes and stretches of swamp, is all under cultivation and dotted with villages. Imphal, the capital, is a vast agglomeration of such villages grouped round the principal bazaar, the Residency, the Palace and the various Government buildings. The Manipuris are Hindus, but have only been converted to that religion comparatively recently, that is within the last two hundred years or so, and their language is akin to the Chin and Kuki dialects.

At one time Imphal's only link with the outside world was the old

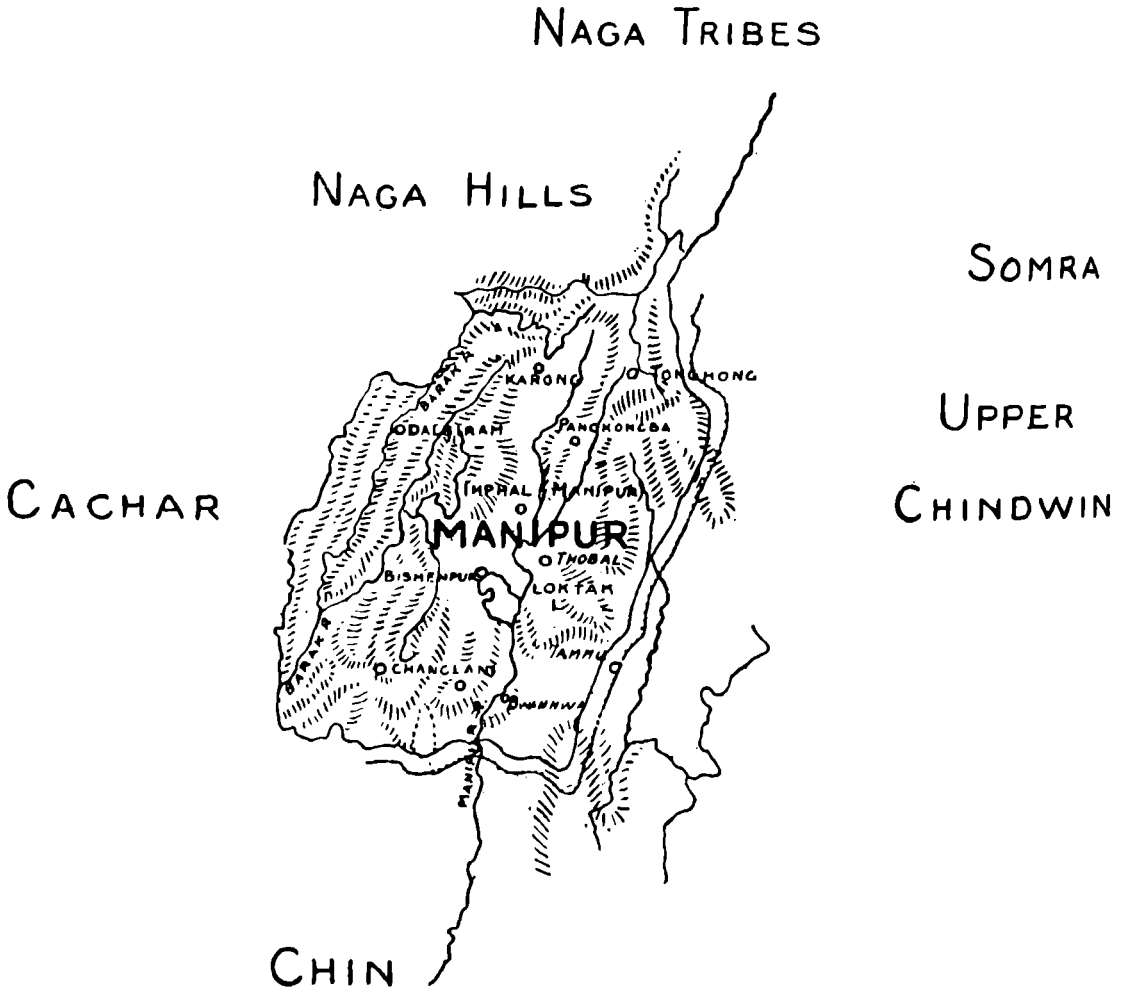
* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on October 18, General Sir William Beynon in the Chair.

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—

It is my privilege and pleasure to introduce the lecturer, Miss Graham Bower. She is naturally an explorer and adventurer, for her grand-uncle was a Mr. Hamilton Bower, a noted traveller. Once in Turkestan, where he happened to be travelling, the British Government asked him to trace the murderer of an English merchant, a Mr. Dalgleish. He succeeded in running the man down, and the murderer was duly executed; which showed everyone that Englishmen can travel in most parts of the world on their lawful occasions and rely on their Government to back them up.

With that blood in her veins, you can understand that Miss Bower takes naturally to exploring. I believe that on her recent journey she visited Manipur. Those of you who are more my age will remember when Manipur was in the news, and when Captain Grant and his half-company wiped up the crowd of rebels and got the V.C. I have not the slightest doubt that she will be as successful there in the future as in the past.

Cachar road which runs from Silchar through to Burma, but the modern motor-road comes in by Kohima and the pass at Mao. It is said that until the rebellion of 1891 wheeled transport was unknown in Manipur, and that the bullock carts which came in with the troops were the first seen there. When attempts were made to get Manipuris as drivers, they flatly declared carts were devilish inventions of the Sahibs and much too difficult for any Manipuris to handle, and eventually drivers had to be imported from the plains.



Nevertheless the Manipuris are fine horsemen, and Manipur is one of the several places credited with being the home of polo. It is said to have developed from Manipuri hockey, which is played thirty a side with long bamboo sticks; there are no goals, but only a back line, and half the team play at a time while the rest sit out as reserves. There are also no rules. A player may hold the ball and run with it, whirling his stick like a propeller to make sure no one tackles him; at a safe distance from the back line he throws the ball up and hits

it as hard as he can in mid-air, and it goes into the crowd like a bullet. The ball is not bullied off, but is thrown into the air over the players' heads; a player, marking his opponent, seizes him round the waist and they dash after the ball together like a three-legged race, and after about half an hour's play there are probably more couples fighting than playing. The reserves are necessary to replace the frequent casualties, but in spite of all this it is an enormously popular sport, and gangs of naked urchins can be seen playing it in every village.

Manipuri polo, though less dangerous, is quite as good to watch. It is played nine a side, and again there are back lines instead of goals, but the stickwork and skill displayed are perfectly amazing. The ponies are tiny, not more than twelve or thirteen hands, and are burdened with a heavy saddle and a pair of huge guards or fenders, which bang and rattle up and down the field. The game is played at terrific speed, and, like the hockey, there are no rules whatever. Casualties are fewer, largely because the polo player is well protected with a heavy *pagri*, a pair of velvet-covered shin-guards, and these massive fenders on the saddle, whereas the hockey players wear as little as possible.

One interesting survival of the old days is the dart, or rather arrow, throwing which was used by retreating cavalry to discourage pursuit. The horseman has a quiverful of long darts on his saddle, and at full gallop throws them up and over, so that they fall behind him in a regular shower. Unfortunately there now are only a few men left who know the art.

Lastly, there is the boat race, rowed, or rather paddled, in large dugouts with some forty men in each, and chiefly notable for the gorgeous costume and unusual headdress, wound so as to form a jutting horn over the forehead, worn by the head boatmen. This state headdress is also worn by wrestlers performing before the Maharajah. In each boat the head boatman is held up like a figure-head by two men behind him, and the rest paddle their heavy craft as hard as they can the length of the course. They are allowed to ram their opponents' boats, and, if possible, drive them into the bank, but they generally prefer the easier method, and each boat pulls in to its own bank and is hauled along there by enthusiastic supporters.

From Imphal, roads radiate to the foot of the hills and there join bridle-tracks running to Tamu and Burma, Cachar, and the two outposts, Tamenglong on the Kabui side and Ukhrul on the east. Like its tribes, Manipur's scenery is extremely varied. Once one

leaves the low ground the country is a tangle of long, narrow ridges divided by deep valleys four or five hundred feet above sea-level. The hills are mostly between four and five thousand feet in height, but rise here and there to eight thousand or more. Villages and staging bungalows alike are perched on the tops, and often in the early morning one sees the whole valley filled with mist, and range upon range rising out of it like islands.

Chakpi, at the south-east of the valley, has open grassland and coppices like Sussex oakwoods. Just short of the hills is the small area where most of the pots for Manipur are made, and all along the road from this part of the valley one passes huge loads of pots and jars being taken forty-odd miles to sell in Imphal bazaar. At the edge of the hills, though the people seem to be basically Kuki, there is an astonishing mixture of types, some Mongolian, some resembling the Manipuris, and some almost Caucasian. Only a march or two up the road, though, the woods change to thick jungle, and the easy-going Topokpi people give way to the unmistakable dark-clothed Kukis of Mombi.

Up in the north, near the Naga Hills border, the hills are higher and much of the land is cleared, but where the forest still stands it is dense, with some fine timber. The Angami sub-tribes who inhabit the district are a fine type physically, active, well built and muscular, with faces broad across the cheekbones and often freckled, and they practise the same complicated system of terrace cultivation as the rest of the Angamis and the Tangkhuls. As far as full dress goes they must be the most picturesque tribe in Manipur, though their ordinary costume is drab enough; their villages stand high, Mao in particular, and in the cold weather the Mao Naga is generally wrapped to the eyes against the wind which blows almost constantly through the Mao gap.

When in dance dress they wear the usual Angami kilt of black cotton sown with lines of cowrie shells, bands or baldrics of white stuff patterned with brilliant scarlet and green thread, a sort of sporan of bamboo sticks wound with more bright thread, a collection of vivid necklaces, and a tremendous headdress like a peacock's tail, made of lengths of split bamboo tipped with white down and held to a frame on the back of the head by fine cane and more coloured thread wound between the spokes. The frame itself is fastened to the man's own long back hair, which is wound round and round with ropes of raw cotton till the headdress stands well out behind. The more distin-

guished men wear hornbill feathers, and spears of various types, massive armlets, either real ivory or white wooden imitations, and possibly a shield or some of the characteristic ornaments fringed with red-dyed hair complete the costume. Nowadays wealth and social standing have superseded the real qualifications for the warrior's insignia, and it is nothing unusual to see a young man wearing hornbill feathers which should properly indicate he had taken five heads.

To the south of Mao a long spur runs down to the head of the Manipur valley, and on it, directly above the main road, stands the large village of Maram. When bullock-carts were the only means of transport the Maram men used to slip down by night, cut off the last cart or two of a train, kill the sleeping drivers, and then take bullocks, carts and all up to the village, where they took the drivers' heads, broke up the carts for firewood, and cooked the bullocks, and so celebrated the head-taking and disposed of the evidence in one. Modern travel on the Manipur road is not without its excitements, but at least the police and the motor-car have removed Maram from the list.

If the Mao men have the best dance dress, the Tangkhul leads where ordinary clothes are concerned. He is unmistakable, partly for his handsome red and blue clothes, but chiefly for his extraordinary cockscomb haircut. While other tribes crop their hair round like a skull-cap, grow it long or leave a top-knot to be twisted up, the Tangkhul shaves the side of his head completely and leaves a stiff crest over the top. The style varies slightly in different villages, some tying a knot in the tail of hair behind, some leaving the tail off, some keeping the crest broad, and others cutting it down to a three-inch strip, but it always retains the essential line. Small boys have their hair shaved or cropped close, and after that it grows by stages from a patch on the crown to a patch and a long tail, and, finally, to the man's upstanding mane.

The tribe occupies a long tract of country running north and east along the Burma border. Rather towards the south is the subdivisional headquarters of Ukhrul, which is about fifty miles from Imphal and connected to it by two bridle-roads. Both roads climb up and down over several ranges, but that is more inconvenient to touring officers than to the Tangkhuls, who, like most Nagas, prefer going uphill to walking on the level, and regard thirty miles as a fair day's march. The limit for coolie-loads is 60 lbs., but a Naga travelling on his own often carries 80 lbs. and more. Loads are packed in

tall baskets and carried by a headband or a headband and wooden shoulder-yoke.

Generally speaking, the Tangkhul is less heavily built than the Angami; he is lean, tall, and wiry, and has a distinctive cast of feature. His usual dress consists of a waistcloth, and over it one or more large body-cloths, the inner one usually white and the outer turkey-red with broad stripes of a blue so dark it looks black. The blue stripes are edged with narrow white lines, and the cloth is crossed with bands of embroidery finished with small tassels of the same thread. This is the cloth most usually worn, but there is another used by headmen and men of some position. It is a rich wine-red and very large, and is striped lengthways with white bands four inches wide. On each side of these is a strip of the same width with lines of embroidery, and outside these again a narrow white stripe. The women wear a red skirt or petticoat with a broad band of embroidery, and an outer wrap, sometimes plain and sometimes like the ordinary man's cloth. All these cloths are of a fine, close weave and surprisingly warm. The best ones are beautiful pieces of work, and though they are made in strips and sewn together the joins are almost invisible, and even in the hand the cloth seems to be woven all in one piece.

The Tangkhul is nothing like so friendly as the Angami, but he has a sense of humour and is perfectly ready to enjoy himself when he gets the chance. In keeping with his dignified and rather statuesque appearance is his avoidance of the elaborate ornaments and decorations which the Kabuis and Angamis favour so much. Many of the Tangkhul men wear large metal earrings much the size and shape of napkin-rings, but these are so heavy they are often discarded for comfort and the lobe left empty. Women do not wear earrings to anything like the same extent, but some of the older women wear a short section of bamboo through the lobe. Necklaces, on the other hand, are worn by everybody from the babies up. They vary with the wearer's taste and means from a single string of beads, through the collars of small disks much worn by the young bucks, to the headmen's long, elaborate necklaces of a dozen strings or more. The Tangkhul's principal weapons are the usual Naga ones, a spear and a *dao*, to which he sometimes adds an oblong, hide-covered shield about four feet long and rather under two feet wide. The characteristic Tangkhul spear is of enormous length, sometimes as much as twelve or fourteen feet, but round about Ukhrul there is a lighter, shorter type about six feet long. It is sometimes made with a wooden shaft and

iron head and butt, but is often made entirely of polished metal. These last are most beautiful weapons, with small leaf-shaped heads and squared shafts with two rounded sections as handgrips. The Tangkhul is a skilful fighter with the short spear, and the war-dance, or sham duel, is most impressive to watch. In fact, so worked up do the dancers get, particularly the young bucks, that one of the headmen has to jump in between and keep them apart throughout the dance, or there would probably be murder done.

Like all Nagas the Tangkhuls build their villages high up on ridges and summits, and the few modern, rather straggling Christian settlements are in great contrast to the compact and older pagan ones, built with an eye to defence. Down the slopes below every village run the elaborate terrace-systems, sometimes well over two thousand feet in vertical height. The level ground in the valleys is also cultivated, when there is any, but the bulk of the rice crop is grown on the terraces, which are faced with stone or turf, and on steep slopes are only a few feet wide. The various rivulets and small streams are most ingeniously used, and are led in and out and from level to level by bamboo water-pipes, which are also used to provide a kind of wayside drinking-tap where a runnel crosses a bridle-path.

A Tangkhul village has a main street which follows the line of the ridge and usually climbs it in a series of large, broken steps, with a house to each step and other houses ranged at varying angles behind. The street itself is full of rain-gullies, pigs, dogs, hens, children, buffaloes, refuse, and even graves. At the top of the village is a level space where the rich men's houses are and where the dances and gatherings take place. This space is ringed with houses and the tall, bare posts, like dead trees, put up to mark the "*gennas*" or feasts by which a man acquires social distinction. The houses themselves are large and built of timber, and have lower and flatter roofs than among the Kabuis and Angamis. There is a post well forward under the jutting end of the roof, and the space underneath is planked in and made into a kind of antechamber. The front wall and post of a rich man's house are elaborately carved and painted, and the usual shaggy thatch is replaced, at least in the front, by wooden shingles.

Outside the headman's house at Ukhul and on the edge of the flat dancing-space is a small stone cairn. In the old days heads taken in a raid were brought back here and thrown down on the cairn, and after the necessary ceremonies and celebrations they were placed on shelves in the antechamber of the headman's house, where a large

number of them still are, though many more were destroyed in a fire a few years ago.

Ten days after our return from Ukhrul we were off again, this time for Tamenglong, the sub-divisional headquarters on the Kabui side. Our party consisted of Mr. C. F. Jeffery, the State Engineer, Miss Macdonald (my hostess), and myself. Our plan was to go up to Tamenglong and then on to the Barak river, which rises away to the north-east of Mao, takes a big loop round the Maram spur and cuts its way through the hills to the west before turning south again and running more or less straight to the Cachar road. We were to take to rafts at the bridge beyond Tamenglong and go down-river for a week, halting a day on the way at the Margery Falls, and then walk out along the Cachar road.

The hills here were covered in dense bamboo jungle which changed to timber on the heights. The road itself was well-graded, with suspension bridges over the bigger streams and tin-roofed transport sheds every few miles, but, like the Ukhrul roads, it went straight down one side of a range and up the other. The Kabuis are smaller and slighter than either the Angamis or the Tangkhuls, and their features are coarser, but as we went south and west down the river the type changed completely, and grew darker skinned and much more primitive. The usual costume here, round Tamenglong, was a short waistcloth or kilt of coarse cotton stuff, and over it the dandies sported a wide-ended sash decorated with yellow orchid skin which had the effect of rich silk embroidery. The body-cloth was generally white, and much smaller than that worn on the Tangkhul side. Different villages had different patterns, some plain, some striped, and some embroidered, and the cloths were worn in a number of ways, round the waist, wrapped round the shoulders or knotted up into a tunic. A few men wore cane rings below the knee, and almost all, even the naked boys, carried *daos*. This was very noticeable after the Tangkhul side, where we only saw two *daos* in a fortnight, though the Tangkhul seems to carry a spear more often than the Kabui does. Conch-shell and bead necklaces were very common, and every man, almost without exception, had raw cotton, marigolds or red berries as decoration in his hair or ears. The hair is cropped round like a thick, bushy skull-cap, but a tuft on the crown is left long and knotted up, sometimes in a tail, but more often in a regular bun. The girls were often very attractive, with sleek, black, bobbed hair and skins sometimes no darker than our sunburn. They wore

a striped cloth wrapped round them, and a body-cloth like a man's, but dyed dark blue; the married women were dressed in much the same way, but they wore a different body-cloth and tucked their hair up in a twist of stuff.

It was at Liwapokpi, four days out, that we met our first bamboo *basha*. It was built entirely of bamboo, with matting walls, door, beds and tables and an ingenious roof made of split and interlocked stems. There was not a nail in the place, and everything was tied together with bamboo bark. There was one great advantage the *basha* had over the staging bungalow, at least from the photographic point of view, and that was that we lived very largely in the open and our camps were always swarming with intensely curious Nagas; though their curiosity was sometimes too much of a good thing, as here at Liwapokpi, where they stared at us all afternoon and then queued up for the *basha* windows after dark.

We were now only ten miles from Tamenglong, but eight miles of the march were uphill, and steep at that. We had eighteen Kabui coolies, and as they climbed we counted at least eight different tunes or variations on the four-beat coolie-chant. We tried to note some of them, but they were too complicated to memorize, as most of them were in several parts. The method is simple, however; each man takes one note of the few used and sings it to a sonorous "Ho!" once every four steps, and when eighteen or twenty men are singing the tune goes swinging away through the jungle with great effect. Largely from high spirits, the Kabui bucks punctuate it with shrill yells which are like nothing else on earth but an express train whistle, and several of our camps on the Barak might have been near a railway junction.

When we left Tamenglong for the Barak two days later the road took us through the Kabui village. It was far more sprawling than any Tangkhul village; the street was much wider and, on the whole, cleaner, and the houses did not face on to it so strictly at right angles. The houses themselves were far higher and steeper in the roof than those of the Tangkhuls, and were more like those of the Kachcha Nagas, whom the Kabuis resemble in many respects. All the houses were largely built of bamboo on a timber frame, the roof sloped steeply down from front to back, the thatch was thick, and the eaves came so far down at the sides that it was almost impossible to see the walls. The roof was fully twenty feet high at the front, where it jutted out like a porch, and there was a small space like a yard

between the house and the street. The porch and front wall were hung with buffalo skulls, and baskets, firewood, trays of chillies, and other household oddments were scattered round the yard.

The Kabuis have no elaborate terracing system, like the Tangkhuls and Angamis, but they use *jhum*-fields. They first clear off the jungle, then allow it to dry and burn it off, and grow their crops on the natural slope of the hill. After a couple of years that patch is exhausted, and they allow it to go back under secondary jungle and clear another section.

A day's march from Tamenglong we reached the Barak and the upper bridge, and halted there while our rafts were building. These rafts were made of forty or fifty bamboos lashed together like a part-opened fan, and there was a matting platform amidships for us to sit on. They were about eighteen feet long and five feet wide at the stern, and, frail though they looked and felt, they proved surprisingly strong in actual practice.

During our first day on the river we met rapids every ten minutes or so, and with the consequent delay and the fact that the march was much longer than we had expected, we found ourselves obviously some distance from camp when the light was failing and darkness setting in. It presently grew pitch dark, and there was no sign of either camp or coolies, and it began to look as though we should have to camp where we were in the jungle or on a sandbank. We shot one rapid in the dark, and as we were paddling down the long pool beyond we saw a light in the distance, and when at last we came up to it we found a fire and a group of Nagas waiting for us. They settled us by the fire and we sat and thawed and drank thick, smoky *zu*—rice-beer—until Mr. Jeffery arrived; but when we reached the camp we found it still in confusion as the *lambu* in charge of the coolies had lost the way and the whole party had been groping along in the jungle for an hour or more.

The next two marches were short ones, and we got the coolies to agree to double them, but as soon as we had left camp they changed their minds, and so after a march of only three miles we found ourselves at a camp set in a small clearing and surrounded by walls of high bamboo which shut out most of the daylight.

The Kuki chowkidar had never seen anything like us before, and after building a fire for us outside the *basha* he pulled up a log, sat down at our feet, and gazed at us in speechless astonishment for the rest of the evening. Among those who passed through the camp was

a Naga with six jungle rats which he evidently preferred fresh, for they were all alive and squirming. As a general rule the Naga will eat almost anything; small birds, rats, monkeys, squirrels, and particularly dogs, are articles of diet, and many of the traps he sets for birds and small animals are of a complicated and most ingenious description.

Next day Mr. Jeffery delighted our two Kabui boatmen by catching first a 30-lb. mahseer and then a twenty-pounder. They told us that though they often saw these big fish—the record for the Barak is 45 lb.—they never managed to catch them themselves. Our next camp was the last before the falls, and it stood by a Naga path and above a ferry. There was a large camp of Nagas on the opposite bank and smaller parties were dotted in the jungle behind our *basha*. As soon as we arrived they all swarmed into camp to look at us and the big fish, and several of the young men amused themselves by joy-riding in our rafts, which were of a more luxurious pattern than any they bothered to make for themselves.

The next morning we left Paparam for the Margery Falls. Early in the afternoon we saw the hills begin to close in until they seemed to shut the valley like a solid wall, and as we went on we heard the roaring of the falls. We disembarked about half a mile above them, and Miss Macdonald and I left Mr. Jeffery and the shikaris fishing and went on with our two Kabui boatmen and most of our loose baggage to find a suitable spot for lunch. We found one on top of a set of tiger tracks, but, when we settled down to unpack the basket, nothing would part our two Nagas from us, and they sat down beside us with every intention of helping, or at least seeing what was inside the box. We gave them cigarettes to keep them quiet while we ate our lunch, and in spite of having no word of any language in common we were getting on extremely well when Mr. Jeffery and the others came up.

From there we went on by a Naga path which was often nothing more than a ledge three or four inches wide until at last we came out on broad sandstone terraces walled in by thick jungle, and over these terraces the Barak poured in two falls, some 40 feet high, separated by two or three hundred yards of broken water. Below the second fall there was another fiercer rapid, and then the water swept into a tremendous shoot and disappeared over the third and highest fall, which was so shut in by the sheer cliffs that we could see neither the beginning nor the end of it. We went round it by a precipitous path

through the jungle and scrambled down a steep hillside to a side creek, the Morai Lok, where our camp was situated. Our coolies and the Nagas from the camp were gathered on the shelving rocks like a row of bronze statues as we crossed the log bridge and went up to the *basha*. The glen in which the camp stood was steep-sided and very narrow, so that the jungle rose up behind us like a wall, and in the evening the mist came down and hung in the tree-tops only a few feet over our heads. Our camp housemaid was a good-looking and cheerful Naga boy with a beautifully decorated sash, and I was very anxious to photograph him, but as we were out up the river all the day that we halted there, the only time we saw him was when the light was far too bad for photography, to his disappointment, I think, as much as my own. On the day that we left, however, the housemaid, whom we nicknamed "Marigold," because of the number of those flowers he managed to fit into his top-knot and ears, was in charge of the ferry which crossed the river just below the falls. It consisted of a bamboo raft like our own, and a cane cable which crossed the river over the fast water at the tail of the rapids. The raft was attached to the cable by a loop of cane and the ferryman took hold of the main cable and hauled the raft and himself over, hand-over-hand, a feat requiring considerable strength as the current was strong enough to send over two rafts whirling downstream. However, we got across safely, and Marigold was just disembarking the coolies and *jappas* when he saw us on the top of the bank with the camera. He let go of the raft and came dashing up towards us among the rocks, but when about 20 feet away he was overcome with shyness and jumped up on a ledge among the *jappas*, and so we photographed him, but unfortunately the sash was completely hidden behind a large *jappa*. Some young girls were standing just behind him and were included in the picture too; the only good photograph we got of Kabui girls during the entire trip. They were extremely shy, and turned tail and bolted the moment they saw the camera.

About dusk we reached our next camp, Shempong, and here we noticed a decided change in type among the Nagas. They were darker-skinned and far more primitive in appearance. There was only one boy wearing black cane rings below the knee, only a few men wore the Kabui top-knot, and hardly any cut their hair in the skull-cap crop. The next day was almost the most eventful of the trip. As soon as we left in the morning the servants, who had grown tired of Naga paths along the bank, decided to try rafting on their own,

and while taking the first rapid in bobsleigh style lost the pani-wallah overboard and left him entangled in a clump of overhanging bushes. Further on we heard drumming from a village on the heights; shut in as we were between cliffs and thick jungle the noise seemed almost to come from the river, and it was some time before we realized what it was, and even then it was only the characteristic rhythm of the Kabui dance that gave us the clue. A few minutes after that we suddenly found ourselves shooting a four-foot waterfall. The raft put her nose under and disappeared altogether, but eventually she came up again and we reached the bank very wet, but with most of the baggage safe.

Lastly, fishing and long, silent pools with no current combined to delay us and we were benighted again, but luckily there was a moon this time, and we arrived at camp at about 7 o'clock with Miss Macdonald and I at the paddles instead of the exhausted boatmen. Just short of the camp we saw flares bobbing on the bank and saw a group of Nagas hurrying back the way we had come, and they hailed us and said they were a search party out for one of our coolies, who was missing. A few minutes later we reached the camp itself and clambered up the steep bank by the light of a hurricane lamp. The moment we arrived we were confronted by a wildly excited headman, who was pulling along after him a tall young Naga with a gashed hand. We took out the medicine chest and started work on our patient, who was so overcome at being face to face with us at a range of about a foot that he could only sit and look at us with eyes twice their normal size, while the old headman of Okoklong hovered paternally behind him. Here the last traces of the type we had seen north of the falls had disappeared, and these men, though still Kabuis, differed from the northern people in build, colour, feature, and dress. Many of them had dark blue cloths and all their clothes were of the coarser stuff, almost like sacking. Some of them carried *daos*, but there was not such unanimity as in the stretch between the upper bridge and the falls, where out of eighteen coolies at least sixteen had *daos*.

Another day on the rafts brought us to the Cachar road and the lower bridge. Here the coolies and the men who had built our camp were from Kambirong, a powerful village some four miles from the river. We had a day's halt here and were hoping to have a party with the Nagas in camp, but unfortunately Kambirong was holding a five-day *genna*, none of those inside the village could come out, and

those outside with us were not allowed to return until the *genna* was finished. As a result most of our carriers were women and boys, but the old headman in charge was a delightful person with a keen sense of humour, and we held a quite successful party with the aid of field glasses and a shaving mirror. Nothing would induce the girls to look in the mirror, but the boys and men fairly fought for it. As a gauge of these people's height, when Miss Macdonald and I were out in the middle of the crowd we found we could hand things to and fro quite comfortably over their heads. Of course most of them were boys and women, but of the few men there none approached the height of, say, an average Tangkhul, though the tallest Kabui we saw anywhere was our patient at Okoklong, and he must have stood five feet nine inches or five feet ten inches.

We were now very nearly out of the Kabui country, and our next march took us through Oinomlong, the last Naga village before the plains. While Mr. Jeffery was checking over some stores at the rest-house, Miss Macdonald and I went up to the Naga village with the *lumbu*. Now the Naga, who lives four or five thousand feet up, naturally chooses a wife as much for her muscle and carrying power as for any less useful forms of beauty, and the thing he values above all others is a really muscular pair of calves. I am particularly blessed in that respect, and our previous trip to Ukhrul had not made them any smaller. We were only a few days out on the second trip when I noticed they were attracting favourable attention from the Nagas. At first I thought it was a leech on my leg, but I was enlightened by the rest of the party, and after that, whenever we passed travellers on the road or met a group of headmen, they gathered at a respectful distance and hardly ever took their eyes off my legs. We had grown used to it by this time, and were certainly not thinking about it when we went up the village. I stopped to photograph an elderly woman, and crossed the street to take a picture of a girl who was seeding raw cotton in a little hand-mill. I had just taken the photograph when I was aware of a fluttering and clucking going on round my legs, and looking down I found a very respectable Kabui lady sitting in front of me and patting my mahogany-brown calves up and down while she sang a little song of admiration. Round us in a delighted ring stood most of the male population of Oinomlong. I shook her off and fled, but unfortunately went up and not down the village, and as it was built on the usual Naga plan, in large steps, I gave the population who followed close behind me a magnificent view of my legs in rapid

action. They gathered round us at the top, and there I recovered myself sufficiently to take a photograph.

From Oinomlong we marched down to Mukru and so out of the Kabui country to Jhirighat. Already civilization, in the shape of shirts and various trade goods, is spreading through the hills. Bazaar stuffs are replacing home-made cloth, and with the improvement of roads and transport and increased trade it is only a question of time before old customs are forgotten and the original culture is replaced by foreign importations. The process has already begun on the fringes of the Kabui area, which are within comparatively easy reach of Imphal and the plains of Silchar; and it cannot be long now before it spreads into the inner and still almost untouched country.

The CHAIRMAN: We must all feel that we have had a most entertaining lecture this evening. I have never seen more beautiful photographs. The description of the river country was most enlightening, and I liked the lecturer's account of a village street: "filled with dogs, pigs, children and other refuse."

I have met some of the people she talks about, and I have an admiration for the Naga. He is a good fighting man and a good carrier.

A MEMBER: Do any traces of human sacrifice remain among the customs of the tribes in that region?

Miss BOWER: As I said, the recurrence of head-hunting at Kambarong in 1932 showed that the memory of the custom was still alive. I do not know exactly the history of what happened on that occasion, except at second-hand, but I believe it was most interesting as so many old customs came out again.

The CHAIRMAN: I think you will all join me in thanking Miss Bower for a most interesting lecture.

FROM THE IRRAWADDY TO KOKO NOR LAKE THROUGH CHINA'S RED STRONGHOLD

By V. CRESSY MARCKS

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 24, 1938, illustrated by slides and a film, Vice-Admiral C. V. Osborne, C.B., in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer, the CHAIRMAN said: There is no need to introduce Mrs. Violet Cressy Marcks; she is well known all over the world as a very famous traveller and explorer, although I do not think she is known as widely as she should be, probably owing to her intense modesty. She is, I should think, the greatest living traveller of this age, whichever way such a thing as that can be measured—by length, depth or in any other way.

In 1925 she went from Cairo to Capetown; a year or so later bought reindeer and, with four Laplanders, went north of the Arctic circle, and three months later had trekked across Norwegian, Swedish, and Finland Lapland into Russia, with sleighs drawn by reindeer, arriving eventually at Murmansk, having worked her way across by means of scientific instruments.

After nearly all her expeditions she would spend three months in Arabia, which she knows very well.

In 1929 she went up the Amazon, and by means of canoe reached the Upper Reaches and then climbed over the Andes into Peru.

Through Afghanistan into Russian Turkestan and Siberia, from Addis Ababa through Ethiopia to Nairobi, the only person allowed on both sides of the war fronts in the Italian-Ethiopian conflicts—all this is child's play to her; and to-night we are to hear about her sixth visit to China, and shortly, I hope, we will see her forthcoming book about this journey. I have great pleasure in presenting this very brave and famous lady to you.

EXCELLENCIES, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, I am going to try to-night to describe parts of the eight months' journey into China from which I have recently returned.

I propose first briefly to outline the journey, afterward illustrating it by my pictures. Spending three and a half months last year in China, I then visited Manchoukuo and Siberia, and, after a short time in Europe, spent a further five months in China this year.

I had three objectives when undertaking these journeys:

First, to travel over China's western boundary, the Burma-Yunnan frontier, and to go through the north-western provinces, Kansu and Tsing-hai, out to Lake Koko Nor.

Secondly, to talk to Mao Tse Tung, head of the Reds, or Chinese Communists, now the 8th Route Army, and to study the methods in training this army at their headquarters in their stronghold at Yenam, North Shensi.

Thirdly, to see the war methods used by the Japanese and the chances China has of resisting, and to become acquainted with the road which is the main artery feeding China with Russian war materials, and with the other roads rapidly being pushed through, all of which will so largely effect the result of the war, and have an influence on the new Asia.

I think I was fairly successful in fulfilling these aims.

I got a mule caravan together and crossed from the Irrawaddy, through Yunnan to the Yangtze; went through Kansu Province and out to the Koko Nor in Tsing-hai; had conversations with Mao Tse Tung; visited the Communist Institutions at Yenam; travelled over the new roads and visited those under construction; lived amongst Chinese and Japanese soldiers—the latter prisoners; and obtained some ethnological data, geological and entomological specimens and photographs.

Crossing from Burma into China one travels cross-grained to the country. The Shwelli, the Salween and Mekong rivers have to be crossed; the new Burma road one hears so much about is *not* yet finished, but it helps considerably when one arrives at Hsiakwan, or a couple of miles from Tali. Here one could travel upon this new road by means of motor transport to Yunnan Fu—now renamed Kuming—about 280 miles in three days, thus saving a further twelve days by caravan.

The scenery was magnificent—jungle, forest, deep waterfalls, surrounded by range upon range of mountains. These each day we would climb; at the end of the day we always had a range behind us over which we had come, and a range in front denoting the morrow's effort.

At Yunnan Fu, or Kuming, head of the railway from Hai-Phong, I had planned to go to Siu Fui, another fifteen days by caravan, and the nearest navigable point to the source of the Yangtze, and to come down to Chungking and across to Chengtu, but found I could motor or fly to Chengtu: this is a new road. Both the towns of Chengtu and Chungking were full of refugees; so also was Sian, north-east of the new capital. Sian, one of the oldest towns in China and the cradle of Chinese culture, is known probably better in Europe for the so-called "Sian Coup," or "Double twelfth"—referring to the kidnapping of Generalissimo Chiang Kai Shek, on December 12, 1936.

From Sian I journeyed northwards to Yenam, the Red capital,

where we were guests of the Regional Government. Yenam was an amazing place in most ways. The 8th Route Army and their Institutions outside the small town were all housed in caves.

The Reds, or Communists, now the 8th Route Army, have made friends with the Central Government and work together. The army is divided into leaders and fighters, no officers; the pay is \$1 per month, then about 1s. 1d., some officials get \$5/15 per month, which is the maximum rate of pay. When fighting, each man has four days' rations, bread rolled like a blanket and swung over the shoulders, and the tremendous marches one hears so much about are quite true. They march, and quickly, an incredible number of miles a day, the result, mostly, with the younger fighter, of their hardening process in training, with the older, of the practical experience in their long struggle against the Government troops. They are operating mostly in Shansi, and are very short of ammunition, but they use their guerilla tactics well, and harass the Japanese continually, especially by blowing up parts of the railway taken by the enemy. They are disciplined and taught what they are fighting for, and all propaganda with political aims has ceased.

Wishing to travel towards the eastern front, I got on the Lung Hai Railway at Sian. Travelling on the Lung Hai Railway in 1938 is spasmodic and precarious, especially east of Cheng Chow, the junction of the Lung Hai and Hankow-Peking Railways. Travelling from the front westwards, the wounded are piled high in every corridor and space, though the majority are passed from one village to another on stretchers until they reach a hospital. On the top of the train, hanging round it, sitting on every footboard, are civilians fleeing from the enemy, dragging with them what possessions they can carry. The railway runs very close to the Yellow River in places; these were the so-called "danger zones." The Japanese were on the other side of the river shooting across. West and east of Keifing one had numerous aerial bombardments. The train, perhaps having been motionless for several hours, but mostly the halt went into days, towards evening, if there was no moon, would get up steam, and with all lights out, slowly creep along the Yellow River. Suddenly the sharp "ping, ping" of bullets spattering on the carriage would be heard; the train then speeds up and dashes along. In the daytime the train will, probably, suddenly stop with a jerk. The mass of humanity on top, some of whom have been falsely lured by a sense of security, lose their hold and fall off on to the track; whistles blow, the guard runs along

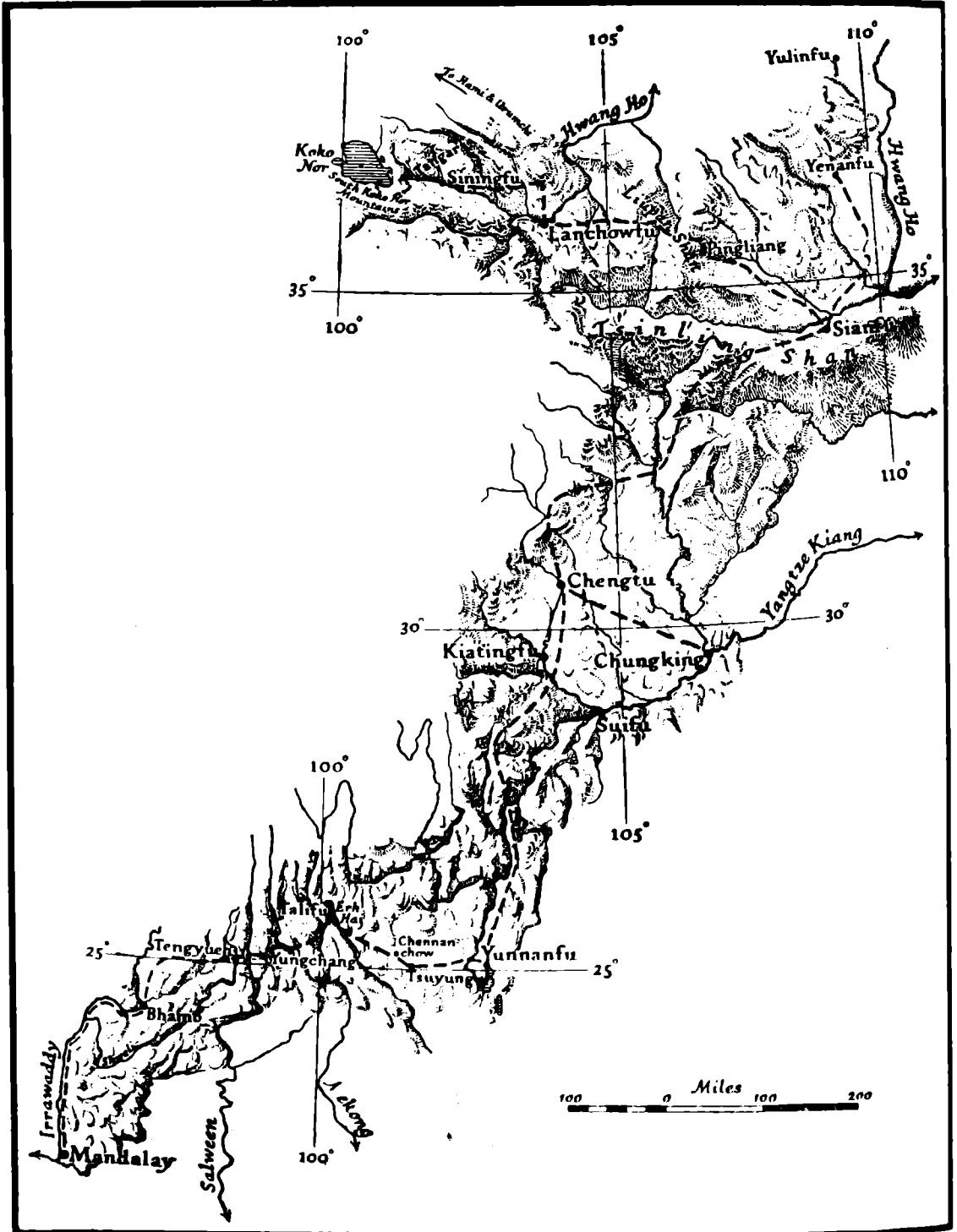
shouting: "All out. Take to the fields, the Japanese are upon us." Men, women and children pour off the outside and top, and out of the windows in a second; sometimes before there has been time to hide one's bulk behind a blade of wheat, or some snow, according to the season, the roar of aeroplanes is heard. They usually encircle the area of the track, and the engine begins a shunting operation, and if hardened, one is interested and works up a certain amount of enthusiasm, as though over the chances of some game, watching the bombs drop, usually missing their moving mark. Of course, it is very different from an air raid in a well-populated town.

Going westward through Kansu Province, one sees a great deal less of the effects of the war. There is a quite good motor track running over the Lu Pan Shan Mountains, in places 9,800 feet above sea-level, though it requires a better car than we were able to procure. At Lanchow, capital of Kansu, there was a certain amount of Russian influence; Russian aeroplanes and ammunitions are, of course, coming in from Russia, passing here, and Russian trucks and drivers were everywhere in evidence. We managed to get a lorry and drive over the newly made track from Lanchow to Sining, capital of the Tsinghai Province, and for the first part of the journey went up on the road towards Hami. It takes six days from where we turned off this road to go to Urumchi, capital of Sinkiang Province. The new motor road to Urumchi is now completed and practically surfaced. At Sining I tried to get riding mules or horses, but, owing to the war, all had been commandeered, and I had to be content with carts. I left Sining for Tangar.

The road is quite good, and I managed to engage a man who knew the country and who turned out to be an excellent fellow, an extra cart, two more mules and three more men, and started off for Koko Nor. I made three camps and arrived at Koko Nor.

Before I show my pictures, I would like to tell you of a great surprise I had. Having well over-stepped the time for my journey, I wished to travel as fast as I could, and decided, as I seemed able to make my driver go so much quicker than the others, to allow them to return at their own pace, and so took one cart, two mules, my driver and Yuan, and forged ahead. It was no easy matter to urge the man on, as he was terrified of robbers and bandits; I had no military escort whatsoever, nor did I have the protection of a big caravan, as with either I might easily have been turned back or not allowed out of Sining. I was tired, having struck camp at 3 a.m.; it

MRS. VIOLET CRESSY MARCK'S MAP ILLUSTRATING HER JOURNEY, 1937-1938.



was then 4.30 in the afternoon. It was bitterly cold and an icy wind blowing. I was walking ahead of my cart and descending the pass of the Sun and Moon Mountain when, to my amazement, right ahead seemed to be a perfectly good motor-car, slowly winding its way towards us. It was an American missionary, who had been stationed in this district for years and had a car, though he had not used it but was now trying it out. On his part, he said he had never been so surprised in his life to meet me, as, though he knew the day I had left Tangar, he did not know whether I really meant to return, and did not think it was possible for me to be back for another four days. Long before he could recognize me, his men, who all seemed endowed with extraordinarily long sight, had told him that there was one cart, a Tibetan, a white woman, and a Mongolian.

I do not think I could have pushed my animals on much further, but, by means of the car, I arrived that night at Tangar. I think it is a record, from the position I was at Koko Nor to arrive in Tangar in one day, but what is very much more important it points out numerous possibilities for new routes and transport, and, in my opinion, except for the political difficulties which one always encounters when travelling in Central Asia, there is no reason why one cannot go from London to Koko Nor Lake by car.

Before we have the pictures I would also like to thank the Chinese Ambassador in London and the Chinese Government for their courtesy and help, for the many permits and special concessions granted to me, for all the times when officially I was allowed to go forward, and perhaps more especially for the other times when I was not turned back.

The lecturer showed sixty slides representing as far as possible Chinese life, incidents on the journey and anything of interest which was not covered by the film. The first four slides were maps, the first, a general map of China on which the traveller explained the three main routes now used by China for importing goods. (1) By rail from Haiphong via Hanoi to Yunnan Fu; the old mule track from Bhamo through Tengyueh treaty port to Tali, where the new motor road to Yunnan could be used. (2) From the Irrawaddy through Lashio; the few miles before coming on to the caravan road, running north of the new road, are not yet through. This new road will not have bridges at present over the rivers, but motor vehicles on each side of the river. (3) The third and most important route to the Chinese is the one from Russia through Urumchi and Lanchow; until recently

the Russian trucks used much petrol and the road was bad so that it has not been an economical one.

The neighbours surrounding China were pointed out: Burma, who had her independence last year; Russia; Outer and Inner Mongolia—roughly the Outer fell under Soviet influence, and the Inner under the Chinese; Manchoukuo and the Japanese influence and the now lost coast; Southern Yunnan with French influence.

The Chinese going westwards had made Chinghai Province, with Sining as capital, twelve years ago, and for this and the new Ninghsia Province parts of Kansu and Sinkiang had been used. The next map, with ranges of mountains clearly placed, showed the lecturer's route from the Irrawaddy river through Yunnan to the Yangtze up to Yenam in North Shensi, and out through Kansu and Chinghai to Koko Nor. The third and fourth maps were on a much larger scale; the lecturer said how interesting the geological structure of that part of Asia was, and pointed out areas of loess formation, but time was short and could not be spent upon that subject.

New roads were one of the most important things in China to-day. There was the one almost finished from Burma to Yunnan, a new one from Russia, coming south leaving Lanchow on the east and coming into Szetchwan, and one from Tanga south-west to Lhasa.

The Lecturer said: It is my belief in the future a new highway *must* come into "new" Asia connecting Europe with Central Asia through Russia; that will always be a quicker route than the quickest over land which we have at present (the new overland Baghdad route), even allowing for the proposed fast cruisers down the Persian Gulf to connect with the India railways, or if a route were made to branch off in Iraq and come through Persia to Afghanistan and India. One day this overland Russia-Asia route will also connect India, via Tibet. Not only will this be the quickest overland route from Europe to Central Asia, but it would be the quickest air route also, and these could be varied. It is possible now to go from Kabul to London in two days easily. Kabul to Tashkent over the Hindu Kush (19,000 ft.) takes only four hours in a small one-motor plane. Allowing for the hours from Kabul to Delhi one would save days on the existing air routes from London to Delhi; in other parts of Asia far more days could be saved on this particular route. Whether Japan loses or wins the war her influence on the east of China will be felt, and for this and various other reasons this route of the future will be valuable apart from accelerating old ones.

The film, which was a very good one, gave a full picture of the scenery through which the journey was made and also of much of great interest in the interior of China. From the Irrawaddy, the road went over great mountain passes and through grand and beautiful scenery in crossing the Salween and the Mekong rivers, then up through the Yangtze Gorges to Yunnan Fu in the heart of China; there were street scenes in villages and towns and pictures of the new capital, Chungking, also of Chengtu and Sian; then the road went on to Yenam, the stronghold of the Chinese Communists, now the Eighth Route Army. Street scenes were shown which gave a picture of the life in the town in this Red stronghold. There were war scenes showing the Central Government troops near the Front, trains full of soldiers and carrying guns, motors and ammunition. The trains were camouflaged to protect them from enemy aircraft. There were trains full of wounded.

The film then showed the road through Kansu, where there were good cave dwellings. Following that were scenes in Chinghai Province, and then the final journey, up to the Koko Nor. The three last camps on the way were shown and some attractive Mongols on the shores of the Koko Nor Lake; a boy travelling with a caravan which was going through to Kashgar was, boylike, shooting with his catapult at anything which took his fancy.

The film ended by showing the lecturer's muleteers and porters by the frozen wastes of Koko Nor.

In closing the lecture the CHAIRMAN said: We have listened to a fascinating account, seen some splendid photographs, as well as a most wonderful travel film.

Concerning the lecture, it was a simple account of a remarkable journey undertaken with definite objectives, to visit Koko Nor and to investigate the Chinese Bolshevik organization, both of which were achieved and brilliantly so.

As to the film, it is one of the most interesting I have ever seen, and I think you will be more than surprised to hear that Mrs. Violet Cressy Marcks, who has proved herself to be so great a traveller, has now shown amazing qualities as a film producer. For she not only took the film but cut it and edited it herself, as well as writing the captions, so that it makes a picture of professional excellence. It is too late to ask for general questions, but if I may I should like to put two questions.

1. When will the war finish, and who will win?
2. Are the three routes into China able to carry sufficient ammunition for the war?

The LECTURER: Answering the second question first—these roads are sufficient to carry all the goods China is able to pay or get credit for. Ammunition is not the decisive factor in this war. Japan's financial affairs will worry her far more than the ammunition problem worries China.

It is impossible to say how long the war will last; there never has been a war, the duration of which has been gauged accurately at the beginning by either the aggressor or the country defending itself. In modern warfare, bombing civilians is part of the propaganda for smashing a country's morale, and as China's morale has not yet been smashed there is no reason why she cannot carry on a number of years more; thousands of men and boys are being trained out in the west, and in another two years she will have a new army. Japan has enormous long lines of communication which she finds difficult to keep open, and each month will find it more difficult. I have great faith in China and she is doing well.

THE LEADERS OF CHINA

By THE RT. REV. L. H. ROOTS, D.D.

(Bishop of Hankow, 1904-1938)

Lecture given before the Royal Central Asian Society on December 1, 1938, Mr. Archibald Rose in the Chair.

In introducing Bishop Roots as the speaker of the evening, the Chairman said that the Bishop was doubly welcome. He was welcome as a visitor from America. And they looked forward with quite unusual interest to his account of men and affairs in China, at a time when few were in a position to speak of them with knowledge and authority. Bishop Roots had promised to speak of the Chinese leaders of to-day, and they would enjoy a special privilege in listening to one who knew General Chiang Kai-shek personally, an experience shared by few foreigners. The Generalissimo and his devoted wife were generally recognized as being in the forefront of the world's leaders. They had pursued their task of leadership with a determination and gallantry that had won universal admiration. It was gratifying to the Society that so representative a gathering was present to hear Bishop Roots in person, and his address would reach the wide audience now served by the Journal of the Society.

IT is always a pleasure to speak about China. And personally few subjects could delight me more perhaps than mine to-night, because I shall be talking largely about my friends. I have followed their careers through tragedy and success. It is hard to be disinterested and objective about my friends and about a country which I have adopted as my own for nearly half a century. So this will be something in the nature of a personal history of China's leaders.

Such a presentation has its advantages. It should at least shatter any remaining illusions that the Orientals are all inscrutable—or that they wear an armour of mystery beyond which none can penetrate. The Oriental, in fact, has great qualities of realism and honesty which the West might do well to emulate. There is the famous story of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung and his reaction to the massacre of the Chinese in Manila. He said he would declare war at once on Spain except for two considerations: first—the old and time-honoured friendship between Spain and China; and second—he was not quite sure that China would win, anyway!

In the year 1896 I sailed for China from the west coast of America. On the same boat with me was China's virtual Prime Minister, in office under the Empress Dowager. He was the great Viceroy, *Li Hung-ch'ang*, an unusually tall man of a commanding presence and great

dignity. One thing he said to me during that voyage I had occasion to recall fifteen years later. "Don't you preach republicanism, young man," he said, "because if you do, there will be a revolution in China!" Even then the Manchu Dynasty was not oblivious to the heresies which threatened her authority.

When we reached Japan, I spent two weeks seeing something of the country, escorted by a young Japanese fellow-student of mine. I remember being very impressed, as long ago as that, by the energy and feverish desire for progress which had gripped the country. The new Constitution was just being tried out; factories were springing up all over the country, and Yokohama was in most ways a modern port. I must say that this was a great contrast with my first impression of China, especially after leaving Shanghai, whose industry and trade were almost entirely under foreign management. The quiet, endless peace of the Yangtze River; the primitive machines and farming implements; and the crust of unwillingness to learn from the world which kept the "old literati" and conservative officials immured in another age—all this stood out against the self-conscious efforts of Japan towards modernization.

Just to contrast China then with China to-day, I must tell you of the remark made to me by a Chinese in Hankow in answer to my question about the China-Japan war over Korea, which was then going on. "Oh, that's an affair of the Northern Provinces," he said. "That's nothing to do with us!"

It was not until four years later that the Empress Dowager suddenly became for me something more than a remote awe-inspiring figure on her Dragon Throne in Peking. In the year 1900 she issued her famous edict which led to the Boxer Uprising. I was living at that time not far from the Viceroy of Hu-kuang (Hupeh and Hunan Provinces). He was an old Confucian scholar of the best type, *Chang Chih-tung* by name. It was this Viceroy to whom the foreigners of the Yangtze Valley owed their lives during those bewildering months—a story which in itself is dramatic. And it was to his deputy, *Tuan Fang*, that Lord William Cecil went some years later to plead the cause of a University for Central China; to be "an inheritor of the Oxford tradition" was the way Lord William put it. I could not understand why Lord William went at such length into an account of his family's fame and accomplishments. As we left he said: "I did that so that they would be sure to know who I was. Now you may get your University!" We did, but I wonder if Tuan Fang would have been

so obliging if he had realized that Lord William's father, the Marquess of Salisbury, had helped Sun Yat-sen to escape from the Chinese Legation here in London in 1896, thus saving him for Republican and revolutionary China.

The bomb which started the Chinese Revolution of October, 1911, exploded within three hundred yards of my home in Hankow. It went off by accident, the place was raided and the seal of the Republic was found, along with a list of the conspirators. That same evening I was on the point of leaving to go up river when the Commissioner of Customs came on board and showed me an impression of the captured seal, and I saw for the first time the characters which mean "The Chinese Republic": (中華民國) (Chung Hua Min Kuo). Meanwhile, the revolutionaries had begun firing on the Viceroy's Ya-men across the city from the Serpent Hill in Wuchang. Just before we sailed away in the dark past the great hulk of the city wall, we saw a small launch slip out from the Wuchang anchorage and head down river. We learned later that the Viceroy had escaped on that launch and had taken refuge on a Japanese gunboat which took him to Shanghai. A huge fire had broken out in another part of Wuchang, and the captain turned back the ship to see if it was still wise to sail. As we floated past the Wuchang bund, we called out to the sentries, and they answered back: "All is peaceful! All is well!" It was not until we had reached Changsha that we learned that the Revolution had actually broken out and that the sentries were revolutionaries already in charge of the city.

It was during these days that my friend, *C. T. Wang*, begged me to let him have a place of refuge at our house, and he often slept there without notice. Dr. Wang has since held innumerable important Government posts, and has been Ambassador to Washington, but in those days he was a hunted revolutionary, and had to spend each night in a different place. Those were exciting days, and I found that many of the young men I had come to know were taking their part and place in the heart-rending struggle to establish China's new Government. There was the other side, too. I had known *Col. Li Yuan-hung*, commanding officer of the garrison under the old Viceroy in the days before the Revolution. He was a weak character and later became Vice-President of the new Republic, assuming office more or less at the point of a gun. Still later he became President in the stormy days after Yuan Shih-kai, but he was always undetermined and uninspired.

The following year, 1912, I met two men who were at that time

absorbed in China's new leadership. Sir Eric Teichman claims that *Yuan Shih-kai*, first President of the new Republic and later President-Dictator and would-be Emperor, ranks with Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek as "one of the three outstanding figures of modern China." I found him as I had expected him to be: old-fashioned, clever and an egotist. Shortly afterwards I met *Sun Yat-sen*, China's national saint, and hailed to-day as "The Father of his country." At that time I held the view of many observers, that Sun was a visionary, unstable and undependable. In the bewilderment of those first years of the Republic few individuals stood out from the hundreds of factions each scheming to put his own ideas across or to establish his authority over a patient population. Sun Yat-sen was known only to a limited few foreigners, and was never thoroughly appreciated until after his death. I did not meet him again, but I have seen something of his widow, both during the exciting days of 1927 in Hankow, and again just before I sailed from Hong Kong this spring. There is no question that both were ardent patriots, capable of any sacrifice, and possessing that curious flame of passion that makes life for ever restless and dissatisfied.

In the spring of 1916 my Chinese friends were caught in a wave of depression. It seemed that China would never find her feet. Yuan Shih-kai was in the midst of his monarchical designs on the Dragon Throne, and the new Republic, scarcely born, appeared merely pathetic. Then one day one of my old Chinese friends came up to me. "I do not worry any more," he said. "The children on the streets are singing an interesting song." And then he told me of a kind of Mother Goose rhyme he had heard the children singing on the streets in both the city and the villages . . . all about the small boy winding a red string about his top-knot, selling meat balls, and letting his pigtail grow long. It all meant, he said, that the rebellion which had started in distant Yunnan would strike down this unwanted dynasty. He was right. That summer Yuan Shih-kai was forced to cancel his plans for the throne, and died shortly afterwards. But the next ten years were an orgy of disorder and corruption, dominated by the colourful figures of the War-lords. Some were great and some were small, and they periodically fought with one then with another, ruining commerce and rendering communications less and less dependable.

The two Generals I knew best during this period were *Wu Pei-fu*, man of the world, conservative and scholarly writer; and *Feng Yu-hsiang*, widely known as "The Christian General." I have always been interested in Feng, all during his stormy uncertain years, when

no one knew quite whose side he was on; then again during his retirement to study philosophy on the side of the Sacred Mountain, and lately since he has been serving at headquarters under Chiang Kai-shek in the present war. His early brand of Christianity was dynamic and revolutionary enough to make his army the most disciplined, trustworthy and hygienic of all the armies in China. I visited his camp at Changteh in 1922 and saw for myself how he had cleaned up the city, built roads, and taught his soldiers each a trade and a new attitude of consideration and care for the poor. If Feng had had the complete picture instead of only a part, he might have been a great leader and force for good in the country.

It is true that Feng neither drinks nor smokes, and has always condemned extravagance of any sort in others. I remember one occasion, which was General Wu's birthday, and Feng sent him a birthday present. Wu, you remember, was a man who enjoyed his flesh-pots. Great was his humiliation to be sent on his birthday two bottles of boiled water from his old companion in arms!

It was not until my son, John, in the summer of 1926, went down to Canton and interviewed the Russian adviser, Borodin, and leaders of the Kuomintang, that I realized fully the significance of South China. I had followed as best I could during the early '20's the quiet growth of nationalism, with its spasmodic outbursts of anti-foreign feeling. But again I was bewildered, and not fully prepared for the wave of youthful patriotism and new startling ideas which swept through Central China with the approach of the nationalist armies.

Hankow fell that autumn—and became the seat of the new Nationalist Government in January, 1927. The spring was full of excitement. All sorts of new and exotic figures passed through Hankow, not only Chinese revolutionaries, but American sympathizers and European newspapermen. Those were the days of *Eugene Ch'en*, the brilliant young Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Hankow Government. *Madame Sun Yat-sen* was at the centre of activity, and I saw a great deal of both these people as the days grew warmer and sultrier and the political situation less and less certain.

Then one day in July I learned that Madame Sun had gone. General Chiang Kai-shek was taking over, the Communists went into Opposition—and for the next ten years the new Government, with its headquarters in Nanking, went in for a colossal programme of material and social reconstruction unparalleled in the history of China.

The leaders of this new China who emerged out of the chaos and

confusion of those fifteen years after 1911, did not take long to establish themselves in the new life of the nation. It was only natural that they should form a transitional stage in Chinese character. It was difficult for some to shake off completely the old conservative and corrupt garments of officialdom, and to wear with grace the new and more demanding dress of a modern nation—a nation which had only begun to discover herself. And so you found always an uncertain element in the leadership of those next ten years, 1927-37. It allowed men possessed of the greatest of China's virtues to work side by side with men who found the habits of corruption slow to fall away. Yet the determination to be different and the will to national regeneration was very strong, and found its natural home in the hearts of China's two greatest modern leaders, the *Generalissimo* and *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*.

Here, indeed, are an arresting couple. Books have been coming out recently giving accounts of varying validity about this Chinese leader and his American-educated wife. I can only describe them to you as I myself have known them over a period of years. I have talked with them, walking along the paths of our mountain valley in summer, and we have talked about China's needs, about philosophy, about the poor translation of the Chinese Bible. I've dined with them on several occasions, and enjoyed their simple fare and unostentatious hospitality. And always we've drunk our toasts to the Chinese Republic in clear, unadulterated fruit juice.

In giving any of these estimates of China's leaders, I want primarily to be honest, bearing well in mind that any of these friends of mine have a right to know what I feel about them. I have too deep a personal admiration and affection for my two friends, the Chiangs, simply to burden them with praise and adulation. Above all they command my respect and concern, and anything less than honesty would not be fair to them.

The *Generalissimo* is a dignified, spare, wiry, almost ascetic-looking man of medium height, with good features and a firm jaw. His eyes are his most striking feature—steady, penetrating, almost mystical. He has always struck me as far from a completely unified character. But with all his faults and past mistakes, he has extraordinary gifts of simplicity and decision which, with a natural bent for dynamic leadership, have made him in the last three years the Strong Man of China. Among his best points are his habits of personal discipline. For example, he is a very early riser, dresses very simply and unostenta-

tiously, is extremely frugal in his diet. His quiet manner and lack of display give an impression of real strength. His cheerfulness and resourcefulness in face of disaster never fail him, and at the same time it was his wife who described him as "extremely stubborn."

I shall never forget a conversation I had with him in the summer of 1934 as he lay stretched out on a long chair in the mountain resort of Kuling. He was ill, and they feared for his health. But his mind was very vigorous, and he asked me several most intelligent questions about the meaning of the Cross, and why Christ had to die.

That same spring I had been visiting him and Madame Chiang in their home in Nanchang, and after a long personal talk with Madame Chiang, she took me into their private study. There by the window were two simple, flat-topped desks, standing corner to corner, each piled high with papers. "Now look at the Generalissimo's desk," she said, "and then look at mine. Somehow he doesn't seem to have the difficulty I have in keeping it in order." Then she told me how the two of them every morning had time of quiet together, when the Generalissimo would write down his thoughts. She showed me his little book with some of the striking comments he made on the challenges of Christ—to his unprejudiced mind both provoking and demanding of immediate action.

In Madame Chiang Kai-shek I think I do not exaggerate when I say that we have the most outstanding woman in the world to-day. So much has been written of her charm, and wit and facile brain—most of which is true—that I shall confine myself now to some extracts from her writings and speeches, which will give you more of a picture of her real significance.

One of the most outstanding things about Madame Chiang is her willingness to face her country and her countrymen honestly. "That 'face' business aggravates me," she writes. "'Face' is one of our supreme follies—one of our curses." Now let me quote from a letter to a Chinese friend in America, written this spring—May 14:

"Our dilatoriness to date has really been largely due to our national characteristics never having been given a proper airing, or scrubbing, or dry-cleaning; never having been pegged out on the line as it were. . . ." She continues: "The fools have had their day with their little follies, and incidentally in their day they contrived to bring upon us quite an abundance of scorn, if not loss, which is neither a cheerful reflection nor a nice

thing to have to admit. But I, for one, hate to try to hide truth from myself, and I am far too intellectually honest to try to hide it from others under some all too obvious kind of camouflage. It is, too, always nauseating to have to excuse and explain." Later on she writes: "The old apathy will never again be tolerated. China is bound to shed her worn-out gowns of indifference and laziness—celestially characteristic though they once may have been." And again: "We in China need substantial and unashamed humility. We also need to see a change of heart in large numbers of the officially prominent, as well as in leaders in civilian circles."

Another of the striking characteristics about Madame Chiang is her determination to make her faith real and valid in the life of the nation. Her article in the March issue of *Forum* for 1934, "What Religion Means to Me," is worthy to stand as a classic of the twentieth century. I know the genuine sincerity behind the words of a telegram sent in September by her and the Generalissimo to me in Interlaken, Switzerland. It read as follows:

"GRATEFUL YOUR ASSEMBLY FOCUSING WORLD ATTENTION ON THIS
ALL IMPORTANT QUESTION OF MORAL REARMAMENT."

They were referring to a letter signed by Lord Baldwin and others which had just appeared in *The Times*.

Let me quote further from her letters:

"Another significant thing that is happening, and, perhaps, the most important thing, is that our country is surely finding its soul. We will have a tremendous social and political problem on our hands as soon as time for rehabilitation comes, no matter who wins. Perhaps our surest sheet anchor will be this new spirit that is developing, a spirit that will, in time, mature on a nation-wide scale. There is an obvious need for the spiritual. I think our people are realizing where it can be found. Some know; many are groping. . . . There is quite a bit of soul-searching, too. If that will but spread; if a humility will come to us that will bite into the self-assertive know-allness that used to characterize many of us, it will be a forceful influence for permanent progress and good. . . ."

She continues later on:

"I think, as I have said, that our country will surely find its soul in the trying torment in which we are involved. If we do, we

shall be able, without difficulty, to go about the business of up-building our country upon new lines.”

This concern for a new spirit in her country found expression in the New Life Movement, of which you have doubtless read much—some true, some not so true. Let me quote from a letter she wrote to a friend on this subject, as it puts in a new and fresh way the problem before her :

“ This Movement is all for the people, of course. It springs from the compulsion imposed upon us by the necessity to choose a mean, or medium, to effect national regeneration. . . . Hammered out of the anvil of experience are four cardinal principles of life, as we Chinese understand life :

1. The way in which human beings behave one toward another. 禮
2. Justice for all classes within our social framework. 義
3. Honesty in public administration and in business. 廉
4. Self-respect and a profound sense of the value of personality. 恥

“ By following these fundamental principles we find that we can remould the life of our people.”

Time is too limited for me to say all I should like to say about these two remarkable people. But before I leave them I want to tell you briefly of my last meal with them. With my son and daughter I spent our last evening in China this spring at their home in Wuchang. It was a small family affair, and as there had been a series of four air-raids on each of the two previous nights the Generalissimo was kept busy at intervals in adjoining rooms. But as we rose to go he took my hand and asked me to say a prayer then and there for China—and for Japan. It was interesting that my last evening in Japan a few weeks later was spent in the home of the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, recently appointed as Ambassador to the United States, and his wife who, as we were leaving, led us in a prayer for the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang.

Dr. H. H. Kung, married to Madame Chiang's older sister, has been a lifelong friend of mine. He is a lineal descendant of Confucius in the seventy-fifth generation. I have known him since his student days at Oberlin College in America. He had been sent there after the

tragic death of his parents, who had been kidnapped during the Boxer Rebellion because they refused to renounce their Christian faith. His interests were, at first, educational, then he went in for commerce and industrial concerns, and finally he entered into Government service. His wife is a very able woman with much dignity of bearing, like her mother. I have always felt that Dr. Kung's real interest never lay in finance, nor has it come easily to him. Yet he has availed himself of expert financial advisers, and has faithfully stuck to his responsibilities as Minister of Finance. It is interesting, too, that about two years ago the doctors gave him six months' lease of life, unless he were able to take time out for rest. Then came the Sian crisis, and after that he was sent to England to represent his country at the Coronation, and he has never been able to find such time for rest since.

His brother-in-law, *T. V. Soong*, I have known since he was Minister of Finance in the Hankow Nationalist Government during the spring of 1927. His extraordinary success in directing first the provincial and then the national finances won him the confidence of the financial world both in China and abroad. In 1933 he visited England and America and further strengthened the confidence of the West in his ability and integrity.

But there seems a curious streak in "T.V.'s" otherwise highly gifted personality which time and time again, just as he reached the point of taking leadership, has prevented his becoming the constructive force which he might easily have been. Unquestionably "T.V." is thinking most seriously in his semi-retirement about the more distant future as well as about the immediate problems of his country. He told me, when I saw him in Hong Kong in April, speaking of China's future, that he felt that the leaders and makers of the new China would be those who have borne the burden of responsibility and suffering during this time of national travail.

I want to mention briefly two men who have positions of special privilege and responsibility in the life of the Chiang Kai-sheks. One is *Mr. W. H. Donald*, the Australian adviser, who has become almost indispensable in handling the enormous correspondence with which they are burdened, and also in giving the sage advice for which he is renowned. I have always been attracted to Donald long before I met him. Both Madame Chiang and Donald himself have told me a story about his touch with the Manchurian War-lord's difficult son, Chang Hsueh-liang, at the time he was curing the young man of his drug habit. Chang asked Donald if he were a Christian. "I told him

the truth," said Donald with a chuckle. "I told him that if I had not been a Christian, I would have thrown him into the lake long before this!"

The other man close to the Chiangs is *General J. L. Huang*, a kind of personal A.D.C. to the Generalissimo and a trusted friend. I have had occasion to go with J. L. Huang through many of the personal and political crises in his life, and I have formed a high estimate of his character. He is a younger man, and I prophesy he will go far. He has all the potentialities of the best Chinese but unfettered by the corruptions of Old China, and I know no one as free from any personal self-seeking or selfish ambition as he. On top of all this, he acts under a profound conviction of divine guidance which has always stood him in good stead. He is absolutely trustworthy, and has been given highly responsible jobs which were trusted to no one else.

And now I come to that vast field which has produced the artists, writers, merchants, mayors and diplomats of China. And I shall have to touch only on a few very briefly. The name of *Hu Shih* has spread around the world as the brilliant leader of the Chinese Renaissance. Dr. Hu's first volume on the history of Chinese philosophy, with its brilliant introduction, was written in the new national vernacular he has ardently sponsored, and was a best-seller when it appeared in 1919. How shall I describe this friend of mine—this cheerful cynic—this proud atheist, who has illogically put on with his atheism the cloak of intolerance? Hu Shih possesses in abundance the great Chinese virtue, a sense of humour, and as he scintillates he emits a warmth and geniality of friendship which never fails him.

I saw him only recently in Geneva, and the day he received notice of his appointment as Ambassador to Washington, he told me over the telephone the sad news.

"I can never be a diplomat," he said dismally. "I believe in being absolutely honest!"

The next day I had an inspiration. I thought of my Japanese friend from the Foreign Office who had also just been appointed to Washington, and who, as it happens, has been for some time openly connected with the work of the Oxford Group.

"Good morning, Dr. Hu!" I said over the telephone.

There was a grunt at the other end of the line.

"You stick to your guns," I said, "because there is another Ambassador in Washington who also believes in absolute honesty."

Pause.

“ His name is Horinouchi, and he comes from Japan!” I concluded.

I shall be seeing these two men in Washington shortly. It should prove an interesting visit.

I met the great actor, *Mei Lan-fang*, some time ago in Peking, while he was at the height of his career. I could not help but be impressed not only by the seriousness with which he was taking his profession, but by his kind and retiring, and yet confident charm of manner. Mei Lan-fang has given China's heritage of drama new scope and meaning. He is more than an artist. He is a great national figure.

At a meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club in Hankow just before Christmas a year ago there was a brilliant assemblage held in honour of some of the Government officials and members of the foreign diplomatic corps who had moved to Hankow at the fall of Nanking. The Ambassadors and Consul-Generals of Germany, France, Great Britain, Italy and America were present, among others. It was altogether a brilliant occasion. The most brilliant feature, however, was an impromptu speech by the Mayor of Hankow, who spoke of the Ambassadors as stars. He compared them to Jupiter and Venus in a humorous vein. He compared them to the little star that twinkles and at which men look and say: “ How we wonder what you are!” He spoke of them as comparable to the North Star to which mariners look for guidance, and then, turning to me, he referred to the approaching Christmas season and expressed his hope, springing from his own fresh and strong Christian convictions, that these Ambassadors and the nations which they represented might be messengers of a new kind of peace and good will—and spoke of the Star of Bethlehem.

I have known Mayor K. C. Wu intimately over a period of years, and he represents the very best elements of the Chinese people. He is keenly interested in all sorts of social and economic reforms, and makes a point of seeing everyone who wants to see him, be he diplomat or tramp. He is one of the most brilliant of China's coming younger men, and received his Ph.D. from Princeton University in America. His thesis, by the way, was entitled: “ Ancient Chinese Political Theories,” bringing his story down to about 250 B.C.!

A different type of man altogether from Mayor Wu was *Tan Ka-kee*, a wealthy Singapore Chinese whom I met in 1926 during my travels. He had made several fortunes, gambled away the first few, then decided to use his money intelligently. First he founded the Amoy University, then he endowed a number of secondary schools as feeders for the University. He is typical of the thousands of wealthy overseas

Chinese who are providing means for a great part of relief work during the present war.

Tu Yueh-sen, sometimes called China's great racketeer, I would not exactly count as one of my close friends, but I did meet him in Shanghai a few years ago and again just recently in Hankow, and have always been interested in his career. It is common knowledge that he is now (as he had begun to do when I met him) trying to redeem his reputation by giving fabulous sums to rural reconstruction, social improvement schemes, and the like. I felt what one always feels in such circumstances, the tremendous power of the man, as well as his skill in handling men which could, if revolutionized, be of great and honest service to his country.

The last of these representatives of Nationalist China, of whom I can speak, is *Dr. Wang Chung-huei*, China's present-day Foreign Minister, and until recently the President of the World Court at the Hague. Dr. Wang is the best-known member of a truly remarkable family which in itself is typical of the new China. His oldest brother was head of the Nanking-Shanghai Railway, another was a prominent leader in the scientific and industrial life of Central China and incidentally a wise philosopher, and a fourth brother was the head of the great Yangtze Iron Works near Hankow. They were all Christians, the sons of a Christian pastor in Hong Kong. I knew them all. They had a reputation not only for being capable, but honest—no small consideration for men in such positions. Sir Cecil Hurst, a member of the World Court, was telling me only recently that Dr. Wang Chung-huei had won the deepest respect of his colleagues at the Hague and of the whole international world. I have known him well, and have been particularly struck by his genuine interest in the moral and spiritual growth of the Chinese people.

Since the war broke out a year and a half ago many men and women, hitherto scarcely known, have sprung into prominence. I have met an extensive cross-section of them representing as they do every variety of type, political creed and class. They would in themselves make the subject matter of another lecture altogether. Rather than give you an inadequate account or impression of them I must simply leave their names unmentioned. Then there is another consideration. War blurs and distorts everything. One cannot even guess at the significance of most of these apparently rising leaders. One can only be watchful and cool so that, in the heat of war, wrong values will not come to the fore nor secondary issues be made primary.

Further, I have scarcely touched upon the critical issues which are confronting China at this very moment. I am not here to weigh up these issues, nor to predict the future. But my outline of the present state of Chinese leadership would not be complete without reference to the tragic events now taking place in the Orient. The conflict between China and Japan obviously must have a profound effect on the lives and work of the leaders of both countries.

It has been my privilege to meet and gain the confidence of leaders in Japan as well as in China, and the fact that I have friends in responsible positions in both these great nations gives me a special concern for their future relations. And more than that, since I myself have had to represent the West, whether I wished to or not, for more than 40 years in the East—I realize the inescapable responsibility which rests on England and America, in particular, to make their contribution towards the development of the highest leadership in East Asia.

I am not here to present the cause of either China or Japan. But I am concerned with the fundamental desire of both countries—for happiness and abundant living, and for a worthy place in the family of nations. Because I know that the sufferings or mistakes of one will always mean the tragedy of the other, I must face both realistically and honestly. The facts are—they have been placed as neighbours on the map, and whether they want to or not (and at heart they do want to) they must live together. To face East Asia realistically, and to face the responsibility of the West honestly, we must deal with the fundamental rather than the superficial needs of West and East.

The real issues in this war, as in most wars, are psychological and human. Here we have two young men: the one from a fine family background of noble and worthy tradition, but who has admittedly gone off the rails and has only recently begun to pull himself together again; the other is an energetic, ambitious, bull-in-the-china-shop young man with real initiative, the modern outlook and an inherent core of discipline. One had wasted his substance, and repented; the other had had little substance, and wanted more.

China's task of recovery and change, and Japan's urge to grow and expand made on the leaders of these nations demands for wisdom and moral equipment which were beyond their experience. During those years of which I have spoken earlier, these leaders badly needed the guidance and disinterested help which we in the West might have

given. They were looking for direction, as some of them have frankly admitted to me, but they were not given it. As a direct result of the mistakes and misunderstandings which sprang from immaturity of leadership, the worst disasters of war have engulfed millions. National temperaments, widely divergent, but which might have proved complementary, have met in bitter conflict.

I need scarcely remind you of the particular failings which have marred, on our side, the relations between West and East. These failings are themselves only symptomatic of the short-sighted preoccupation with our own affairs which has too often characterized our national feeling and international policy. It has been through omission rather than commission that we have failed to give the leadership which the East at one time expected from the West. As far as my own country, America, is concerned, it has been the poverty of our thought and caring for the problems facing Chinese and Japanese leaders, even more than the policy of exclusion and discrimination and sharp bargaining, which has caused us to forfeit the confidence of these leaders.

This brings me to my last point. The East will no longer listen to mere preaching and good advice. Both China and Japan look to see whether we take the medicine we prescribe, and whether it is effective in bringing a cure for the diseases which we have in common with them. At the same time, the war has generated such high feeling and raised such seemingly insurmountable barriers of pride that we in the West cannot but ask ourselves whether a final settlement in East Asia does not involve us ourselves.

What form could effective intervention take, and what have we to offer?

Various forms of relief have been initiated. Most of you are capable of giving that kind of help. Relief is good—and necessary. But is it in any sense adequate by itself to set East Asia right? Is it even the best we have to give?

This is the age of intervention. Intervention has been going on in China and Japan for years, and is going on right now. It is inevitable, through the West's mere possession of enormous investments and interests, and the personal contacts of diplomats, merchants and service and professional men with those of the East. What we need to-day is a totally new conception of intervention. Suppose that these every-day channels of communication were to become the means of a constructive intervention, acceptable to all parties? Suppose they were to generate a

spirit and a mode of living which would make understanding and the settlement of conflicts the normal thing?

In this connection, the convictions which both Chinese and Japanese leaders have expressed privately to me have led me quite naturally to deep interest in the cause of moral and spiritual rearmament which is being put forward by national leaders in this country. The response to this call, I have noticed, has been immediate and remarkable in certain quarters both in China and Japan. You will remember the spontaneous enthusiasm of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek for this lead in Europe. A telegram arrived at almost the same time as theirs from Prince Konoye, Japan's Prime Minister, stating his conviction that moral rearmament was what was needed in his country as well. And there is the opinion of the editor of the *Pacific Digest*, one of China's most popular magazines, who heartily backs such a move from the West.

The basis for constructive intervention in the East must be the moral rearmament of the West.

I believe that the measure of the response to some such call in England and in America will determine in the course of the next months the relations between the West and China and Japan—perhaps for years to come. There are signs of a responsiveness and willingness for sacrifice among leaders in East Asia, which we in the West must fit ourselves to meet. A new moral leadership in Britain and America, backed by enlightened men and women in all walks of life, alone can hope to command the respect of China and Japan. Through such leadership might come that new day when the West can perhaps be the channel for new life in the East.

The CHAIRMAN (at the close of the address) said that, before asking those present to express their appreciation of a lecture of outstanding interest, the meeting would be thrown open to discussion. He would exercise his privilege by first calling upon a Chinese visitor whom they were happy to have with them—Dr. Wang.

DR. C. Y. WANG: I do not know how to express myself after listening to Bishop Roots. He has given us a very graphic account, to which I have nothing further to add, except some remarks about my own personal relationships with two of these leaders.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen used to live next to my house. I remember when I was a small boy that he was studying medicine. In fact, the first time I ever became aware of anything like Revolution was during the

marriage feast of my brother. Sun Yat-sen was being sought after, although we did not know it at that time. During this feast he had to escape. So then we knew there was a Revolution afoot. But that was long before 1911. It was in 1893-94.

Again I remember Sun Yat-sen when I was at school in America, at Columbia University. We used to stay together in a house and, as young men, talked a great deal about revolution.

With regard to my brother, Dr. Wang Chung-huei, I have something a little further to add about his characteristics. The Bishop talked about us being the children of a pastor of the Christian Church. This is true. But it does not follow in China, any more I suppose than it does here, that the children of such parents are automatically towers of spiritual strength! Recently, however, my brother and I have been in Hankow together, and have had many interesting conversations on the spiritual side of human nature. My brother is a good jurist and a lawyer, but in the past he has had little time to look into the spiritual life of man. Since his return from the Hague, however, he has—as Bishop Roots said—shown a deep interest and concern for the spiritual needs of our people. (Applause.)

Sir FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND: This lecture has taken me back to the time, fifty-two years ago, when I first went out to China before there were any Revolutions or Republics but when there was much to admire in the Chinese character.

In 1886 I went all round Manchuria, and in 1887 from one end of the Chinese Empire to the other. In subsequent years, on behalf of the Indian Government, I had to deal officially with Chinese officials in Chinese Turkestan and in Tibet.

As a young subaltern I used to think them very backward, but, looking back now, I do see the immense value of what China then had. The Chinese had an age-long culture and were exceedingly well-mannered. All their relations were conducted in a wonderfully courteous manner.

Great changes have taken place, and the Bishop has foreseen other changes which will and must take place in the future. But one does hope that the Chinese will retain those fine characteristics which are inbred in them—honesty, good manners, and high culture—that they have inherited from their ancestors for hundreds and thousands of years back.

On to them there must be grafted, or instilled into them in some way or other, a finer patriotism. That is where they failed in the old

days. There was a wonderful family life, and to a certain degree there was a provincial patriotism, but there was not the patriotism for the whole country that there is found in the Japanese, though it is now growing up under this tremendous impact from Japan.

The Bishop has referred to and given the most interesting account of that great woman, Madame Chiang Kai-shek, and he quoted from her speeches which have recently come to us from Hankow. In them, as the Bishop has remarked, there is nothing of vengeance against the Japanese, but there is a very strong urging for a more intense patriotism which would look to China as a whole. Then, what is so remarkable and so valuable is the necessity she sees not only for a patriotism of her own country but for making her country a worthy member of the whole family of nations.

The Chinese are learning now that they must come into this great community of nations, but it is up to us of the West to give them the sympathy, guidance and all we can in the way of spiritual support.

They have taken much to heart this movement for moral rearmament. That is very valuable. But there is something a good deal deeper and wider than morality which we can give to help China—something deep down in the spiritual life that we, and as I think still more India, can give.

There is one thing that the Bishop did not mention, but which I think is very important should be mentioned—that Madame Chiang Kai-shek in her speeches said that one of the great reasons why she looked to Christianity was this, that she had seen the way Christians in practice helped the Chinese now at their present time of trouble. She spoke of the great help missionaries, running great risks, had given them.

We have been fortunate to have had this insight into the lives of the very wonderful people who are now leading China, and I should like to express on my own behalf my warm thanks to the Bishop.

Sir JAMES JAMIESON: I join with the other speakers in thanking Bishop Roots for his most admirable address and the enlightenment he has afforded us this afternoon with regard to the present leaders of China.

I would also like to associate myself with Sir Francis Young-husband, whose career as regards Asia started about the same time as my own in 1886. I remember very well the occasion on which he started out on that epoch-making journey across Asia! I was present at his departure that day in Peking.

I have a very extensive acquaintance with all the leading statesmen whom the Bishop mentioned, especially those of the older time. But there is one thing I would like to call the attention of this meeting to, seeing that moral rearmament has been suggested, and that is the fact when we talk about China and Chinese leaders, our position vis-à-vis them, and what our duties are and how we can help them, it would be well for us to remember that China is almost as large as Europe, and that only when we can show leadership in the matter of bringing about peace and moral rearmament in Europe will it be time for us to talk about China. The Continent of Asia is considerably larger than Europe, and until we can either lead ourselves in the proper manner, or lead the other nations of Europe towards moral rearmament, we cannot well talk to others.

Mr. RAVEN THOMSON: I am also very much indebted, as I am sure we all are, to the lecturer, Bishop Roots.

But there is one thing I would like to add to what the last two speakers have said. Bishop Roots spoke of our contribution to China, of what help we could give to China. Now, I am afraid the help we have given to China has been far from helpful in the past. I think we should seriously consider whether we are not very largely responsible, ourselves in Western Europe, for the present plight of China.

We destroyed, as far as I can see, the sovereignty of China to a very large extent by our international movements from the West, and they were international; the international movement of trade and finance to the Treaty Ports, forcing China to give up her sovereignty over her own customs, over her own river communications, by sending British, Japanese and American gunboats up the Yangtze river. We do not have Chinese gunboats up the Thames. We should regard it as very remarkable if there were a Chinese gunboat on the Thames at Windsor.

Have we not in that way very seriously damaged the sovereignty of China and made it very difficult indeed for her leaders to bring about that patriotism which we are told is lacking in China?

There has also been another international working in China, not the international of finance, operating from the coast, but the international of Communism, operating from the interior, operating from Russia.

We have heard of Borodin. We have not heard nearly enough upon the extraordinary event of the capture of Chiang Kai-shek in Sian

in 1936. We heard at the time something, some promise he had to make to those armies to adopt a more anti-Japanese attitude.

Personally, I have not the slightest hope that Western Europe will be any assistance at all to the Far East in the next few years. It is my belief that the Far East will have to find its own soul, and that it is quite possible that Japan will aid China to recover her soul. We must remember that we are dealing with an extraordinary people, with a country as large as Western Europe, and we must study its history. May not the Japanese be doing in China what the Manchus did three hundred years ago? The Manchus conquered a China devastated by civil war and banditry. They made it a great, a very great nation, and gave to the native Chinese the leadership and the virility from the North which they lacked.

I still believe that Asia has a great contribution to make to world affairs, which will come from within herself and will not be aided by the West.

MR. BASIL ENTWISTLE: I hesitate to speak because I am a very young man and have been out in the Far East for only one and a half years. But there is one thing I would like to say. I had the pleasure of going out with Bishop Roots on his last visit, and as a result, through the personal contacts and friendships which he has, I myself was able to meet a number of the leaders of China of the present day, of whom he has spoken to you.

The thing I want to say most of all is that I came back from China and Japan with a sense of having a profound debt of gratitude which I must pay off in some way. I shall never forget the interview I had as a journalist with Madame Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai. The interview was made possible through the kind offices of Mr. Donald, who likes taking young journalists under his wing. It was just after Madame Chiang had come back from her ordeal in Sian. I shall not quickly forget the things she said to me. I came away with a clearer understanding of some of the things she and her husband stand for.

She was not well when I saw her. She should have been in bed. But the thing that impressed me about her was that there was a flame in her which kept her going. I imagine it has been that flame which has kept her going since.

It was a tremendous challenge to me both as a journalist and as a young Englishman, because it gave me a new sense of the kind of patriotism that was springing up in China—a patriotism for which she

and a few around her are responsible and which springs, I suppose, from her own Christian conviction.

I came back here with a feeling that, as Bishop Roots has said, we in the West ought to be able to contribute far more than we do. Perhaps the beginning of the contribution we should make is by younger people like myself, and maybe older people too, working for the true patriotism, patriotism which would enable England to give something through all the different officials of trade and Government, and all our representatives, in whatever capacity, whom we send out to the Far East.

I have been both in China and Japan. In the latter country I had the privilege of staying with the Government official whom Bishop Roots has mentioned. I find a warm response in the letters which I have had from my Japanese friends, and also in the Chinese and Japanese whom I have met over here, to the thought that, if we are prepared to give from England of the best we have, then there is a rôle which we can still play in the Far East—because we can stand apart from the immediate issues. That means first putting our own house in order.

Mr. MELLOR: I have never been in China, but I have had a great deal to do with the Chinese. I think we have heard the most remarkable lecture that I can ever remember having heard on China. Our debt to Bishop Roots is great, and one that cannot be reckoned up.

One thing that strikes me is the way in which, in spite of all the disturbances that have been going on in China for years, trade and communications, road construction and railway construction have been going on as usual; they still seem to be plodding on irrespective of what may be happening in other parts of the country.

Another great thing we noticed the other day is that, in spite of all the difficulties they must be going through in regard to money, it stated in the paper that China had paid her foreign loans up to date, up to September 30th. I think that is a very great thing.

The meeting closed with a hearty vote of thanks.

LANTERN LECTURES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA

THERE have been two lantern lectures of special interest, the full notes of which will be in the April Journal. The first of these was given by Mr. Edmund Fuerholzer on October 4, and described his visit to the Labrang monastery in Eastern Tibet. This monastery had hitherto been closed to Europeans, and it was only by the special favour of the late Pan chen Lama that Mr. Fuerholzer was allowed to visit it and to photograph some of the ceremonies. Those who know his pictures will appreciate the artistic value of his slides, both coloured and black and white. There was a unique photograph of the Pan chen Lama himself, on which the Chairman, Sir Francis Younghusband, remarked as one of the most spiritual he had seen, and the lecture culminated with an account of the Red Lama, that remarkable man of whom more will be heard in Tibet.

But it was not only in the Lamassery itself that photographs were taken; there were slides showing the yellow loess country gradually giving way to the rolling grassland of Tibet, types of Moslem Chinese, Tibetan types, and—what one rarely sees—a picture of one of the old “Barons” of Tibet, a class at one time all-powerful, but now of little account; their influence has waned, while that of the Church has grown. But in these times of change and turmoil, when all Asia is changing so rapidly, who can tell if this class may not come once more to power?

The second lecture, which will be reported in full, was given by Mr. Peter Fleming on December 14, and described some of his experiences as war correspondent on the Chinese front. He travelled into China from Burma by the road now so nearly finished, and which will give an entrance into the centre of China, by which she can be supplied with some of her needs. He, too, came home inspired by the bravery, tenacity, and long-sightedness of the leaders of China, who believe that there can be but one end to the war, however far away that end seems at present.

FACTORS DECIDING CHINA'S INTERNAL AND FOREIGN POLICY

The paper formed the basis of a discussion on July 22, 1938.

CHINA'S many provinces always enjoyed a considerable degree of independence. The Celestial Empire was strongly based upon the classics. This spiritual tie proved strong enough to outlast any source of dissension, any calamity, and invasion.

Chinese culture is like a shrine built at the dawn of history and rebuilt and reinforced by mankind's greatest philosophers and teachers. Generations came and faded away, but the teachings of men like Confucius and Laotse lived on. The family was the corner-stone of the throne. Thinking in family terms became tantamount to religiously observed nationalism. Not emperors but scholars built China, and they built it upon their deep knowledge of human necessities and aspirations. The imperial family represented an outward sign of cultural union.

Life never flows evenly. High tide changes to low ebb. It was China's fate that Manchu low ebb coincided with European high tide. The centre of the world's oldest culture experienced a century of pitiless exploitation by young but bold Western imperialism. China neglected to follow the one possible path—that of internal renaissance. Instead national deterioration set in at an alarming pace. Only very few men throughout China considered salvation possible along historical lines. National pride was at its lowest.

The impact of Western rudeness fell upon a helpless China. Thus things remained until the world war broke out. It was not the Chinese revolution of 1911 which awakened China. This upheaval only did away with one outlived foreign invasion. The Kuo Min Tang rode into power on a reawakened China. Studying the writings of Sun Yat Sen, one is sadly depressed by his indiscriminate adoption of too many kinds of Western seeds foreign to Chinese soil. It is true that he wanted to create a free, a new and a powerful China. He knew that neither social, economic, nor military bow-and-arrow methods would turn the wheel, but he neglected to see the immortal wisdom of the Confucian "golden middle course" and he was over-enthusiastic about the possibilities of Western Marxism as a means

of rebuilding China. He dreamed of Chinese modernization in almost astronomical figures. The Chinese people, on the other hand, continued to submit to forced imports, special rights, indemnities, extra-territoriality, and foreign mastery just as long as they had to be suffered. When white started to kill white, with Africa and Asia also mobilized, the prestige of the white races throughout the world suffered a mortal blow. There was the natural historical way out for China to make use of white dissension to rid herself step by step of an intolerable yoke, and she is still doing that. What Europe won in a hundred years it may lose in China in a hundred months.

Thinking historically, there is no reason to believe that Japanese oppression should not be frustrated in the same way. China will suffer as long as she must, but not longer, and it certainly will not take a hundred years to make Japan realize that a policy of forced sales does not pay. Highly industrialized Japan has at her front door the biggest customer in all the world. You cannot make a balance sheet look better by inserting in it a billion yen army expenditures. You cannot make willing customers of a people who are hating you, and the entire Chinese nation is sternly set against Japan. But where can help be sought?

Soviet mentality may be Asiatic, but it offers no solution to China's national problem.

Russian intercourse with China is older than Great Britain's. Imperialistic Russia infringed heavily upon Chinese sovereignty. After the breakdown of Czarist Russia great promises of friendship were given by Lenin to the Kuo Min Tang, but China soon found out that Borodin's mission was to initiate an ideological conquest of the Chinese masses for the benefit of Communist world revolution. Frustrated by the Kuo Min Tang, in its strategical aims, Moscow returned to the imperialistic policy of Peter the Great, without, however, abandoning its efforts to conquer China ideologically from within.

Checked in the West and hemmed in in the East, Moscow found conquest in Central Asia the least dangerous and the most promising. Nanking always remained silent about the loss of Sinkiang and Chinese Turkestan to Soviet armies and their satellites. Those outlying provinces could not be protected, and Chinese pride forbade conceding the ultimate loss of sparsely populated territories half the size of Europe but thousands of miles away from the centre provinces. The Kuo Min Tang concentrated upon building up a nucleus of modern provinces in the Yangtse area and was quite willing to leave

the problem of far away Sinkiang to later generations. Far more serious for the very life of the nation was and is Communist propaganda in China proper. The discontent and misery of China's 80,000,000 farming families on the one side and the never-ending foreign encroachment on the other, together with the superhuman task of reconstructing giant China in so short a time, show the internal vulnerability of the Kuo Min Tang system.

It is enough to point out that the misery of great farming districts led to rebellion. Wherever rebellion occurred the causes were invariably of a purely economic nature, but also invariably Communist emissaries in the ensuing struggle exploited these economic grievances for their own political ends. I myself became a witness of the ruthless destruction of the bourgeois class in Kiangsi province. More than a million men, women, and children were put to the sword. I have in my possession a collection of Communist Kiangsi money bearing the hammer and sickle and a picture of Lenin. General Chiang Kai Shek crushed this Kiangsi uprising, but in doing so he had to sacrifice China's finest and most modern divisions. These factors must be kept in mind. They show how instrumental Soviet propagandist intervention was in weakening China and in making impossible peaceful reconstruction and rural rehabilitation, and they also played a deciding part in bringing about the present-day calamity. The financial losses caused by successive uprisings were appalling. Billions of dollars which, when used for their intended peaceful purpose, would have gone a long way in alleviating rural distress has had to be sacrificed.

The ever-present danger of an ultimate Japanese thrust against Chinese independence in the long run forced the Kuo Min Tang to find a speedy end to the internal unrest. The Sianfu affair of December, 1936, only speeded up the process of compromise with Chinese opposition. The absorption of China's Communists by Nanking became effective months before the incident at the Marco Polo Bridge. The Communist army became consequently the Eighth Route Army and certainly is of undisputed military value. It has experienced fighters, excellent leaders, and first-class material. Up to this point the Kuo Min Tang calculations proved to be right, but, on the other hand, the prohibition of subversive Communist propaganda throughout China was made ineffective.

Communist slogans for the present avoid attacking the National Government but clamour for a United People's Front against the common enemy—imperialistic Japan. It is the struggle of the Left for

power in the State. Utilizing national hatred against the invaders, Communist strategy seems to be successful in winning substantial support. The war will leave China still more impoverished, no matter what its outcome may be. There lies the internal danger, of which the men leading China's destinies are becoming increasingly aware, because the application of Communist ideology to China would inevitably provoke mass slaughter and years of civil warfare on an unprecedented scale. It would end in the annihilation of China's middle class and it would make trade with China impossible for decades. It would spread.

History repeats itself. Her insular position gave Great Britain the sea and with it colonies, trade, and world power. Now insular Japan, endowed with an almost foolproof strategical position in the Pacific area, is looking for trade, colonies, and world power. The same advantages that England enjoyed for centuries over continental Europe Japan holds to-day over continental China. Great Britain is Europe's front door. Japan watches over Asia's back door and with it over the Pacific area.

It is not much use to condemn Japan sentimentally. The fact remains that Japan is the most energetic of all Asiatic nations. She represents Asiatic will-power and therefore has become the banner-bearer of Pan-Asiatic philosophy.

The probability of Pan-Asia coming into existence is very small indeed, but, as a powerful slogan for emancipation from the white yoke, it will benefit Japan and damage European prestige. Pan-Asia is set strictly against Pan-Soviet but co-operates closely with Pan-Islam, and Pan-Islam is very much alive. The more precious weeks and months are being lost by European disunity, the more impetus is given to a rapid deterioration of white influence throughout Asia. In brief, Japan's greatest asset is white disunity. The great distance separating the Pacific area from Europe and the continued European strife give Japan's military leaders that feeling of superiority which we quite mistakenly ridicule as "megalomania."

I do not believe that Japan could not tackle Russia at the same time. Distance and lack of efficient means of communication in Russian territory are an advantage to Japan. Russia can keep an army of only strictly limited size in Eastern Siberia. Japan doubts whether the internal strain of large-scale warfare on the Amur and Mongolian front would not become the signal for anti-Soviet flare-ups throughout the U.S.S.R. Besides, Russia is the ally of France, and Paris counts

upon receiving Moscow's full support against Germany. Paris diplomacy will go to any length in advising Moscow as well as Tokyo against mutual warfare. Golden bullets might prove a powerful inducement to this end.

On the other hand, the power of Japanese resistance is probably much stronger than newspaper reports tend to make us believe. This is certainly the case in the military field. Japan's economic life suffers greatly, but even prolonged warfare would fail to bring Japan easily to her knees. There is an appalling amount of social unrest to be found in the Japanese farming and working classes, but those who know Japan will agree with me that an explosion in the face of external menace and amidst a mobilized army has not the slightest chance of success. Should Europe, however, be in a position to act as a mediator between China and Japan, the social and economic internal questions of Japan might prove powerful inducements to Tokyo to find a feasible basis for peace.

I sincerely hope that Anglo-German co-operation will come into existence in time to exert a balancing influence during the negotiations for a Pacific settlement. Trade is the mainstay of life for every people, and doubly so for industrial nations. The development of trade in the Pacific area previous to the outbreak of hostilities is very instructive. We see three distinct trading systems working in China: the capitalist system, the barter system, and the sweating system. Europe will never be able to compete with industrial Japan's cheap labour system, but combined Anglo-German effort in China might find a solution which would not only bring back the former volume of trade but multiply it, rebuilding at the same time China's economy. This does not mean that Japan must lose large markets, but she would be frustrated in her endeavour to monopolize the Chinese market, and Europe can afford less to-day than ever to do without increasing Chinese trade. A Sovietized China is the last thing with which we could be satisfied. I should like to insert here one little remark based upon personal experience. I think it is a wrong policy to spread news concerning European disunity to China. Why repeat the mistake of 1914? Why should there be no possibility of agreement with regard to Press policy in the Far East?

With the coming into power of Adolf Hitler in Germany new political combinations came into being, some of which greatly influenced Germany's policy in the Far East. For instance, France countered at once by concluding a military alliance with Soviet Russia. It is quite

easy to understand Germany's alarm and her determination to tackle this most serious problem. The Franco-Russian alliance is not only a military but also an economic and social threat to Germany. On the other hand, developments in the United States of America since 1933 are interpreted in Germany as not only being of an unfriendly nature but of a marked and growing hostility towards the Third Reich.

In defending herself against all possibilities, Germany cannot neglect to use any means tending to lessen the danger of a new conflagration which would again see the greater part of the world united against her. This explains why the anti-Comintern pact with Japan was concluded in the autumn of 1936. Russia henceforth has to keep a watchful eye on Manchuria, Vladivostok, and Mongolia, and the United States of America no longer have the same freedom of action as they had before.

For many years the natural policy for Germany had been friendly intercourse with China and Japan. In 1933 Germany's part of China's trade was about 5.6 per cent. Three years later it amounted to almost 20 per cent. If Germany, by concluding the anti-Comintern agreement with Japan, was forced to endanger her vital trade with China, this fact proves clearly how greatly Germany became alarmed.

It must be clearly stated that there is not sentiment but only cold reason in Germany's moves in the Pacific area. Germany would never tolerate a swallowing up of China by Japan, nor would she tolerate exclusion from the Chinese markets. Least of all would she like to see a Sovietized Chinese Republic. Quite willingly Berlin takes account of Japan's just demands, but she will do everything in her power to restrict Japanese ambitions to such limits as are compatible with the continuation of China's independence. I believe that such is also Great Britain's aim in the Pacific area.

In judging Germany's policy you must take account of the fact that we regard Communism as a threat to white civilization. In hemming in Russia in the Pacific area, Germany believes she is fulfilling a European duty.

Apart from numerous areas of local unrest, we see on the Asiatic continent the distinct working of powerful ideologies. Three arrowheads point ominously into Central Asia—the yellow arrow of Pan-Asia, the red arrow of Pan-Soviet, and the green arrow of Pan-Islam. The emancipation of Asia is well on foot. Within the present generation evolutionary and revolutionary changes in Asia may well stagger Europe. It would be well and wise to contemplate European co-

operation for the preservation of the white races instead of immobilizing the entire continent in the ardent desire to keep Germany in a semi-Versailles status. The present disunity of Europe is keenly watched and shrewdly utilized throughout the world. It might well be contended that without the ever-deepening chasm separating Great Britain and Germany there would have been great hesitation on the part of the Japanese military class to embark upon large-scale warfare in China.

The nations of Europe are so completely occupied in out-arming each other that Japan would have acted against human nature if she had not taken advantage of her unique opportunity. Japan is only copying methods used before by white Powers. China was weak a hundred years ago, at the time of the opium war, she was weak eighty years ago, when Gordon crushed the Taiping rebellion, and she was still weaker at the beginning of this century, when the Boxer uprising took place. China was kicked into the world war and was kicked out of the peace treaties. In consequence Japanese ambition gained fresh impetus. Now Europe is paying the price for its blindness. A new policy of co-operation could still turn the wheel, but in this connection—and this is the crux of the question—Anglo-German understanding will be the *conditio sine qua non*.

Great Britain has the same ultimate aims as Germany with regard to China—namely, the war must be brought to a speedy conclusion, China must continue as an independent nation, the door to China must not be closed, and China must be reconstructed by common effort. These aims can be accomplished, but we must start at home. Anglo-German co-operation means peace for the whole world for a century to come. Germany is the heart of Europe, and England is the heart of the world. For every bad word we could say against each other, we could find two good ones. The solution of our common troubles will be found in a common understanding between the world's two most powerful nations, Great Britain and Germany. Backed up by that measure of self-confidence which only combined strength can give, Great Britain and Germany would not in vain offer their good services to both the warring parties in the Pacific area.

I have repeatedly been asked by my friends: "What do you think will happen if and when Hankow falls?" No one can say, because there are too many factors of unknown impetus at play. But it strikes me that up to now, through twelve fateful months,

Chinese resistance has stood up splendidly against overwhelming odds. The Chinese have lost cities and they have lost provinces; they have lost hundreds of thousands of their soldiers and probably millions of their civilian population. If Hankow falls it may mean just another city taken by the Japanese, but there is one difference. From Hankow westwards the Chinese armies can no longer depend upon railroads. They have to fight and forage in outlying provinces which up to now have been more or less independent. The food question as well as the supply of raw materials becomes more awkward with every mile away from the railroad. There is probably an influential wing in the Kuo Min Tang which is very likely to advocate peace at nearly all costs. There is the misery of the urban and rural populations alike. There are millions of refugees. And there is no sign of outside help on a noticeable scale. I am convinced that nearly the whole of the Chinese youth is fervently nationalistic and is responding splendidly to the national emergency, but it is open to question whether all Chinese intellectuals are willing to put their fervent words into fervent deeds. The rivalry of clans is a serious danger, as is also competition between generals and politicians. If starvation can be avoided, China may resist *ad infinitum*, but perhaps this statement must be qualified, because we do not know the strength of the subversive popular front movement. Should Communist propaganda endanger the National Government, it might well be possible that the Kuo Min Tang would see itself forced to lay down arms against Japan, in order to avoid the still greater calamity of general civil warfare. Certain recent developments seem to indicate that China is willing to put the danger of threatened internal disruption before Japanese aggression.

Even if the present struggle should bring about the defeat of China, it would only temporarily retard China's progress. The seed of national feeling is well planted and will grow and bear fruit in the coming generation. China is too big to be kept apart, exactly as it was too big to become centralized in the short time since the exit of the Manchu.

The whole of Asia has become a volcanic area. The present eruption may die down, and there may be peace for months or years, but new eruptions will follow. It may be that we are on the eve of the greatest westward migration of mankind's history. Who can tell?

REVIEWS

The Real Conflict between China and Japan. An Analysis of Opposing Ideologies by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. Pp. xvi + 216. Chicago, Illinois : The University of Chicago Press.

Professor MacNair, for many years resident in the Far East and student of Far Eastern affairs, occupies the chair of Far Eastern History at the University of Chicago. In a preface addressed to "the patriotic critics and harassed reviewers" he explains the circumstances under which this book was written. It started as a lecture and then grew into two chapters of a proposed history of the Far East in the twentieth century. As the history has already assumed large proportions it seemed to him advisable to detach and to publish separately the ideological material—hence this book.

The word "ideology," which formerly occupied a modest place in the human vocabulary, has now achieved great international significance. It seems, therefore, rather important to understand exactly what the word means. Murray's New English Dictionary describes it as "the science of ideas; that department of philosophy or psychology which deals with the origin and nature of ideas." It may therefore be assumed that the author is attempting to analyze the origin and nature of ideas which influence Chinese and Japanese thoughts and actions. In doing so he claims to be completely impartial.

The essay on Chinese ideology occupies two chapters, and the author starts by enumerating the main elements characterizing Chinese policy towards aliens and foreign governments as "steady pressure, passive resistance, indirect action, procrastination, evasiveness, supreme confidence in their racial and cultural superiority, appeal to a third party, and . . . seeking temporary surface solutions." He rightly stresses the remarkable contrasts which China presents geographically and historically. Geographical remoteness combined with ease of invasion from the north and west; conservatism and traditionalism broken by long periods of revolution and anarchy. The extraordinary force of absorption which, during past centuries, has absorbed all foreign elements and has even absorbed, to a great extent, the foreign Buddhist religion, is contrasted with the power of diffusion which, for many centuries, spread learning, literature, art, and culture through neighbouring Asiatic countries.

Professor MacNair considers that the attitude towards and the treatment of the three classes of "barbarians" by the Imperial Chinese Government in the past furnishes an important guide in studying Chinese ideology. He cites various quotations showing that the "barbarians" were to be treated "not unkindly, not by force, certainly not by appeal to reason, but with condescension, firmness and despatch." The "barbarians" were classed as "distant," "fiery" and "violent," and the rise of the "distant" white "barbarians" towards the end of the eighteenth century and questions connected with their commercial affairs gave rise to a long series of misunder-

standings and quarrels over foreign diplomatic missions, which eventually brought about the first Anglo-Chinese "opium" war, while, as late as 1859, the American mission to Peking was treated with contumely.

The author holds strongly that there was in the past a complete lack of comprehension amongst foreigners about the Imperial Chinese system of government which greatly vitiated relations between the two parties. He produces interesting quotations not only from the writings of the great Chinese philosophers but also from Sir Robert Hart in support of this view. The Chinese concept of the "Son of Heaven" was a perfect ruler, partly philosopher, partly religious head, who ruled through precept and example, avoiding wars and substituting diplomacy. The Imperial government was not a highly centralized oriental monarchy but was decentralized, and power lay "at the base and not at the top." It is important, too, to note that constant injunctions are to be found amongst the Chinese classical writers urging the people to rebel against bad and incompetent rulers. This essay on Chinese ideology concludes with the pessimistic opinion that, except for a few foreign-educated Chinese reformers, the spirit of conservatism, complacency, and superiority unfortunately has persisted into modern times and has been the chief obstacle to progress and modernization.

It is impossible to leave this essay without experiencing a feeling of incompleteness. Surely there are other elements which have contributed powerfully to Chinese ideology. The tenacious love of the soil, for instance, which has contributed to the establishment of the Chinese family system and the veneration of ancestors. These elements together have produced local loyalties—loyalty to family, village, clan, or province—which hinders the feeling of patriotism or love of country and nation. Furthermore, the author has not discussed the impact of modern political doctrines on Chinese ideology. He does not explain, for instance, why some sections of the Chinese—a most individualistic people—have subscribed to the doctrines of Communism, even though the form of these doctrines may have changed somewhat during the process.

Turning to Japan, Professor MacNair faces a formidable task in attempting to analyze the ideology of possibly the most incomprehensible nation which has ever existed in the world. At the beginning of the essay on Japanese ideology the outstanding Japanese characteristics are summed up as follows—physical vigour and decisiveness of action, correct or devious; the spirit of scientific enquiry and general inquisitiveness; suave, formal courtesy and æsthetic appreciation; ability to imitate and to adapt; bravery and stoicism; martial spirit; pride of race; intense patriotism.

Professor MacNair goes on to assert that the key to the mystery of the rise of the Japanese nation is to be found in "the cultural revolution through which certain of their ancestors passed in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D.," and, further, that "the flowering of the Sui and T'ang periods influenced the ruling class as profoundly during the Middle Ages as have the cultures of Europe and the United States in modern times." Admitting that Japanese civilization is based on Chinese culture, many people may nevertheless consider the above to be an over-statement, and will ascribe the rise

of Japan mainly to a native genius for adaptation developed to a degree never before witnessed by mankind.

Several prominent features in Japanese national mentality are described and discussed. The first is described as "decisive surprise-action" and willingness to employ treachery and assassination especially for patriotic motives—in plain language, ruthlessness. Another closely allied characteristic is the capacity to organize far-reaching plans and, at the critical moment, to strike with lightning rapidity. A third characteristic, of which various examples are provided, is "the tendency to seize an advantage regardless of national engagements"—a method which has been employed with striking success in modern times.

The peculiar Japanese institution which can perhaps be described as "puppet rule" naturally finds a prominent place in this list, and the author after pointing out that the practice dates from very ancient times, furnishes three well-known examples. Firstly, the rule of the Shoguns from the last decade of the twelfth century A.D. down to 1868 in the name of the Emperors of Japan; secondly, after the Restoration, the development of an extra-constitutional body of Elder Statesmen who "made and unmade cabinets"; thirdly, the peculiar and practically independent status within the Japanese Cabinet of the defence ministers which, as he remarks, often causes an impression of double dealing amongst foreign nations. It is surprising that Professor MacNair should not have added a fourth example—namely, the system of "puppet government," a Japanese adaptation of the Protectorate system—which Japan has already established in Manchukuo and is about to organize on a huge scale in China proper, according to recent official pronouncements.

In the second half of the essay on Japan the author proceeds to consider the "dual personality" which exists throughout Japanese national life. On the surface, a thick crust of modernization; below this crust, the workings of the Japanese mind and the manifestations of the Japanese spirit, which are complete enigmas to the majority of foreigners. It is to be feared that the lengthy explanatory quotations on these subjects selected from the writings of Japanese publicists will do little to enlighten the minds of the general readers. One of the most striking and puzzling of modern Japanese manifestations is to be found in the deification of the Japanese Emperor, which, as the author clearly shows, is being carried to extremes. Closely associated with and resting upon this cult is the newly developed "Imperial Principle." After reading the explanations given by General Araki, while occupying the most important post of War Minister, it becomes clear that the "Imperial Principle" means the extension of Japanese rule and institutions throughout the Far East and possibly, in time, far beyond this area.

Finally, after a short summing up there is to be found at the end of the book an anonymous Appendix entitled "The contemporary conflict in the Japanese Empire between Christian and Shinto ideology. Observations by a recent resident in the Japanese Empire." Shinto, "the Way of the Gods," appears to many people as yet another Japanese mystery. Like many other Japanese institutions, it is a product of evolution combined with adaptation.

It started as a mixture of animism and Japanese mythology; from the middle of the sixth century A.D. it was incorporated into Japanese Buddhism; from the beginning of the eighteenth century it was revived as a national cult with the Emperor as the central figure, and these national and patriotic aspects were boosted by the reformers who founded the new Empire. Now, according to the author of the Appendix, it is entering upon a new phase of development. He asserts that the State Shinto authorities are seeking to compel all native Christian communities in Japan to perform certain acts of Shinto worship and that native Christian opinion in Japan is seriously divided and disturbed thereby.

Although Professor MacNair may perhaps lay himself open to charges of partiality, still enough has been said to show that this book contains a great deal of interesting material and is worthy of the attention of those interested in the present and the future of the Far East.

D. B-B.

Brave New China. By Lady Hosie. 9" x 6". Pp. xii + 251. Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton. 1938. 12s. 6d.

The authoress of this volume, Lady Hosie, has much in common with the well-known Mrs. Pearl Buck. Both were born in Inland China and lived there during their youthful impressionable years, going later for a home education and returning to China with widened mental horizons, able to compare Chinese methods of life with those of their respective countries—England and America. And both possess the literary ability to record what they have seen and heard while living in close relation with their Chinese surroundings, as during their earlier years they acquired a good colloquial knowledge of the language.

Very few members of the China Consular Service had a more intimate acquaintance with China than the late Sir Alexander Hosie. His union with the daughter of the late Professor Soothill bore fruit in the stimulus it gave the authoress, Lady Hosie, to perfect her own knowledge of all that concerns the Middle Kingdom. So that she was well equipped when in 1936 she returned to China, after ten years' absence, to visit her friends of former times and to see for herself the state of that country.

The tale that is told in *Brave New China* is a light one and is chiefly occupied with visits to educational institutions and the talks the authoress had with Christian Chinese and their British and American teachers. It is much the same record of personal experiences that can be read in missionary journals.

The real China, the life struggle of toiling millions, receives insufficient notice. Many pages recount the enlightened ways and thoughts, the trials and perplexities of modern foreign-educated Chinese in their attempts to harmonize themselves with their less-awakened native brethren.

The chapter on Russia in China deals with the marital experiences of one Alexieff, a taxi-driver in Cheng-tu, and gives no general picture of Russian life or influence on the people. Nor is there any attempt to appraise the political or economic situation. A most interesting chapter, "Twenty Thousand Steps," describes her visit to the sacred Mount Omei. The volume is no doubt just what the authoress intended it to be—a record of many pleasant *rencontres* with friendly disposed Chinese.

As such it gives a good insight into a noteworthy phase of China's Republican

history, the period when civil warfare had almost disappeared and when official corruption and misrule were entering on a period of amelioration. Lady Hosie shows to what a widespread extent the influence of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and his talented wife had inspired the Chinese masses in the upright tenets of the "New Life." The authoress revisited China at a time when it was at its best—the year before the conflict began, before great tracts of the country had been fought over, leaving a trail of misery and ruin.

But there is enough in the book from which the reader can gather the impression that with a people of such innate courage as the Chinese the idea that China can even be conquered and remain so is quite futile, and the wonder is that the Japanese had underestimated this quality of unconquerability to so great an extent.

The authoress is indebted to Miss G. M. Starkey for a very striking design of the New China on the outer cover of the book.

G. D. G.

MUNICH AND THE FAR EAST

“MUNICH” marks a new chapter in world relations. Dark clouds have passed; a universal longing for peace fills every human heart. Although only a beginning, “Munich” doubtlessly signifies such universal and irresistible moral force as is necessary to create better understanding between two predominant and opposing world factors—democracy and nationalism.

This is not the place to expound philosophies, but since uncompromising political ideologies did become the gospel of our days, it is quite clear that unshielding fanaticism most probably might have provided the spark to another universal conflagration. “Munich” proves that the forces of self-preservation and European solidarity still hold the upper hand.

All mankind now must join hands to keep alive this holy spirit of reason and realistic co-operation. Ugly flames are fiercely raging in Spain and the Far East. Since the days of “Munich” there is hope that by common effort the civil war in Spain might before long be brought to a conclusion.

But what about the Far East? A bewildered China to-day witnesses the rapid reevaluation of European political line-up. China struggling against virulently expanding Japan naturally expected protection and help from the democratic bloc, especially from Great Britain, U.S.A., and Russia.

One of these Powers sold all the necessary war material, especially the deadly gasoline, to Japan, at the same time declaring her neutrality; the other Power, in view of the dangerous situation in Europe, and especially in the Mediterranean, had to concentrate all her strength at home.

And Russia? Only too well China knows the danger of the Soviet virus infiltrating into her national life. External expediency pointed to neighbouring Russia as an ally, internal experience strongly resented another “Borodin” era. Torn between both deliberations, China welcomed Russian arms and feared Russian doctrine.

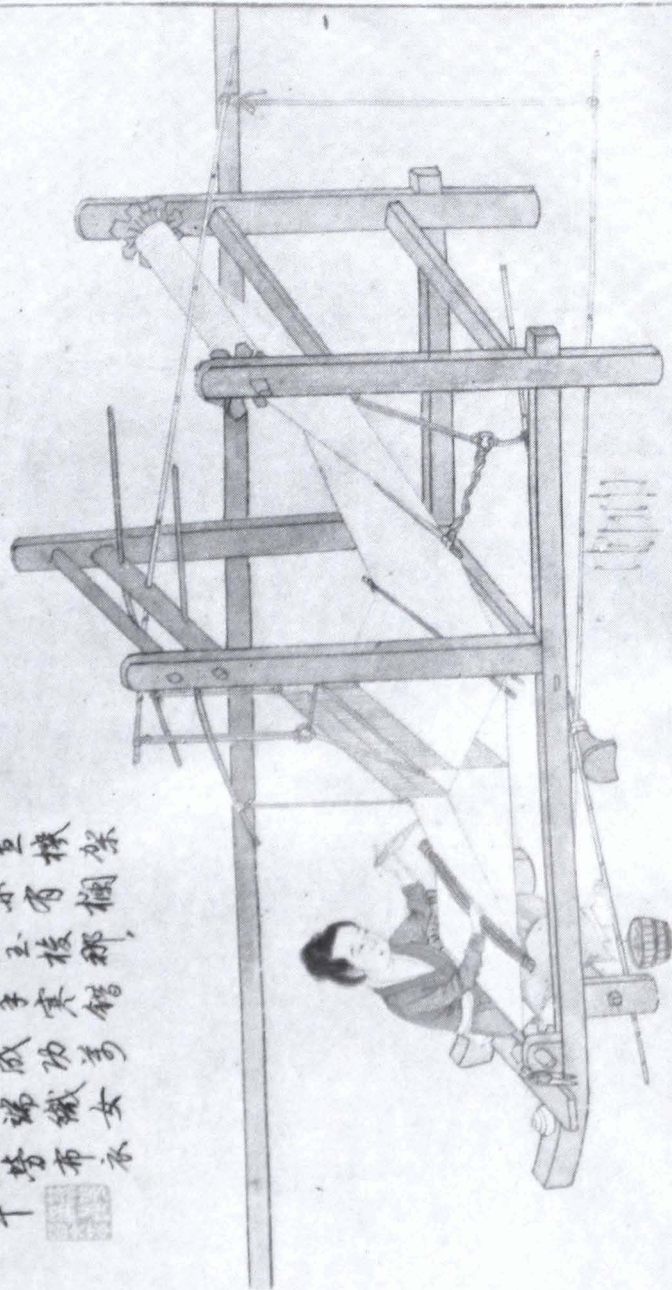
A different situation has arisen. The striking Russian failure to protect Czechoslovakian independence, as well as the blunt realization by Great Britain and France of Moscow’s present military immobility, must have immensely alarmed the Chinese Government, which consists of shrewdest students of Western power-politics. Nowhere will a rapid victory for the “Munich school of thought” find a heartier welcome than in China. The good services of the Big Four in mediating a Far Eastern armistice should be acceptable to both warring parties, the more so because the mediating group fully represents both views and ideologies. Neither Japan nor China would ever listen to one-sided counsel.

A Europe disunited and split into hostile camps could never command the respect of the Far East. A united Europe will succeed in bringing about peace with justice in the Pacific area. “Munich” will prove vital for Asia as well as Europe.

EDMUND FUERHOLZER.

October 16, 1938.

車 車 轉 紫 中 屬 露 滄 子 霞
 平 勤 度 蒙 振 始 復 成 大 峰
 岡 邑 關 綺 伴 蘭 念 麻 翠 單



洞室置機架
 有軸亦有欄
 法是挑玉梭那
 解高子寒智
 綜乃成功奇
 信乃一端織女
 乃是杼布衣
 己原單

機 杼

CHINESE LADY AT HER LOOM, 17TH CENTURY.
 By courtesy of C. T. Loo, Paris.

SILK IN THE ORIENT

By GERMAINE MERLANGE

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society and the India Society on November 2, 1938, Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

A GREAT many years have gone by since the legendary day when Hsi Ling Chi, wife of Huang Ti, third Emperor of China, wandering in her gardens, discovered an ugly worm devouring the leaves of a mulberry tree. Her first impulse, the old accounts say, was to kill it; but the thought immediately occurred to her that things do not come to the attention of a daughter of Heaven without reason; and she was quick to conclude that this unsightly worm was the reincarnation of one of her departed ancestors. She refrained, therefore, from molesting it, but kept her puzzled gaze on it while the tiny creature ravaged leaf after leaf. Day after day she came, until at last she had witnessed all the transformations of the strange worm, including the final one, when most of its cocoon had fled, and in the hand of the Emperor rested the first recorded spool of natural silk. For her discovery Hsi Ling Chi was deified and became the goddess of the silkworm.

Although manufactured silk was sold freely to all nations having trade relations with China, the method of producing the raw material was withheld from foreigners, the secret being so jealously guarded that silk production remained an unsolved mystery to all not natives of the Celestial Empire for two thousand years from the date of the deified Hsi Ling Chi. Then the Japanese put their wits to work, and a secret mission sent by them brought back from China not only mulberry seeds and silkworms but four girls as well, who, having taught the art of seri-culture in Japan, were in their turn deified and a temple was erected in their honour.

Ancient Khotan came into possession of the secret by a ruse still more cunning. The story is related by Tsüan Tsang, the Buddhist pilgrim.

“In old times the people of this country knew nothing about mulberry trees or silkworms. Hearing that their neighbours in the eastern country had them, they sent an embassy to seek for them. At this time the Ruler of the Eastern Kingdom kept the secret and

would not give the possession of it to any. The King of Khotan sent a mission to seek a marriage union with the Princess of the Eastern Kingdom in token of his allegiance and submission. The King acceded to his wish. Then the King of Khotan despatched a messenger to escort the royal princess and gave the following direction: Speak thus to the Eastern Princess: our country has neither silk nor silken stuff; you had better bring with you that from which they come, so you can make robes for yourself. The princess, hearing these words, secretly procured the seed of the mulberry and silkworm eggs, and concealed them in her head-dress. Having reached the barrier the guard searched everywhere, but did not dare remove the headdress of the princess. Arriving, then, in the Kingdom of Khotan, they conducted her in great pomp to the royal palace."

Long before seri-culture was known to the people west of China, marvellous fabrics were woven in Byzantium. This was done by unravelling silk webs which were imported from China. But in the sixth century A.D., as all historians agree, two Persian monks who had lived in China and learned the whole art of of seri-culture arrived in Constantinople, and imparted their knowledge to the Emperor Justinian, who was deeply interested in silk weaving. He induced the monks, by promises of great reward, to return to China and attempt to bring to Europe the material necessary for the cultivation of silk. They effected this by concealing the eggs of the silkworm moth in a hollow cane.

In the twelfth century seri-culture was introduced by the Normans into Sicily, where efforts to keep the knowledge of the process from the neighbouring countries appear to have succeeded until in the sixteenth century the secret reached France, where the industry received royal patronage.

SILK ROAD

As it is recorded in the annals of the Han dynasty, through his two campaigns against the Huns, the Emperor Wu-ti caused his people to come in contact with Western civilization. New roads were opened for the exchange of goods, art and thought, and for the introduction of Buddhism into the Chinese Empire. The man who, by his intelligence, courage and capacity had brought about these great historical events was Chang Ch'ien, one of the greatest of all geographical explorers in Central Asia.

The Great Wall, begun by the Emperor Chih Huang-ti, was ex-

tended westward by the Emperor Wu-ti and provided with watch-towers to protect the road and its trade. This road, the Imperial Highway, and its fortifications and defence works, were thoroughly investigated and described over twenty years ago by Sir Aurel Stein.

No goods which were exported from China proper along the Imperial Highway could be compared, either in importance or in extent, with the beautiful Chinese silk, which two thousand years ago was the most highly esteemed and most sought after of all the articles of world trade.

About 100 A.D. a Macedonian silk merchant had his agents in Eastern Turkestan; they went to the land of the Seres, the silk-producing people, and returned to their master with an account of their journey. From the Macedonian, these descriptions came into the hands of the geographer Marinus of Tyre, who in his turn became a valuable source for the famous Alexandrian geographer Ptolemy's account of the country we now call Eastern Turkestan.

After the close of the Han dynasty, 220 A.D., there followed in the time of the "three kingdoms" a period of division and depression in China, but the silk trade continued more or less unaffected on its long road from the shores of the Pacific to the Mediterranean. About 260-280, there was still a flourishing life and commerce in the Chinese town of Lou-lan; it was a fortress, a garrison town and an important junction on the main traffic artery. To get to Lou-lan, the caravans had to cross a long stretch of fearfully barren desert from Tung-huang, the most westerly outpost of Chinese culture, before they reached Lop-nor; Lou-lan was the first oasis in the Tarim basin.

The name "Silk Road" is not Chinese and has never been used in China.

North-west and west of Sian, as far as the Tung-huang region, the Silk Road is one single road. Not far west of Tung-huang, it divides, as Herrmann shows in his very valuable work *The Old Silk Road Between China and Syria*, into three branches, one running by Khotan, one via Lou-lan, and a northerly route by Hami and Turfan. A third road crossed the country of the Yuch-chih or Tokhars, Bactria, then through the Parthian capital, Ecbatana in Media, and Palmyra to Antioch or Tyre, where the manufacture of silk was highly developed.

Silk was undoubtedly exported from China even before Wu-ti's time. Silk has been found in ancient Greek colonies in Crimea, and Alexander the Great and Admiral Nearchos speak of "Serian cloths"

which had come to India from the north. Sir Aurel Stein found considerable quantities of silk in Lou-lan in 1906. The French archaeological expedition to Palmyra collected in graves fragments of Chinese silk, described by M. Pfister.

P. K. Kosloff, on his last journey, discovered quantities of silk in Northern Mongolia.

The whole Silk Road, from Sian, via Anhsi, Kashgar, Samarkand and Seleucia to Tyre is 4,200 miles as the crow flies, and, including bends, is something like 6,000 miles.

It can be said without exaggeration that this traffic artery, traversing the whole width of Asia, is the longest, and from a cultural-historical standpoint, the most significant connecting link between peoples and continents.

Some roads of exchange and transport are already traced according to geographical conditions, and man had only to improve his way to follow them. Once Sir Percy Sykes said with à propos, "Roads are only the tracks once established by the mules of caravans, the real engineers of the road."

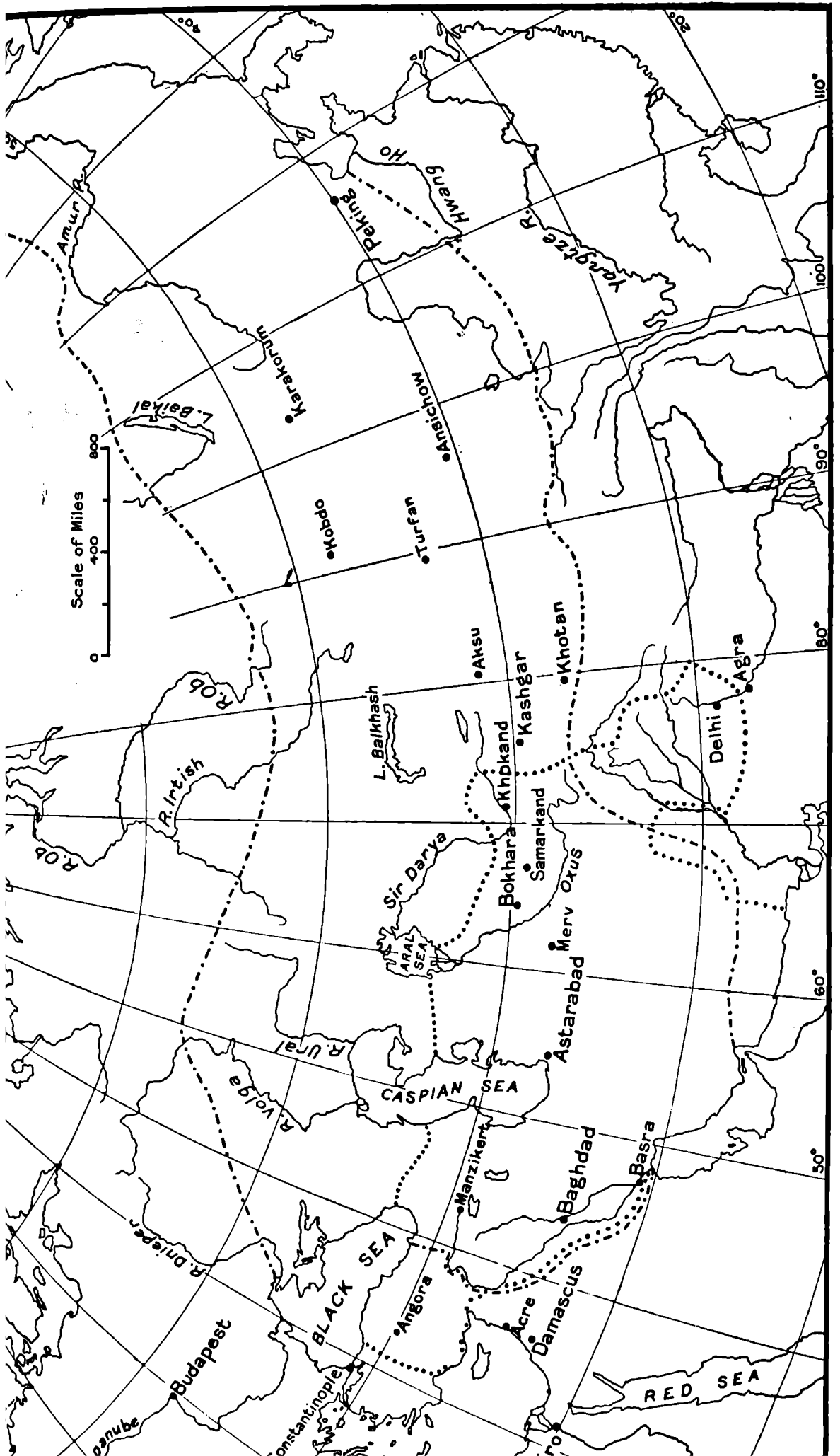
To the south, there is only one possible passage through the Zagros, the Pa-i-Tak, which leads from Persia to Mesopotamia. It is the route Baghdad-Hamadan, the old Royal Highway from Babylonia to Ecbatana. It has been throughout the centuries the important junction between Persia and its neighbours.

The great political and commercial movements always followed the two main highways Baghdad-Hamadan-Kazvin (Royal Highway of Darius) and Meshed-Teheran-Kazvin-Tabriz (Silk Road). Persia, like Central Asia, has a very dry climate due to the same causes—"From snow to snow, there is no rain in Persia," says the peasant of the Iranian Highland.

CHINA

The earliest Chinese silk tissues we know were found by Sir Aurel Stein during his third Central Asian expedition in the year 1914. They were unearthed in a cemetery site, now part of the Lop desert in Chinese Turkestan. They are most probably of the Han dynasty.

The tenacity with which the Chinese have held to their traditional motives of design is nowhere more plainly demonstrated than in these silks. The dragons, animals, birds, horsemen, cloudscrolls, floral stems and diapers have their counterparts in Chinese art of the twentieth century, although modifications in form, due to the lapse of two



thousand years, were inevitable. The dislike of the Chinese for innovations is not the sole cause. The motives, and even the colours they used, are closely linked with their philosophy and religious beliefs, and the craftsmen were not at liberty to select them at random. Ornaments were tabulated into series with their appropriate uses. Some were preserved for the Imperial family alone, others were the prerogative of the higher nobility, and so on through a score or more of stages. The Chinese weaver is inimitable in his delineation of nature, and yet in matters of mythology and symbolism he does not care to leave the road of tradition. What he sees with the inward and the outward eye is harmonized in a way hard for us to understand.

When we come to the T'ang dynasty (618-906 A.D.) the textile material is more abundant. By this time Chinese fleets were not infrequently seen in the Persian Gulf. The bond of sympathy between the Chinese and the other people of the Asiatic continent was then greater than at any other later period. The intercourse between India and China was emphasized by the Chinese acceptance of Buddhism.

A conspicuous illustration of Chinese relations with Persia is the woven silk banner formerly in the Horyu-ji monastery at Nara, the old capital of Japan, and now in the Tokyo Museum. The pattern is disposed in large circles, each containing four men on winged horses aiming arrows at lions. It is a typical Sasanian hunting scene, with the king as the hero, but the craftsmen have recast it in a mould of his own. The banner is said to have belonged to Prince Shōtoku (572-623 A.D.) at the conquest of Shiragi in Korea, and deposited in the monastery by the Emperor Keikō (884-887). The delineation of the subject is Chinese in feeling, and Chinese in character, for "Happiness" and "Mountain" are marked on the flanks of the horses, in place of the royal band of the Sasanian kings. The first of these characters is also to be seen on the silk fragment found by M. Pelliot in the desert of Central Asia, and now in the Musée de l'Extrême Orient in the Louvre. It has a representation of a cock standing on one leg, enclosed by a circle of vine foliage, a design obviously influenced by Sasanian woven silks. The same motive, rendered somewhat differently, is to be found on the silk weaving in the general treasure house at Nara (the Shōsō-in), forming part of the collection dedicated by the widow of the Japanese Emperor Shomu, shortly after her husband's death in 748 A.D. Much of this treasure is actually of Chinese workmanship.

In later years, dealing with the mediæval fabrics, it is not always

easy to draw the line between the Chinese stuff made for home use, or for export, and those made elsewhere under Chinese influence.

The advent of the native Ming in the year 1368 A.D. brought about a change in foreign relations. Outside intercourse waned, and the Chinese were content to leave the rest of the world alone.

The Portuguese, the first Europeans to reach China by sea, arrived in Canton in 1517. Traffic, which had dropped considerably under the Ming Emperors, now revived in the hands of Europeans.

Had we no other means of tracing the history of European intercourse with the Far East from this time onwards, the textiles alone would provide many a useful clue.

If the Chinese appear to have learned the art of velvet weaving from the West, the case is different when we come to tapestry weaving. The process is the same in principle as that followed in the West. The Chinese weaver carries it to the last degree of technical accomplishment. The warp threads are of very fine silk and the weft of silk often enhanced by the lavish use of gold thread. These tapestries, known by the name of k'o-sseu, are perhaps the best known and the most highly appreciated of all Chinese textiles. The use of such fine threads in the warp, while extracting the utmost skill and patience from the weaver, gives to the finished web the greatest attainable brilliance of effect. This type of work has an ancestry reaching back as far as the T'ang dynasty, and probably much earlier. Example of the T'ang period found by Sir Aurel Stein and Dr. von Le Coq in Central Asia are remarkably like the work of modern times.

By far the larger number of the weavings of this class are hanging and robes made in the eighteenth century. No doubt the tradition was continuous, but their fragile nature must be held to account for the disappearance of most of the earlier specimens. However, we find in the Vuilleumier's collection, now in Switzerland, a very comprehensive and fine group of such pieces, gathered with excellent taste, and all in a very good state of preservation.

JAPAN

In Japan *Nishiki*, or brocades, first appeared in the third century A.D., when the Chinese Emperor Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty sent them as a present to the Empress Jingo; but such *Nishiki* were not woven in Japan itself until about the middle of the fifth century, after the return of an embassy which had been sent to Korea to study weaving

and then to establish a loom in Japan. In the two centuries following, the art of weaving Nishiki underwent a great development. At Nara, weavers were established by the Emperor Kōtoku about 645 A.D., the looms being placed under the direct imperial management; but in the years of political struggle of the tenth century the industries of Japan suffered so greatly that there was a large importation of Nishiki brocades from China, which became the fashion for the nobles and were called Kara-ori Nishiki.

In the eleventh century, returning Japanese students first brought to Japan from China a new form of brocade, the *Kinran*. This was woven in Chinese patterns with flat gold thread on a silk ground and soon came to be much used by the nobles and by the Buddhist priests for vestments. In the *Kinran*, the flat gold thread consists of a very fine, tough paper made from the bark of the Ko-zu tree. Sheets of this Ko-zu paper were spread with a thin preparation of lacquer and then with gold leaf, which was burnished by hands and then cut into strips less than a sixteenth of an inch wide. Thus was made the gold thread which was woven into *Kinran* and which formed its characteristic feature.

The specimen of *Kinran* imported from China about the second part of the fifteenth century are called Ko-*Kinran* (old *Kinran*), and at a later period were very highly valued.

Kinran and Nishiki of the Ming type were first woven in Japan in the second part of the sixteenth century, when a Chinese weaver established looms near Osaka. The designs of nearly all the brocades of this period are borrowed from China, and have a symbolical and poetical significance; as in the tree and flower patterns which now assume importance—the evergreen pine, for instance, and plum blossoms, which appear early in the spring, before the snow is off the ground, signifying immortality and rejuvenescence.

The art of the Momoyama period (*circa* 1590) is gorgeous, and characterized by a profusion of gold and brilliant colours striving after a decorative effect. The genius of the period was Kano Yeitoku, the decorator of Moyama castle and painter of screens of gold design in rich colours upon a gold ground. His influence directly affected the textile art and it was at this time that weaving in Japan attained its highest technical development, while the richness of pattern of the Momoyama period has never since been equalled.

Rivalry in luxury and dress among the Daimyos and their retainers carried the country to such extravagance that in the fifth year of the

Kwanbun era (1665) the Shogun limited the size of domestic brocades to fourteen yards in length and fifteen inches in width, enough to make a kimono. In the early Tokugawa period, it was the fashion to wear Kinran obis only two and a half inches wide and about six feet long, usually with a design of plum cherry blossoms or pine tree, a romantic idea derived from a lyrical play. Later, in the Genroku period (1684-1704), wider, longer and stiffened obis became fashionable. In the first part of the eighteenth century Chinese Nishiki ceased to be imported as so great an improvement had been made in the art of weaving brocades of the Chinese type in Japan.

The *Tsubzure*, or tapestry weaving, was brought from China about 1400 by Buddhist priests and was established in a temple near Kyoto. Tapestry weaving became fashionable, much as it did in Europe during the Middle Ages, and the art of weaving tapestry continued to improve until the end of the eighteenth century. Priest robes, temple hangings and fukusa were increasingly manufactured.

Many of the designs were made by famous artists of the time, especially of the Shijo and Kano schools. Later on, as was sure to happen, many foreign influences became manifested in the textile art.

PERSIA

For many centuries the Persian genius for designing and weaving textiles has been universally recognized. Above all the beautiful velvets and brocaded fabrics of the reign of Shah Tahmasp and Shah Abbas have been prized for the grace and dignity of their exquisite patterns, for their subtle and jewel-like colours and for the effect of splendour achieved by the lavish but discriminating use of gold and silver thread.

The great majority of Persian textiles which have come down to us are of silk. A comparison of the technique of these fabrics with textiles from other countries shows that certain types persist in Persia throughout all periods, and also that the distinctive silk weaves are not numerous; far less varied, indeed, than those of Europe. The remarkable results attained by the Persians are due to the skill and ingenuity they applied to the development of a few types. The many precious fabrics which have survived from the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century offer the most complete demonstration of Persian achievements in weaving, and yet, even then, there are only nine different types made in sufficient quantity to be significant.

Not only gold was mixed with the silken thread; sometimes, as a token of lasting love, the oriental princess or the Dame of the Middle

Ages would take her own hair and inscribe in embroidery the words of her heart.

The Sasanian dynasty (226-651 A.D.) saw a great production of woven silk of the most striking and handsome style. In spite of this, the history of those textiles remains obscure and its chronology uncertain. The main reason is probably that there were no burying grounds to be found in Persia. None of the pieces we know to-day came out of their native country. However, because of the constant intercourse between the different parts of the Orient during that period, we find fragments in countries far away from Persia proper—and it shows well the wide reputation acquired by Persian silks. Towards the east, M. Pelliot found some pieces in monasteries of Tung-huang. Towards the west a great number of them have been preserved in Christian treasuries, either in the church or in royal collections.

During the first centuries of the Christian era, it was the rule to bury the saints in precious silken shrouds. They were brought also by the pilgrims in reliquaries. These silks were originally woven for rich and sumptuous garments.

The motives are the same ones employed in stucco, stone, gold or silver: confronted animals, hunting scenes, for hunting was considered as the symbol of imperial victory. The fire altar, or the "hom" (or tree of life) were the religious emblems.

INDIA

India has been chiefly the land of cotton, and Kashmir wool is the finest in the world; but silk culture has also been kept at a fine standard, and the silk weave of India retains certain peculiarities of its own. Since olden times, and long before the Muhammedan conquest, India was influenced by its neighbours, Persia, Central Asia, China, and we see these influences much more pronounced in the art of textiles than in the architecture of sacred monuments, for instance, where original traditions had to be preserved. Love and understanding of nature is the chief inspiration. The handsome brocades, thick with precious metal, display a choice group of flowers conventionalized with the most delicate taste, and an unflinching sense of colours brings out charm and brilliance. Gold is always used lavishly, but discrimination prevails and rich harmony is preserved.

BYZANTIUM

After the death of Emperor Heraclitus in 641, the East Roman Empire, robbed by the Arabian of its most flourishing provinces and thrown back upon its former possessions, in Hellas, Asia Minor and Southern Italy, was transformed into a Greek power of the East. Byzantium was like a besieged camp, assaulted by the Slavs in the north and the Caliphs in the south, and this dangerous situation continued until the appearance of the Macedonian dynasty (867-1057 A.D.), which, by military success, restored the prestige of the State. Torn away from her Western trade, Byzantium looked about for commercial connection in the East, and its trade relations with Persia resulted in an increased influence upon Byzantine silk patterns.

In the golden period of Byzantine silks from the tenth to the twelfth century the Persian style predominates almost unlimited in the animal motives, which are nearly unchanged Sasanian designs; only on the ornamental accessories (plant forms, etc.) have the Byzantine weavers adhered to their own style.

The elephant silk in the Charlemagne reliquary of Aix-le-Chapelle from the year 1000, with circular fields of 70 to 80 cm. in diameter, is a work of the royal looms of Constantinople; it does not bear an emperor's name, but those of two functionaries.

Although unsigned, the large eagle textiles are also to be regarded as products of the State workshops, owing to the fact that they are mentioned in the Roman inventory as imperial fabrics. It seems that these black eagles on a red-purple ground possessed an heraldic significance for the Byzantine emperors, suggesting the antique Roman eagle.*

If only gryphons, lions and birds are found among the Byzantine animal patterns of the twelfth century and thirteenth century after the fantastic Persian creations had vanished, this is not to be attributed to the chance of insufficient preservation, but it shows the real ornamental stock of that period. In the Roman Curial inventory of 1295 we meet always and again described just the same animal designs in roundels, and it is only now and then that designs other than lions, gryphons and eagles are mentioned.

When we come to the beginning of Muhammadan art, our debt to Egypt is great. It is generally recognized that the Arab had virtually no art of his own, and that he relied on the craftsmanship and decorative traditions of the artistic races he subjugated to plant the seed from

* See Frontispiece.

which sprung the widespread and characteristic Muhammadan art. He was content with what was ready to his hand, provided always that place was found for some measure of conformity with his scruples in regard to the delineation of living forms, and that quotations from the Koran were freely employed. The decorative qualities of the Arabic script caused it to be used with fine effect.

The inscriptions were usually taken from the Koran, but luckily the names and titles of contemporary rulers were often recorded as well, and it is largely to these that we must look to gain our knowledge of the development of the Muhammadan style.

The Muhammadan conquest of Egypt, which followed closely upon that of Syria, was completed in 641 A.D., within ten years of the death of the Prophet. Afterwards, for nearly a hundred years, Egypt was governed from Damascus, then from Baghdad, during the Abbasids. Then the luxurious fatimite line, the founders of modern Cairo, ruled with much splendour for two centuries. The patterns are many and varied, the colours beautiful, and some, as we admire them, take us back in thought to China again.

May I add that our final tribute to-night should be paid to the great lady who came to know first how to use the silken thread of a worm, so fragile and yet so strong. A road has been named after it. Trade and wealth throughout the world derived from it, all from the first skeins of silk. It is written here in a pictogram, drawn for us by a Chinese—whose country is the one in Asia to remain, with her everlasting and profound culture.

The lecture closed with a very warm vote of thanks from members of both societies to Miss Merlange, with congratulations on her fine collection of illustrative slides and on her command of English.

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REVIEW

The Silk Road. By Sven Hedin. $9\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. x+322. Thirty-one plates. Map. Routledge. 1938. 18s.

In 1933 Dr. Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, was winding up the branches of the different scientific expeditions which he had organized during the previous six years with the co-operation of the Chinese authorities.

One day at a reception at the German Embassy in Peking Dr. Hedin was consulted by the assistant Foreign Minister on the subject of Chinese Eastern Turkestan or Sinkiang. Dr. Hedin expressed the view that Sinkiang was rapidly becoming independent of Nanking, while Soviet Russia was monopolizing the trade to the exclusion of China, and the trade with British India was negligible. He considered that the remedy lay in the construction of first-class motor roads and a railway into Central Asia.

What appeared to be a chance conversation subsequently bore fruit, for Dr. Hedin was asked to lead a Chinese expedition to Sinkiang to report on the best means of constructing motor roads and thus improving the communications by different routes to Sinkiang. The question of a railway was ruled out on account of the cost.

The present volume, *The Silk Road*, is a translation of Dr. Hedin's account of how he with his Chinese and Mongolian comrades and certain Swedish personnel carried out the wishes of the Nanking Government between the autumn of 1933 and the spring of 1935.

The translation, it may be remarked, is fluent and excellent.

During this time the province of Sinkiang was in the throes of a rebellion.

The conditions were such that it required the whole of Dr. Hedin's courage and skill to bring the motorized expedition to a successful close.

On the outward journey the route lay via Inner and Outer Mongolia to Etsin Gol, Hami Korla with a diversion down the Kum Darya, and they returned via Anhsi, Suchow, Lianchow, Lanchow and Sian.

The disturbed conditions reacted on the expedition, for at one time they faced death from the Tungan forces of Ma Chung Ying, who commanded the lorries, and after surviving that danger and being suspect as helpers of the rebels they encountered overwhelming delay and obstruction from the Sinkiang provincial authorities, who, it was clear, had no desire to see communications improved by the Nanking authorities.

Throughout the account one can feel the tension which travel in Central Asia entails under present-day conditions.

The expedition were not entirely pioneers as regards motor transport, as on both the outward and return routes motor-buses had already used these tracks, but the account makes it clear that though motor transport can be coaxed along, provided stores of petrol and spares are forthcoming en route, yet without skilled and expensive road construction and maintenance the wear and tear on springs, differentials and engines is such that it will be

difficult for motor transport to compete with the camel either as regards cost, reliability or even speed. The sufferings of the motors are enough to dishearten anyone who is mechanically minded.

A valuable appendix brings the political events of those distant parts up to the summer of 1938, and indicates that perhaps even in 1933 the Chinese Foreign Office were anticipating to-day's events when they would be desperately dependent on these very routes for the transport of munitions from Soviet Russia for use by the Chinese Army now opposing the Japanese forces.

Throughout the account Dr. Hedin reveals himself as the true lover of the desert with its fresh air. He remarks of the windswept sand and gravel of the Gobi, its stunted trees and tussocky grass and waterless miles. "One can never have enough of it."

He enjoys camping in extremes of cold or heat, even though plagued by ravenous flies; and he perceives that the scenery is "magnificent." The reason is that he possesses the gifts of patience and philosophy which desert travel demands. One envies his journey, and his enthusiasm for the "Silk Road" and the days when that all-valuable commodity silk travelled several thousand miles from the Pacific across Central Asia to the Mediterranean. That was in days when the sea route from China to Europe was unknown.

The map at the end of the book is disastrous. Important towns, termini and road junctions referred to in the text are omitted; the map is not up to the standard of that contained in the companion volume by the same author, *The Flight of the White Horse*.

J. W. T. G.

THE HADHRAMAUT AND ITS PAST

By G. CATON THOMPSON

Verbatim Report of a lecture to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 9, 1938, Lord Lamington in the Chair.

WHEN, recently, I came to consider what I should say this afternoon, I found that, owing to my recklessness in christening weeks in advance my unborn lecture, I was officially tied to a figment of the imagination called *The Hadhramaut and its Past*.

The Hadhramaut you know. Even if you have not visited it—and that is still somewhat unlikely—you have heard of it, more than once, from an expert, Mr. Ingrams. And you have heard of it too from Miss Stark and perhaps others. But you have not before heard about its past, because none was known which could be confidently handled in a lecture by anyone not specialising in imaginative history.

History cannot be based upon a cloud of frankincense arising from hypothetical trade routes. And archæology deals with fact and not with theory. Yet that, I think, is not an unfair epitome of knowledge concerning the pre-Islamic Hadhramaut; nor are we very much better informed about the other three ancient kingdoms of Arabia Felix, the Minæan, the Sabæan and the Katabanian. Pre-Islamic chronology is dim in them all, suspended one might say, on slender threads of literary deductions, rather than on those corrective facts which it is the endeavour of archæology to contribute.

These literary sources of information about ancient South Arabia are multiple. Some, such as the biblical allusions, and the accounts left by the classical writers, and the medieval Arab geographers and historians, have been available down the ages. Others, such as the Assyrian and South Arabian inscriptions, have come to light only in the past century or less, and are an ever-growing body of information. More recently may be added late records from India of still uncertain value.

The classical writers to whom we are most indebted—Herodotus, Theophrastus, Eratosthenes the source of Strabo, Agatharchides, Diodorus, Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy the Geographer—lived between the fifth century B.C. and the second century A.D. Though their knowledge of contemporary Greek enterprise and Roman commerce in Eastern waters appears to have been considerable, their accounts of the

interior are based on credulous hearsay. The earliest of them, Herodotus—whose book on Arabia has perished, and who can measure the loss?—has left us scattered travellers' tales drawn from a contemporary explorer Schlax, who was commissioned by Darius the Great, about B.C. 510, to sail from India round Arabia to the Red Sea and to report on his journey.

All these classical writers of whatever date dwell on the importance of the incense and spice trade. Herodotus incidentally tells us that though myrrh was used by the Egyptians for embalming, frankincense was not thus used. Nevertheless the balls of incense found in the tomb of Tut-ank-amun, are probably frankincense, though it need not be assumed necessarily that it was the South Arabian product. It is often stated that frankincense grows only in two regions of the earth, South Arabia and Somaliland. But this narrows the true boundaries, which include both Abyssinia and the Eastern Sudan. It should, I think, be remembered when speculations are launched on the provenance of Egyptian incense in the sixth and eighteenth dynasties.

Theophrastus, writing about a hundred years later than Herodotus, tells us that "frankincense, myrrh, cassia and cinnamon have their origin in the Arabian Chersonese, in Saba and Adramyta."

Eratosthenes says, "The Katabanians produce frankincense and the Hadhramaut myrrh, and there is a trade in these and other spices with merchants who make the journey from Ælana (on the Gulf of Aqaba) to Minæa, in seventy days."

Diodorus, both in the first century B.C., erroneously supposing that all the luxuries traded by Arabian merchants were home-grown, whereas in fact we now know they were largely Indian or Indonesian, considered Arabia Felix so rich that all the treasures of the world seemed to be centred there.

Strabo tells us of the abortive military expedition under his friend Ælius Gallus, which was sent by Augustus about B.C. 26 to the Yemen to control the desert transit trade, and reports that there were five kingdoms and that the chief cities abounded in palaces and temples: a town of the Minæans was said to be of great size and Sabota, the capital of the Adramitæ, had sixty temples. Mr. Philby, when he recently examined the ruins of Sabota or Shabwa, unseen by any European until 1935, was disappointed by their modest appearance* and suggests that the identification may be wrong. That may indeed be so. Yet I do not think Strabo's report of sixty temples there is at all

* *Geographical Journal*, August, 1938, "The Land of Sheba," p. 112.

improbable, if we remember the incredible numbers of mosques built in modern Hadhramaut towns. Hureidha, for instance, with about 2,000 inhabitants, has eight or nine. Seiyun, with 20,000 inhabitants, has fifty. Terim, with about 12,000 inhabitants, is said to have sixty in use at a modest estimate, and another three hundred in disrepair!

Ptolemy, in the first century A.D., had heard enough about the Wadi Hadhramaut, the great artery of South-West Arabia, to place it boldly on his map.

And, to end an incomplete list, the first-century writer of the *Periplus* describes from personal knowledge the coast beyond Aden. "After Eudæmon Arabia is a continuous length of coast, and a bay extending 2,000 *stadia* or more, along which there are nomads and fish-eaters in villages. Just beyond the cape projecting from this bay there is another market town by the shore, Cana, of the Kingdom of Eleasus,* the Frankincense Country; and facing it there are two desert islands, one called the Island of Birds, the other Dome Island, 120 *stadia* from Cana. Inland from this place lies the metropolis Sabatha, in which the king lives. All the frankincense produced in the country is brought by camels to that place to be stored. . . . And this place has a trade also with the far side ports, with Barygaza and Scythia and Ommana and the neighbouring coast of Persia."

This is a good description of the coastline between Aden and Mukalla as we saw it from the air on the outward journey. As for the fish-eaters, the very camels eat dried fish for fodder; and the desert Island of Birds off Bir Ali was, when we passed it on the return journey by sea, being visited from a dhow by two enterprising Englishmen in search of a guano concession.

The South Arabian kingdoms of antiquity flit like shadows across the pages of the classics, for the Arabs guarded from covetous Western eyes the regions of their envied aromatic products, and maintained throughout the Græco-Roman period their position as prosperous intermediaries in the sea-borne trade of the Roman and Byzantine world with India and China. To the Greek and Roman Aden was, as it still is to practically all Europeans passing that way, the beginning and end of South Arabia.

No wonder the legend of the fabulous treasures of its inland cities grew in Western minds. The legend has been perpetuated in common currency by the biblical allusions—important because earlier than the classics; in particular the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel, written in

* Ili-Shariha.

the sixth century B.C., corrupt, but probably not more untruthful than the prospectus of a modern trading estate; and the tenth chapter of 1 Kings—a compilation probably also of the sixth century B.C. from many sources—which introduces Bilkis, who gave to Solomon, in the tenth century, gold and spices and precious stones. “There came no more such abundance of spices as these which the Queen of Sheba gave to King Solomon.” This lady and her legendary Shabwa connections have fared harshly in modern scholars’ hands. Hogarth, for instance, does not even mention her in his great work on Arabia; and Hitti in his *History of the Arabs* which appeared last year remarks, “If historical, the Queen of Sheba . . . must have had her headquarters neither in al Yaman nor in Ethiopia, but in one of those Sabæan posts or garrisons in the north on the caravan route.” Be that as it may, the reality of Solomon’s trade with the south and east cannot be doubted. In the ninth and tenth chapters of 1 Kings we read, “King Solomon made a fleet of ships in Ezion-Geber. . . . Once in three years the fleet of Tharsish came in bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks . . . a very great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.” The recent identification of the Ezion-Geber at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, and its excavation last winter by Dr. Glueck of the American School of Oriental Research has not only proved archæologically the importance of the place, which refined copper and iron ores on a large scale, but he has unearthed the sherds of a jar of the eighth century B.C. bearing two characters in South Arabian script.

Other biblical references in Jeremiah, Isaiah and Job emphasize the commercial importance of the frankincense trade from the tenth century B.C.

This scanty history has in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries been helped out by inscriptions. Most valuable of these are Assyrian annals of the eighth century B.C., for they provide an absolute dating absent in South Arabia itself, where dates are relative only. Thus the annals of Tiglath Pileser III. record that the Sabæans sent him gold, camels and spices, in tribute; and Sargon II., his successor, likewise received, about B.C. 715, gifts from a Sabæan chief named Yith-i-amara. Now rulers of that name occur on South Arabian inscriptions and thus we have that rare and precious thing cross-dating evidence, and the earliest fixed date apart from Dr. Glueck’s sherd yet known for certain in South Arabia.

Lastly we come to the voluminous indigenous inscriptions in the

peculiar South Arabic characters, some of which I can show you from my own excavations. The alphabet is related to Phœnician, the language is a link between North Arabic and Ethiopic. The first copies reached Europe in 1810, but were not then deciphered. About thirty years later, Wellstead in the Hadhramaut and Arnaud in Yemen collected a fresh number, and their decipherers laid the foundations of South Arabian epigraphy, with which the names of Halévy and Glaser, amongst others, were later to be associated. Well over three thousand inscriptions, mainly votive or commemorative, are known, chiefly from the Yemen. From their studies the names of numerous Sabæan and Minæan kings are known, but the chronology remains vague for dates before the Christian era.

Judaism and Christianity were fully established at various centres in South Arabia by the fourth or fifth century. Islam reached it, and superseded both Semitic paganism and Christianity during or soon after the lifetime of Mohamed, and the peculiar South Arabic script and spoken language are said to have died out only at this late date, to be replaced by the Arabic of the Koran.

Pre-Islamic religion seems to have centred on the worship of an astral triad; a solar goddess, Shems; a moon god, Sin; and Ishtar, Venus, also male.

Apart from the collections of inscriptions the only serious archaeological observations before the arrival of our party last November were those of Rathjens and von Wissmann in the Yemen where, near Sanaa, they excavated a fragmentary temple of sun worship; and Dr. Huzayyin's Egyptian Expedition of 1936, which excavated in the Yemen and passed through, but did not dig, in Hadhramaut. Their important results are unpublished, and about them I can only say that their conclusions appear to be in close accord with ours.

My contribution to the history of the Hadhramaut is not a record of public events in the past, of wars and conquests, rulers and alliances, boundaries and proclamations, but a restricted pioneer inquiry into the habits and customs and modest material achievements, inspired by foreign contacts, of a peaceful and doubtless unimportant community dwelling contentedly in a backwater, irrigating their fields, building their mud-brick houses and stone-brick temple, worshipping their god, and burying their dead. It is, I should suspect, fairly representative of what the Hadhramaut has to give us.*

* A slide was thrown on the screen showing a scene in a frankincense shed at Aden, where native women, veiled against the dust, grade the gum-resin. The

The few days at Mukalla were spent in a rapid examination of the geological features. The results of this side of the expedition were given in a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society on November 7 and form the subject of a paper to be published by them.* Suffice it here to say that old raised beaches and terraces were mapped by Miss Gardner, and the fact that palæolithic man inhabited the region was noted. We also took many photographs, particularly of architectural features such as doors, windows and cornices, because many of the designs are un-Arabic, and show the widespread heritage of South Arabian decorative art.

From Mukalla we motored in a hired lorry with five months' food and equipment, to Terim in the Wadi Hadhramaut, about 130 kilometres distant. Behind the coastal plain, 9 kilometres wide, rise the tangled foothills, scored by ravines twisting up into their breeding grounds in the great South Arabian scarp. This mighty buttress is, at its southern edge, some 1,000 metres high, and slopes gradually up to 3,000 metres, becoming increasingly more barren as the influence of the monsoon rains diminishes. Our first night under the stars was spent near the southern edge of the great plateau, or Jōl, as it is locally named. There were alarms in the night at the sound, in the utter stillness, of the sharp rattle of moving stones. Nothing happened, however, and at dawn we awoke, drenched in dew, to find that the culprit had been a roving donkey. Continuing our journey, we crossed the desolate, stony plateau and at nightfall camped on a thick carpet of very sharp stones near the cliffs overlooking the Wadi Hadhramaut. The watershed of this Jōl lies much nearer the southern than the northern edge; consequently the valleys draining into the Wadi Hadhramaut are long, and furrow the ground in innumerable parallel or interconverging lines.

They are, from the start, deeply entrenched. On the stony desert between them here, lay great numbers of palæoliths, of a type with which I am familiar in Egypt on similar tongues of plateau furrowed by ravines on the cliff edge of the Nile valley.

The descent into the great Wadi Hadhramaut, down the 250-metre cliffs, is a fine engineering achievement due to the enterprise of Seiyid

lecturer said: "The crop almost entirely still comes from Dhufar, east of Hadhramaut, as it did, I have no doubt, in antiquity. In the year 1933-34 4,616 cwt.—23 tons odd—reached Aden from the Arabian Gulf ports, valued at 41,595 Rs. The incense traffic is referred to by Marco Polo."

* G. Caton Thompson and E. W. Gardner: *Climate, Irrigation and Early Man in the Hadhramaut*.

Abu Bakr al-Kaf. The gradient is 1:3 or 1:4 and the hairpin bends are startling. Our overloaded lorry needed to be backed and coaxed round each, and in order to get a few additional millimetres of manœuvring room its attendants seized the boulders of the low parapet and hurled them over the edge. I regret to confess that a passion for photography overcame me and necessitated descent on foot.

The Wadi Hadhramaut, the second longest valley in Arabia, and the great trunk artery of the south-west, has many peculiar physical features which will keep physiographers happy for years to come. To begin with it is broad at its head, about forty miles broad, and narrow at its mouth on the Arabian Sea. At a guess, for time and tribal unrest made it impossible for us to study the crucial areas, one might surmise that in the remote past there was not one wadi but two wadis, and that headward erosion of the smaller one at the seaward end captured the inland drainage of the larger. The only Europeans who have seen the great wadi from end to end are Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams.

The cliffs, eaten back by erosion into an unending series of parallel bays and capes alike as two peas, are made up of a series of almost horizontal beds; the upper 200 metres are of limestone, Eocene above Cretaceous. The lowest Cretaceous bed is particularly massive and juts out like a rib beyond the overlying beds to form bold headlands. The more gentle slope below the valley floor is due to soft red sandstone, which erodes more rapidly than the limestone. The result is a thick mantle of brecciated scree, which almost hides the sandstone. Its formation must have begun far back in the valley's history, for not only does it plunge under the valley infilling, but it contains palæolithic implements of fairly early type. As I shall later show you, the pre-Islamic population cut their rock tombs in this scree. Another very remarkable feature of the Wadi Hadhramaut is its floor. This is a flat plain of fine sandy silt, and its formation is obviously the most important geological event in the valley's history since its original cutting. The depth is unknown, and is certainly great. There have been various speculations as to the age of these great gashes in the South Arabian plateau, and the idea has become current that their cutting was due to a great pluvial period contemporary with the European Ice Age. One of our tasks was to investigate the matter. Finally the relatively narrow bed of the present-day flood channel is notable. The distance at Seiyun across the valley from cliffs to cliffs is about two miles.

One of Miss Gardner's difficulties in the Wadi Hadhramaut in

respect of its geological history was the absence of a good section in the valley floor where the deposits could be studied at some depth; and absent, too, were the gravel terraces which in most great river valleys, from the Thames to the Nile, and from the Nile to the Indus, line their ancient banks, and date back to the Old Stone Age or before. This difficulty was overcome by our discovery of splendid sections in the valley floor of the Wadi Adim, a big tributary near Terim. Here the old silt filling, similar to that in the Wadi Hadhramaut, had been deeply ploughed by the flood channel, and 15 metres of deposit could be studied. It was found to be a deposit partly wind-laid, partly water-laid, and we have consequently named it æolian silt to bring it into line with similar valley silts in India and Burma. It overlies coarse gravels. These gravels dip out of sight before the point of junction with the Wadi Hadhramaut, and we may confidently guess that they plunge deeper and deeper and join similar buried gravels in the floor of the main valley.

Now one of the chief tasks confronting us was to date the formation of this great valley system, and see if in fact it *was* coeval with any part of the glacial epoch in Europe, or its equivalent, the pluvial epochs in Africa. In this task we were fortunate enough to discover valuable evidence in another great valley, the Wadi 'Amd, 100 kilometres or so west of the Wadi Adim.

Here, too, the æolian silt filling of the valley floor about a mile broad had been deeply furrowed by a relatively narrow flood channel, and, as in the Wadi Adim, these silts merge into gravels, and these in turn have at places been laid against the silt and cut into three terraces at 10, 5 and 3 metres above present flood level. In all of them palæolithic implements were found, as well as in the silt of the main filling. The types of these tools are similar to those on the coastal plain at Mukalla, on the Jōl, and in the screes of the inland valleys. They date the gravels and æolian silt in which they lie to a period towards the middle of the palæolithic. In other words, the very *top* of the great silt plain filling these Hadhramaut valleys—the latest geological thing in them—is as old as the latest glacial epoch in Europe: and the unknown but enormous depth of underlying filling, seen by man only during the sinking of wells and known to be plus 100 metres, must be immeasurably older. That being so, the cutting of these gigantic valleys, entrenched 300 metres in the limestone, must date back to a past immeasurably more remote than has been supposed, a past probably long pre-human, in the late Tertiary epoch. The im-

plications of these discoveries have been discussed in our paper to the Royal Geographical Society and certain climatic inferences drawn. I have suggested, too, on archæological grounds, that Arabia and Africa were already separated as early as the palæolithic period or before.

The two last months of the year were spent at Terim, Seiyun and Shibam, in the Wadi Hadhramaut. The skyscrapers of Shibam have by now been often photographed and described. It was *Ramadhan* and archæology was at a discount. I roved about in search of ancient sites. But though crude rock engravings of animals, accompanied by scrawls in the so-called Himyaritic, or South Arabian, characters were to be found, and denoted the passing of caravans and their semi-literate drivers, I had little success in locating ancient centres of importance, and much time was wasted by the party through illness of various kinds.

On December 20, Miss Gardner and I moved on westwards to the Wadi 'Amd. Miss Stark was then temporarily in hospital at Aden, but the decision to do trial excavations in a ruin-field near Hureidha had been agreed as a good strategic spot from the start.

The Hadhramaut, as I have said, is archæologically unknown ground; no date before the Christian era was fixed, nor, apart from inscriptions, was the material culture of the pre-Islamic past known. Almost anything might turn up. A prearranged plan of work in view of the uncertainties of the field was impossible. But objectives had to be clarified, and mine were broadly threefold. First, to bridge the gap in palæolithic distribution maps between East Africa and Asia. Second, to test it as an area of possible contact with the Makran coast, Mesopotamia and India in the third and fourth millennia. Thirdly, to investigate its material culture of the past, irrespective of date, and by its help to introduce for the first time dating, absolute or relative, into the early history. In the first of these objectives we were successful. In the second we drew a complete blank: I myself found, was shown by natives or observed in the miscellaneous antiquities gathered together in Aden, no single object which indicated such early contacts with the Hadhramaut. Whether they exist or not further work alone can tell.

Hureidha, where we lived in a modestly rented house until early March, lies about 850 metres above sea-level, in the Wadi 'Amd, under a headland of cliff.

The ruin-field lies about an hour's ride from the town on the barren plain of æolian silt, and did not look promising. Scattered stone rubble

heaps sprang from bare wind-swept ground and gave no hope of deposits. These heaps, at first puzzling, yielded to Miss Gardner's detailed mapping, and proved to be the relics of an ancient irrigation system of very great interest. Amongst the fields thus formerly cultivated were isolated sandy mounds obviously covering the sites of human habitation. Nearing the further cliffs the sand in one spot had drifted up into a great bank and this required explanation. Something on a big scale was obviously holding it up. Six local men and four boys were recruited from Hureidha and I put down test pits. The third struck stone masonry and I decided to excavate.

It was soon evident that the bank of sand covered the remains of a building, which we proceeded to clear. We found a temple measuring 17 by 10 metres, formed essentially of a raised platform made of big rubble blocks, and a superstructure of partition walls forming courts, vestibules and passages which, being mainly of plaster supported by slabs set on edge, had perished. A paving of finely dressed sandstone slabs remained intact over a considerable area. The layout consists of two stairways, leading through flagged forecourts, and a narrow central passage defined by plaster walls leading across an inscribed threshold to the main body of the building. Here all but isolated patches of paving had disappeared, but in it stood in double alignment the stumps of square-based pillars about three feet high, whose peculiar taper can be seen in the cross-section. If these are the stone stumps of roof-supporting columns, probably of wood, they are the only evidence which survives. But we need not, I think, assume that they indicate more than a small roofed edifice or *naos* erected on the otherwise open platform. The span of the columns, 2 to 3 metres, would be about the length of the rafter available in a land where long-planked trees are unobtainable. On the other hand, these stumps may not be structural at all, but *bætyls*, or sacred stones.

The outer walls are twenty-one courses high—nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres; they consist of sandstone rubble blocks laid in thick mud mortar in well-bonded courses. A coping of huge blocks with drafted borders and rusticated centres survived intermittently. The interior was packed with a dry filling of water-worn boulders. Upon these was spread a layer of small mortar-held gravel, which formed the bed of the flagged pavement. A bull-headed offering table was found.

At an early stage in the excavations it became clear that the temple was not the original one. An older façade was identified some 2 metres behind the existing one and eventually some 3 metres behind

that in turn the third, and oldest, was exposed. The earliest temple was a building $14\frac{1}{2}$ metres long and 10 wide, and had been added to and partly rebuilt. Its staircase was not identified; it may have been destroyed in the later reconstruction. The second building lost its oblong form, for its façade was a narrow-fronted rectangular projection. The third and final temple was again in the original oblong shape, but on a larger scale.

The circumambulatory pavement is consonant of that of the last façade, and, indeed, inscriptions were found in it which had been cut and reutilized as flagstones. Sherds were collected down to 2·8 metres below it, showing how much the external level had risen since the days of the original building.

The external buildings, or shrines as I venture to call them, were grouped at the foot of the south-west façade and must have been the latest additions, contemporary probably with, but in any case not earlier than, the latest of the three.

They consisted of small apsidal structures, consisting of a low kerb or bench of flags, surrounding a free-standing altar-like table; and inscribed slabs had been introduced into the bench. Passing eastwards the building became derelict, but traces of another similar structure can be traced with a similar central table.

Fifty-one inscriptions were found in this temple. Professor Ryckmans of Louvain is deciphering these, and I can say no more as yet than that inscription No. 4, beside the threshold of the pillar area, refers to the dedication of a fire altar to the moon god, Sin, by a man named Asamun, and mentions various restoration works. Another inscription refers to the restoration of the anterior façade of the temple.

The temple stood in an open plain undefended, and its constant use and rebuilding suggest a period of peace and security in that region for perhaps some 200 years. There is no direct dating evidence except the sherds of pottery. These, however, are similar to pots found in the graves near by; and the dating of both must be considered as a whole.

The graves were found in the scree slopes of the cliffs some 2 kilometres to the north and two were excavated. They consisted of circular rough-hewn caves about 8 metres in diameter, and 2·40 metres high. The interiors were filled to the roof with drift. The two caves in other respects differed so much in their burial arrangements that they must be considered separately. The first contained a rock-cut bench. Upon this lay a skull, without the lower jaw, and part of a

tibia. In the dust below the skull a blue glaze amulet was found. Strewn along the bench were nine pottery vessels. One of these, a footed goblet, bore a potter's inscription in South Arabian pre-Arabic characters around the flat collar of the brim. The floor of this cave-tomb presented an astonishing and disorderly mass of skulls, bones, pottery vessels and sherds. The human remains were in no case articulated, and though forty-two skulls, nearly all in fragments, were found, all but seven lacked lower jaws. Sixty more or less complete pottery vessels were recovered; these, along with the skulls, are the first of pre-Islamic date found in the controlled excavations in the Hadhramaut. Some are rough-faced porous ware, others of hæmatite polished smooth red ware.

The types sub-divide into fourteen or fifteen different forms. All are monochrome and hand-made and are the clumsy product of people then, as now, more familiar with the leather water-skin. The prevailing type is a pedestalled water-cooler or cup, made in several sizes. Most interesting perhaps is a series of small vessels in black ware resembling a feeding-cup with semi-enclosed top, minute spout, and a projecting tongue handle. The spout in some cases is theriomorphic; four are inscribed.

Besides the pottery the grave goods consisted of obsidian microliths, bronze penannular bangles, rings, earrings and tacks, probably from leather work now perished. Shells, large and small, were numerous, used as beads and amulets and the larger probably as receptacles. The beads were mainly of opaque glass—but some of carnelian, and amethyst were found, as well as bronze and two of gold wire. Foreign trinkets included a blue glaze amulet of Egyptian derivation, and a scarab. A bronze razor-blade is inscribed in Southern Arabic characters.

The second cave-tomb excavated was altogether different. The rock-hewn chamber was of the same circular shape and dimensions, but in its walls were cut, not one but eight benches, recessed and arranged in two tiers. All these were empty, and the single skull found here complete with jaw lay on the floor. Pottery of the same types as in the other tomb was present and similar beads. But far the most important objects there were a pair of seals of foreign origin.

The first tomb seems to be an ossuary; our second represents a family sepulchre. There is, however, no reason to doubt the two are more or less contemporary. It seems reasonable to suppose that from time to time the family vaults were cleared to make place for later arrivals, and the ancestral bones, fragmentary and disarticulated, were



IMPRESSIONS OF SEALS FOUND IN ANCIENT TOMBS.

1. Agate Seal. 2, 3. Obverse and reverse of black stone seal.
4. Blue glaze scaraboid.

transferred to communal ossuaries, along with such grave goods as piety deemed necessary or acquisitiveness allowed. Probably a period of several generations is represented, and in this connection we must remember that the temple was reconstructed twice, and that the earlier inscriptions had, by the end, lost their original significance and were cut down or plastered over in a manner recalling the oblivion which sometimes overtakes commemorative slabs of a vanished generation in our own parish churches. In short, I postulate both in temple and tombs a dating range of at least a couple of hundred years.

The earliest possible dating rests on the cross-evidence given by the pair of foreign seals. One of them, seen in cast, top left, is an agate lentoid, engraved with a tall, bird-headed human figure. It stands in an attitude of worship before a stylised plant. The second seal, in black stone, is double-sided (two impressions middle top). One side shows a winged demon or hero holding two suspended animals; the other a kneeling man between two rampant heraldic lions.

Experts consider that the style points consistently to Achæmenid rather than Neobabylonian prototypes. The earliest possible date therefore lies, in their country of origin, but not, of course, necessarily in South Arabia, between the sixth and fourth century B.C.

The latest elements in our dating material from these sites are Roman beads. In short, we arrive at dating limits which comprise just the period in the history of South-Western Arabia which the classical writers depict as the zenith of prosperity.

The skulls are now in the hands of Dr. Morant of University College and details are not yet available. They are, however, markedly long-headed, which is a matter of considerable importance, for medium and short heads now form a high proportion of the population.

I have in the compass of a lecture been able to do no more than sketch you an outline of part only of the work. That work in turn was, inevitably, but an outline sketch of all that needs to be done in those strange, deeply sunk, unending valleys. But at least we have made a beginning.

In closing the lecture the CHAIRMAN (Lord Lamington) said he must congratulate Miss Caton-Thompson on being the first archæologist to work in the Hadhramaut and at her first effort to have uncovered a valuable site. Her slides had been beautiful. He continued that to him it was extraordinary to note how the Hadhramaut, a remote and so lately a wild Arabian country, had in the last few years been safely

opened to a few travellers. This was largely due to Sir Bernard Reilly, the Governor of Aden, in the first place, and then to the splendid work of Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, and also to the help they had received from some of the big Sheikhs of the district, such as Abu Bakr al-Kaf.

A peculiarity about it was that whilst the administration of the country largely rested on Aden and the West, its commercial affairs were mainly conducted with Eastern countries. It was a most interesting country and would, he felt sure, prosper under the present régime. He hoped Miss Caton-Thompson and her friends, Miss Freya Stark and Miss Gardner, might return there to continue their work. He thanked her in the name of the Society for her very clear and valuable lecture.

THE WOODHEAD REPORT, AND AFTER

By L. BAKSTANSKY

WHEN their terms of reference of the Woodhead Commission were published on December 23, 1937, the Partition Commission became known in Palestine as the Repeal (Re-Peel) Commission.

It is now clear that the policy of Partition was destroyed not by the Woodhead Commission, but by the instructions of His Majesty's Government. The Royal Commission did not content themselves with the advancement of the principle of Partition, but they also submitted the main outlines of a scheme of Partition which was based upon the following considerations :

1. No frontier can be drawn which separates all Arabs from all Jews.
2. While the separation of Jewish settlement from Arab occupation is a basis for Partition, " a reasonable allowance is made within the boundaries of the Jewish State for the growth of population and colonization."
3. Reasonable compensation to the Arab State for the loss of land and revenue (pp. 383 and 384 of the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, July, 1937).

Similar considerations governed the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission to the Council of the League in September, 1937: " Any solution to prove acceptable should therefore deprive the Arabs of as small a number as possible of the places to which they attach particular value. . . . And, further, the areas allotted to the Jews should be sufficiently extensive, fertile and well-situated from the point of view of communications by sea and land, to be capable of intensive economic development, and consequently of dense and rapid settlement. . . ."

Very different, however, were the terms of reference set by His Majesty's Government to the Woodhead Commission. This Commission was invited to recommend boundaries which shall, among other things, " necessitate the inclusion of the fewest possible Arabs and Arab enterprises in the Jewish area and *vice versa*."

This fundamental difference between the basic approach of the

Royal Commission and the Permanent Mandates Commission on the one hand and that of the British Government on the other recalls the conflict which has throughout the period of the Mandate made itself felt in the administration of Palestine. The Jewish National Home policy, as is well known, has found few friends among the "men on the spot." Various attempts were made by the Palestine Administration to crystallize the Jewish National Home and to curtail its development through artificial restrictions upon immigration. This spirit dominated the reports of the Haycraft and the Shaw Commissions, as well as the Hope-Simpson Report. On the other hand, forces in Government House in Jerusalem, as well as in Whitehall, sometimes appeared which were anxious to do full justice to the Balfour Declaration, and the provisions of the Palestine Mandate. They were invariably supported by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League. The climax was reached with the report of the Peel Commission, which emphatically rejected the policy of crystallization in its insistence upon the possibilities of future expansion and growth of the Jewish National Home. This policy has unfortunately suffered a complete reversal in the terms of reference of the Woodhead Commission. For this Commission was instructed to base its verdict upon the present Jewish and Arab possessions in Palestine, and no reference was made to the considerations essential to the sound development of the Jewish National Home. The Woodhead Commission very soon came to realize that they were given a mathematical problem which was almost insoluble: "If the fewest possible Arabs are to be included in the Jewish State, as our terms of reference direct, the Jewish State cannot be a large one, nor can it contain areas capable of development and settlement in the sense which the Permanent Mandates Commission evidently had in mind" (p. 233). The actual Partition proposal which the majority of the Woodhead Commission (two out of four members) did submit in conclusion, provided for the establishment of a Jewish State, which comprises an area of less than one-twentieth of the whole of Western Palestine—three hundred acres—and less than one-hundredth of the area indicated by the Royal Commission as having been intended in 1917 for the National Home. This effectively demonstrates the process of *reductio ad absurdum* which was chosen for the Woodhead Commission to pursue. This proposal, as Sir Alison Russell points out in his note of reservations, does not comply with the obligations of Great Britain to the Jewish people. The Jewish State offered by the Woodhead Commission would dismember the existing Jewish effort in

Palestine by excluding from that State the greater part of Jewish land-holdings and the most important areas of Jewish settlement. This appears to have been too much even for His Majesty's Government, although they must bear primary responsibility for this absurd creation which will go down as one of the greatest "curios" in the history of Palestine reports.

Some of the *obiter dicta* of the Woodhead Commission bear out the main impression gathered by the members of the Royal Commission during their visit to Palestine. Note is taken of the unprecedented rate of the natural increase in the existing indigenous population, which is greater than that of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and the Argentine.

The function of Jewish enterprise in the development of Palestine finds emphasis in the following remark: ". . . Since such employment can only be provided by capital, and, with few exceptions, capital is only likely to be invested in Palestine by Jews, the future for the Arab population is already menacing, unless Jewish immigration and Jewish imports of capital are allowed to continue" (p. 30).

But with all respect to the members of the Woodhead Commission, it may well be that the future historian will conclude that, just as in the case of the Shaw Commission report the part which contains an enduring value is the minority report of the (then) Harry Snell, in the case of the Woodhead Report it is the reservations of Sir Alison Russell which will be remembered long after the conclusions of this report have been forgotten. Sir Alison displays a vivid insight into the chief factors governing the situation in Palestine. Unlike the other members of the Commission, he is alive to the main consideration relevant to the Palestine question—*i.e.*, the international obligation of Great Britain to the Jewish people to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home. "It is essential to bear in mind the Jewish support which was given to the Allies in the Great War and that the Jews have expressly been declared to be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance" (p. 250).

"It has been alleged that the Jews have acquired the best land in Palestine. It does not appear to me a fair statement. That much of the land now in the possession of the Jews has become the best land is a truer statement" (p. 256).

And the following statement of Sir Alison Russell is perhaps the most cogent comment on the whole of the Report of the Woodhead Commission: "It is necessary, in my opinion, not to allow judgment

to be determined solely by a consideration of what the Arabs may do, without also considering what the Jews may do" (p. 261).

The policy of the Peel Commission has been destroyed by the work of the Technical Commission. But if Partition is dead, the Mandate lives and will endure. It was not the Jews who declared the Mandate unworkable; but few impartial observers will deny the statement that the Mandate has not been given a fair chance. Indeed, it has not been worked.

The Zionist Organization is prepared to co-operate with the Government in the discussions which are now imminent in the hope that they may pave the way for a lasting Arab-Jewish understanding and with the determination to assist the Government in leading towards such a result. It should be recalled that over a year ago, almost immediately after the publication of the Royal Commission's Report, it was the Jewish Agency which requested His Majesty's Government to convene an Arab-Jewish Conference. It must, however, be remembered that the Jewish Agency cannot be a party to a settlement which will either impose artificial restrictions upon Jewish immigration or which will condemn the Jews to the status of a permanent minority in Palestine. The Jews are a minority all over the world, and as the Royal Commission with a true insight appreciated, Zionism is the escape from minority status. The Jews cannot be said to be in Palestine as of right if their immigration into that country is to be dependent upon political, social and psychological considerations, or, in brief, upon the attitude of the Arabs. There is only one equitable and practicable basis for the determination of immigration: the economic capacity of the country to absorb more immigrants.

In considering the deliberations of the forthcoming Conference, one must also remember that the Arabs and the Jews are not equal in their capacity for concessions. The Arabs are entering the Conference as a people who, as a result of the war and particularly through the assistance of this country, have had independence granted to them in Iraq, Trans-Jordan, Arabia, and soon also Syria and Lebanon—*i.e.*, in an area which by its size exceeds a million and one hundred thousand square miles and is greater than the western part of Europe. The Arabs do not suffer from homelessness or from a minority status in countries of dispersion. Most of the Arab countries are under-populated and undeveloped, and, as in the case of Iraq, in urgent need of greater population and of capital which shall develop the resources of the

territory. As to the Jews, the facts are familiar; all they have been promised in the little notch of Palestine, and their difficulties have been accentuated a thousandfold by the recent cruel barbarism which has accompanied the emergence of the Hitler system. Whilst the Jewish National Home originally related to a territory of 45,000 square miles, this has been ruthlessly cut down in 1921 by the elimination of Trans Jordan, reserving for the Jewish National Home an area of only 10,000 square miles. Where, and how, can the Jews make further concessions? Various territories throughout the world may afford temporary refuge for individual Jewish refugees, mostly in limited numbers, but only Palestine can afford a radical solution to the main aspect of the world Jewish problem—only Palestine can abolish the universal minority status which is the fate of the Jew in the lands of his dispersion. And only the Jewish National Home can terminate the age-long homelessness and persecution of one of the most ancient of races.

REVIEWS

Palestine Diary. By Lieut.-Colonel F. H. Kisch, C.B.E., D.S.O., with a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. D. Lloyd George, O.M., M.P. Pp. 478. London: Gollancz. 1938. 18s.

Colonel Kisch was Chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive from 1923 to 1931. His office brought him into close touch not only with all the leading Jews in Palestine and in the outer world, but also with the first three High Commissioners and with many officials of the Palestine Administration.

He wisely saw fit to keep a daily record of his doings and impressions, and the *Diary* which is now published, nearly in its original form, covers the period of eight and a half years during which the author held the position of what is tantamount to chief liaison officer between the Jewish community and the Palestine Government. The book is divided into eighteen parts, three of which are entitled "Retrospective Summary," covering periods during which no daily entry was made, and one is a "Postscript," dated March, 1938.

The *Diary* was posted, as written, in weekly instalments to Dr. Weizmann, the London Executive, and others, and must have proved of great value and interest to the recipients as a faithful day-to-day record of events in Palestine.

As Chairman of the Palestine Zionist Executive, there rested upon Colonel Kisch's shoulders, as Dr. Weizmann said, the chief responsibility for the up-building of Jewish Palestine, and it is from this point of view, and from that of the official spokesman at Jerusalem of the Zionist movement, that the *Diary*, of course, is written. Nevertheless, a careful perusal of the book leaves the reader with the impression that its author, while never failing to uphold the Zionist ideal, was able to appreciate the other standpoint. The words applied by the author to the unfortunate Dr. Arlosoroff might indeed be adapted to himself: "His Zionist convictions are tempered by a freedom from chauvinism, and an ability to see what is real and unalterable in Arab political aspirations."

With most of the British officials he was on friendly, with some on intimate, terms: his unflinching courtesy compelled even those who differed most from him at least to listen, if not to agree. The *Diary* is entirely free from personal acrimony. He aims a few blows here and there, as might be expected, but he never hits below the belt, and his criticisms of individuals are moderate and—from his point of view—not always undeserved. The tone of the *Diary* is indeed remarkable for its restraint, even when dealing with matters of serious controversy.

Colonel Kisch gave up a distinguished military career when he accepted the invitation of the Zionist Organization to proceed to Palestine towards the end of 1922 as its official representative. He must have had many searchings of heart before he decided, over eight years later, to resign from

his post. One reason only among others is indicated for this step. In a long interview with Sir John Chancellor on June 24, 1931, he told the High Commissioner: "One of the reasons which prompted my decision to retire from the Jewish Agency was that during H.E.'s tenure of office the opportunities for effective co-operation between the Agency and the Government in the application of the Mandate had been very much reduced."

Colonel Kisch possessed great advantages for the post. As an old Cliftonian and as a British officer of standing he was able to meet and converse with the High Commissioner and the Chief Secretary, with whom at times he was in almost daily contact, on their own ground: he "spoke the same language" both in the accepted and in the more literal sense. The late Sir Gilbert Clayton once said to a friend: "Kisch grows more Jewish every day, but after all you can never forget that you are talking to an Englishman." Moreover, as an English Jew he was able accurately to interpret the British point of view to his colleagues on the Executive, and to the *Yishuv* in general, in a way no foreigner could hope to do. But his difficulties were immense. For Lord Plumer he has nothing but admiration, but with the other two High Commissioners he frequently crossed swords. Sir Herbert (now Viscount) Samuel, who as a fellow Jew might have been expected to see eye to eye with him, did not (in the author's view) go far or fast enough to satisfy Zionist aspirations. Sir John Chancellor's attitude Colonel Kisch is at pains to explain (December 8, 1930) "only on the assumption that he believes the absurd allegation that the *Yishuv* is inimical to England, and that he therefore regards it as his duty to oppose any accession to our strength." This censure of Sir John is certainly not justified: his restriction of immigration was based on the belief that any other policy was opposed to the second part of the Balfour Declaration. Sir Herbert, too, was a far-seeing statesman, who believed, like the great Lord Cromer, in "going slow," and was equally determined, even more perhaps because he was a Jew, not to lose sight of the Arab case.

On the other hand, though Colonel Kisch adopted Palestinian nationality (while wisely though with some difficulty retaining his British nationality as well), studied to keep his orthodoxy intact by observance of the Sabbath and regular attendance at Synagogue, learnt Hebrew and worked laboriously in the cause of Zionism, he did not escape severe criticism from such men as Ussishkin and Jabotinsky, and from such bodies as the *Agudath Israel*.

The history of Palestine as described in these pages is, except for the three years of Lord Plumer's régime, a history of anxiety and unrest. The record of Jewish progress is interrupted by references to incidents and outbreaks, culminating in the riots of 1929. With the various Commissions that visited the country in 1929, 1930 and 1931 Colonel Kisch maintained close contact, and it was mainly owing to his influence that the protagonists were represented by counsel before the Shaw Commission. With their Report, and the White Paper that followed the Report, Colonel Kisch was, like the rest of the Jewish world, bitterly disappointed; and it is of interest to be reminded to what an extent Jewish spirits were revived, as we know that Arab hopes were downcast, by the Prime Minister's letter to Dr. Weizmann.

Indeed the letter, while purporting to "interpret" the White Paper, was in effect its denial. It was perhaps hardly surprising that in Arab circles it became known as the "Black Paper."

The story of the Western or Wailing Wall is well and fairly described. The author was largely responsible for obtaining such concessions as were eventually made to the Jews by the International Commission that settled the dispute, and, in a matter where it was obviously impossible to satisfy both sides, his influence in calming Jewish resentment at the decision was of undoubted value.

In his dealings with the Arabs, Colonel Kisch did his utmost to maintain friendly relations. In 1924, and again in 1931, he visited King Hussein at Amman, and on both occasions was cordially received. The entry under January 27, 1924, contains the following remarkable passage: "On the conclusion of the reading of the address [in which Colonel Kisch had greeted him in the name of the Jewish world] the King stated that the Arabs would always stand for justice. They had revolted against the Turks in order to defend their rights, and the Jews should now help to defend the rights of the Arabs. The Arabs were ready to accept the help of the Jews towards that end. He himself would never differentiate against the Jews. Then—opening wide his cloak—the King said that his heart was open to the Jews, and his lands also. He was ready to give land free to the Jews provided they would enter through the door and not make a breach in the walls. The future would prove his sincerity in a striking manner, and would show that the Jews had nothing to fear from the Arabs." In a subsequent conversation, however, the King stated that before he could help in a practical manner it was necessary for the Jews to gain the confidence of the Arabs.

There, no doubt, was the crux of the whole question. How was it possible to gain Arab confidence when the National Home, as seen through Jewish eyes, implied unlimited immigration? Who could tell what the end would be? The fear of an eventual Jewish majority and possible domination was always lurking in the Arab mind, and nothing that the British Government, still less the spokesman of the Jewish Agency, said could eradicate that fear. Colonel Kisch certainly held out the right hand of friendship, but was he not (the Arabs thought) hiding in his left hand something they could not prove but instinctively believed to exist—a hope, unexpressed perhaps, but definitely a hope, of turning Palestine into a Jewish State? Dr. Weizmann had made use of an expression on one occasion of "making Palestine as Jewish as England is English": and how could Colonel Kisch win the confidence of the Arabs, charm he never so wisely, when they believed, rightly or wrongly, that Jewish promises meant one thing and Jewish aspirations another? Nevertheless, up to the date of his retirement, Colonel Kisch continued to keep in touch with many of the Arab leaders (with the noted exception of the Mufti, who steadfastly refused to meet him); he even succeeded in maintaining cordial relations with the Amir Abdallah, with Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, and with a few others, whom he never tired of assuring of Jewish friendship or of promising Jewish co-operation.

On the other hand, he was insistent on the Jews playing fair. He criticizes severely the action of the Jewish daily, the *Doar Hayom*, on more than one occasion, and the *Diary* reveals the scant respect he has for either Revisionists or Communists. With the *Brith Shalom*, too, he had little sympathy, not because of their aims of promoting Jewish-Arab co-operation, with which he whole-heartedly agreed, but because this society was unofficial and therefore suspect. This was regrettable, as the *Brith Shalom* contained many earnest and moderate Jews (among them Dr. Magnes, first Chancellor of the University), whose influence would have been valuable in improving Arab relations.

On the attitude to Zionism of the Palestine Administration in general, Colonel Kisch quotes a British visitor as saying to him in March, 1931: "Government circles, almost without exception, seem definitely hostile to Zionist effort." The diarist concurs with this view, and adds: "The highest authorities at the Colonial Office and in Jerusalem have set the note which a proportion of the officials follow with relish, while the rest—with a few notable exceptions—not unnaturally fall into line." Not long after, he repeated this view to the O'Donnell Commission: "The Administration could not be expected to function effectively so long as the head of the Government and a number of senior officials appeared to be definitely out of sympathy with the conception of the Jewish National Home as incorporated in the Mandate." Is this a true indictment? We believe it to be partly true, partly false.

With certain aspects of Zionism most British officials were and are in sympathy: where they differed from many Zionists was in the degree to which Zionism should be allowed to develop in Palestine. They could not fail to admire the spiritual urge that is the basis of Zionism; the efforts made in the settlements; the results that were so apparent in agriculture, in horticulture, and in forestry; the determination to make progress in education and health; the passionate love of music and the arts; the cultural spirit which evolved the *Habimah* and the Hebrew University. But they disliked the attitude of arrogance and aloofness so often displayed by the more recent immigrants, and they shared the Arabs' fear of future domination. The Arab was admittedly backward; but was not this a good reason for doing all one could for him? The Jews after all had their world-wide organization and immense wealth behind them: the Arabs had no one to help them but a benevolent Government. This feeling for the "under-dog" often made it appear that the British official favoured the Arab rather than the Jew, and the natural affinity which undoubtedly exists between the average Englishman and the Arab tended to increase this view. But of anti-Zionism in its non-political aspects, still less of anti-Semitism, there were few signs among the great majority of Englishmen who served then or later in the Administration, and many close and lasting friendships existed between Jews and British in Palestine.

The "Postscript," which deals with the seven years from 1931 to 1938, covering the period of the High Commissionership of Sir Arthur Wauchop, when Colonel Kisch was no longer a member of the Jewish

Agency, fills only eleven pages. Here, *inter alia*, Colonel Kisch attempts to answer the question: "Does Partition offer a solution?" In the light of the Woodhead Report and the Statement of Policy published on November 9 last, any answer to this question is now perhaps only academic. But it is interesting to find that Colonel Kisch, though he does not agree that the mandate is unworkable, is not opposed in principle to Partition, provided the Jewish State is so enlarged as to include the Negeb in the south of Palestine. But he would favour some form of federation between the two States and the mandated territory. This scheme, not to be confused with cantonization, he believes would avoid "that physical mutilation of the country which many see in Partition, while at the same time eliminating some of the grave technical problems which appear almost insoluble" (and have so appeared since to the Woodhead Commission) under the proposals of the Royal Commission.

Palestine Diary, which is well indexed and illustrated by some striking photographs, is a valuable contribution to the literature on that country. Though it covers a period which is by now past history, and of which the facts are broadly known, it contains much that is fresh and much that is interesting. Colonel Kisch has acted wisely in allowing its publication, and he is to be commended alike for its candour and its restraint.

H. E. B.

Fulfilment in the Promised Land, 1917-1937. By Norman Bentwich. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6". Pp. x + 246. End-paper; map. London: The Soncino Press. 8s. 6d.

A spate of books on Palestine has come from the press during the course of the past few months, treating every aspect of the country and its problems from every point of view. This work is not in the same category as the others. It is not the impressions of a casual visitor who has landed at Tel-Aviv, spent a fortnight at Jerusalem, and gone down to bathe in the Dead Sea. It is not the special pleading of a propagandist. It is the restrained report of an expert, who knows the country as few men do—who visited it more than once while it was still under Turkish rule, who was intimately associated with the British Military, and then Civil, administration, and who is now a member of the academic staff of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. No man is qualified to speak with more authority about the country, on the basis of a quarter of a century's unbroken and intimate and at the same time multilateral association with its work.

And, with these qualifications, Professor Bentwich has written precisely the book on Palestine which was needed. Problems tend to blind the eyes of the world to achievement. Enthusiasts naturally minimize difficulties. In the flush of material progress the spiritual triumphs have sometimes been overlooked. Professor Bentwich's is the only recent volume which takes all of these facets into account. The amount of information which he has been able to pack into his two hundred and fifty pages is remarkable. There is

the background of the New Palestine and the Balfour Declaration, the economic structure and the institutions which it has evolved, the agricultural settlements which are trying to set up a new social order and the new cities which have reconciled East and West, the regathering of the Diaspora and the coming of the Germans, the cultural development and the miracle of the Hebrew revival, the archæological discoveries and the revitalization of religion, the Judæo-Arab problem and the prospects for the future. All this is passed in review by the author, with approval which never quite rises to enthusiasm and in a dry staccato style which seems to have been deliberately adopted to exclude eloquence. It is without question the best handbook to the Palestine question in existence; all the more useful for the purpose, since neither in arrangement nor in format is there anything to recall the repellent handbook tradition. (The elegance extends to the jacket and end-papers, which comprise an admirable map of the New Palestine. It is an amusing occupation for a winter's evening to spot mistakes in the script, and speculate whose handwriting was responsible for them in the first instance.)

The author writes as a lawyer as well as a Jew; and his personal sympathies never overwhelm his judicial mind. He does not minimize the difficulties of Judæo-Arab relationships and the mistakes made in former days, though he accentuates the benefit that has accrued to the Arabs through the Jewish immigration and the absence, notwithstanding what propagandists say, of individual hardship. (The "dispossessed Arab," of whom such capital is made, is in fact a mythical being. The figures of Jewish immigration to the country give, of course, a very misleading picture in this respect, as the vast majority of the recent arrivals are concentrated in completely new urban areas, and have no effect on the Arab population other than increasing its markets and improving its standard of living.) Professor Bentwich points out that, in the past, populations whose relations have been far more bitter than those of Jew and Arab in Palestine have more than once settled down together in amity to develop their common country; and he is confident that the day is not far off when prosperity will once more come to those who love Jerusalem and pray for her peace. This the Jews have done for two thousand years and more; they cannot prove false to that sacred trust.

There are two directions in which Professor Bentwich sees great possibilities for future development. One is the Negeb, with its agricultural potentialities; one is Akaba, which may well become a great port if the new-found maritime enthusiasm of Jewish Palestine is allowed its chance. Neither development could entail hardship for the exiguous existing population; either might provide a new life and a new hope for thousands—perhaps tens of thousands—of dispossessed Central European Jews. Is there any moral justification for mankind to close the gates?

C. R.

Collective Adventure: An Informal Account of the Communal Settlements in Palestine. By M. Pearlman. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. x + 292. Illustrations. Heinemann. 10s. 6d.

From many points of view the experiment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine holds an interest quite out of proportion to its size. It is an attempt at nation-building, or perhaps one should say rebuilding, almost without precedent in history. Nor has the attempt failed to encounter many difficulties in its path to realization. Of the political difficulties much has been written, and Mr. Pearlman himself has many pungent remarks on this subject dotted throughout his book. Of the other difficulties this work is perhaps the first attempt in the English language at a survey.

It was not easy for a people dispersed throughout the world, nursed in a score of different cultures and conventions, and withal forced by historical circumstances into an unbalanced and incomplete economic structure, suddenly to turn to the task of fashioning for itself the conditions of economic and psychological normality. The task demanded from those who engaged themselves in it a preparedness and ability to cut themselves loose from accumulated habits, and to launch forth on a new course with nothing to guide them but their own determination to make a success. In an atmosphere of that kind it is natural to expect the growth of social and economic experimentation. The Communal Settlement is a matured product of that experimentation.

Partly as a result of a deep-seated desire to build the National Home on foundations of social justice, and partly as the result of hard physical conditions which taught the value of mutual self-help, the Jewish pioneers in Palestine sought at the very commencement of their activities the path of co-operation. The collective settlement, or *Kvutsa*, as it is called in Hebrew, reflects even to-day its twofold origin. For some it is simply the most convenient form of co-operation among a pioneering community whose first need is to break new ground, and to gain an economic foothold; but for the collective settlers themselves the *Kvutsa* is an ideal form of society, valuable in itself, desirable and workable in all conditions.

In the *Kvutsa* the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" is applied in practice. Land is owned not by individual members in undivided shares, but by the community as a whole, which, as a co-operative society, is a legal personality. Not land alone, but houses, stock, machinery are all owned in common. The community is governed by the General Assembly, which consists of all the members. It is this Assembly which discusses the various problems and which elects committees to deal with them. Of these committees, the most important is the Committee for the Apportionment of Labour, for it is this body which allots each member his task. Members are not paid for their work; indeed, money has no place in the *Kvutsa* at all, though it is, of course, used in relations with outside bodies. For just as work is pooled, so services of all kinds are made available to each member. A central kitchen cooks for him; the laundry washes his clothes, the shoemaker provides his boots, the library provides his reading material.

In the early stages of a *Kvutsa's* development there is neither time nor money for luxuries, or even, perhaps, for minor comforts. The settler is prepared, for example, to live in a tent for two years and to use any money available for the building of a stone house for the children or for the stock. As the settlement develops, however, and succeeds in paying its way, money becomes available for the increasing of the members' standard of living: stone houses replace wooden huts and tents; the library and music room are enlarged; and, moreover, it is possible to set aside a portion of the budget for the satisfaction of the personal needs of each individual settler.

Mr. Pearlman, who spent many months living and working in the collective settlements, has admirably described their spirit and character. He has shown how at the basis of the settlements lies the voluntary agreement of each member to participate in the common life, and how their development is moulded by the passionate desire of the members for the highest cultural standards that can be achieved as a result of their labour. In no respect is this desire more clearly revealed than in the care lavished on the children. They are the first to live in stone houses, and, whatever the cost to the general standard of life, they receive all they require for health, comfort, and education. But they are brought up, from earliest infancy, to follow the cult of their parents, which, to summarize it in one of their own phrases, is the "dignity of labour." This book describes how the settlers affirm this dignity in their insistence on the fact that manual labour does not necessarily involve the impoverishment of intellect or taste, and how they are creating a rich cultural existence in their free society.

The first *Kvutsa* recently celebrated its thirtieth anniversary, and already the first children to be born in the *Kvutsa* have taken their place with their parents, and have even gone out to form new settlements. The *Kvutsa* has thus, in effect, ceased to be an experiment, and has hardened into a living and self-perpetuating fact. Organized nationally throughout Palestine, the collective settlements play an increasingly larger rôle in the economic and spiritual life of the country.

Mr. Pearlman has rendered a great service in making available in his very readable book a balanced and stimulating account of the life and problems of a new form of society which has sprung into existence under the stimulus of an old people returning to its ancient land.

A. H.

PALESTINE COMMISSION REPORT

BY DR. IZZAT TANNOUS

DURING the last twenty years Palestine has suffered no fewer than seven major disturbances. And no less than seven British Commissions were also appointed, the last two being the Peel Commission (Royal Commission) and the Woodhead Commission (Technical Commission).

The Royal Commission left for Palestine in October, 1936, to "ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances" and "to make recommendations for their removal and for the prevention of their recurrence." Their terms of reference were extremely wide and hopes were cherished by the Arabs that their case would, for the first time, be examined in full.

However, the Royal Commission missed its unique opportunity. While going into the Jewish historical background as far back as 2000 years B.C., and into the question of the obligations implied in the Balfour Declaration, the Royal Commission ignored many "declarations" given to the Arabs and referring to the Hussein-McMahon Treaty it says:

"We have not considered that our terms of reference required us to undertake the detailed and lengthy research among the documents of twenty years ago which would be needed for a full re-examination of this issue. We think it sufficient for the purpose of this Report to state that the British Government has never accepted the Arab Case."

The Arabs believe that the refusal to re-examine these pledges, which only date back to twenty years ago, while on the other hand the Commission finds it necessary, in order "to explain how this unhappy situation came about," to study Jewish history as far back as 2000 years B.C., has its meaning and significance.

This inequality makes the Royal Commission's survey incomplete and vitiates its conclusions and recommendations.

Giving the Jews the historical right in Palestine, the Royal Commission dealt with the problem as a "conflict of right with right," and recommended a scheme of Partition. His Majesty's Government, without serious meditation, adopted the policy of Partition.

The Arabs one and all opposed this policy most vehemently, and the persistence of the Government in it led them into open rebellion.

The Woodhead Commission was sent to Palestine last May to draw up boundaries for a scheme of Partition which would seem to them equitable and practicable to the parties concerned. Their terms of reference were limited to Partition.

The Technical Commission's Report was published on November 9. On reading it, one cannot but have full sympathy with its authors, who for six long months in Palestine and in England were anxiously striving to comply with the wishes of His Majesty's Government. Their task was a hopeless one. The members of the Commission could not agree on the boundaries they were sent to define.

The Commission clearly demonstrated the extreme difficulties which would be encountered by enforcing any scheme of Partition and the confusion it would bring about. The satisfaction which Partition was supposed to bring to the Jews and the Arabs, in the imagination of the Royal Commission, was shown to be non-existent.

Realizing this fact, His Majesty's Government immediately abandoned its policy and called for negotiations. The great practical value of the Woodhead report was that it dismissed Partition. That being accomplished, the report, in addition, supplies us with some valuable statistics and information.

Some inferences may be drawn :

1. The limits of probable land development in Palestine are extremely small and at their best they afford very little room for new colonists. The Commission says : " The result of well-boring experiments in the Beersheba district are most disappointing."

There is land hunger in Palestine and in Transjordan (pages 65 and 272).

2. The rapid increase in the Arab population because of the very high birth-rate (the highest in the world) is a serious problem. Provision must be made for this increase and soon Palestine, in this connection, will have its own problem to solve.

3. It was admitted that unemployment was a serious problem in Palestine and " the two races are now in competition for land and labour, the needs of both being very great in the extreme " (page 272).

It was predicted by the Arabs that the Partition scheme would fail because of its unfairness. The policy that will succeed is one based

on the natural rights of the inhabitants and on the principle of self-determination.

The most hopeful solution for all Palestinians, Arabs and Jews alike, is that propounded by the Iraqi Foreign Minister. That scheme postulates equal civil and political rights for all in Palestine: the formation of an independent government, to be formed at a date later to be decided: the stipulation that in the government, the various communities should be given a share proportionate to their numbers: the granting to the Jews of communal autonomy: and, ultimately, an Anglo-Palestinian Treaty to safeguard legitimate British interests.

The most obvious advantages of these proposals are: (1) the Jews would be afforded a cultural and spiritual centre; (2) British interests in Palestine would be secured by the surest bond of all—the goodwill of the mass of the people concerned; and (3) the Arabs would be assured of their future.

REVIEWS

The Arab Awakening. By George Antonius. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}''$. Pp. 472.
Five maps. Hamish Hamilton. 1938. 15s.

The appearance of this book has long been awaited with impatience by all students of Arab affairs. Mr. Antonius, with his mastery of English and Arabic, his ready access to both English and Arab society and his experience as an official of the Mandatory Government in Palestine, has had unrivalled opportunities of acquiring accurate information on the subject of which his book treats. Those who were present at the final session of the Royal Commission in Jerusalem will remember how, as it became dusk, the doorkeeper suddenly turned on a blaze of light. Mr. Antonius was addressing the Commission at the time, and Lord Peel directed the doorkeeper to turn the main lights out again. "We really don't need all those lights," he said, "when the speech itself is so luminous." The expression, as always with Lord Peel, was singularly felicitous. "Luminous" is exactly the word to describe Mr. Antonius's book; it glows with a steady and sufficient, rather than with a brilliant or intense, light.

The opening section deals with the idea of an Arab Empire as it was conceived in the mind of Ibrahim Pasha, at the time of his conquest of Syria. The author believes that Ibrahim was not altogether insincere in this, but really did feel himself to some extent identified with the Arabic-speaking environment of which he was an adopted son. The idea of an Arab Empire on a nationalist basis was nevertheless totally alien to the Arab peoples at that time, and therefore evoked no response from them. It is an odd fact, which Mr. Antonius does not mention, that an appeal from Napoleon addressed to the Jews of Asia and Africa some forty years earlier, at the time of his invasion of Syria, inviting them to flock to his banners and rebuild Jerusalem, evoked as little response from them. Nevertheless, in each case, the vision of the foreign prince was destined in time to become a leading motive in the mind of the people concerned. In 1834, however, the government of Ibrahim Pasha, while welcomed by the Christians of Palestine, who had every reason to prefer a government based on nationalism to one based on devotion to the Turkish Caliph, was faced by a revolt of the Moslem peasantry. The latter had no desire to fight for an empire which seemed to them to be founded on nothing more than the personal ambitions of the family of Mehemet Ali.

The second section of the book deals with the Arabic literary revival in the Lebanon, and traces the influence on it of the work of the American and French missionaries. From this literary revival arose the Arab national impulse, which began to establish itself as a political force from the day when Ibrahim Yezigi, about 1868, recited to a select body of friends a poem, beginning "Arise, ye Arabs, and awake," which he had composed in honour of the idea of an Arab national renaissance.

The main portion of the book is a lucid account of the political aspects

of the Arab movement and, in particular, of the negotiations during and at the end of the Great War. This contains much new material of great interest. The author, for example, quotes a speech delivered in Beirut by Jemal Pasha on December 4, 1917. The Sykes-Picot agreement had recently been published by the Bolsheviks, and Jemal Pasha hoped by communicating its contents to King Hussein to convince him of the bad faith of the British and so win him back to the Turkish side. The following is extracted from the speech :

“Eventually, the unfortunate Sharif Husain fell into the trap laid for him by the British. . . . That they are outside the gates of Jerusalem to-day is the direct outcome of the Sharif's revolt in Mecca.

“Were not the liberation promised to the Sharif Husain by the British a mirage and a delusion . . . I might have conceded some speck of reason to the revolt in the Hejaz. But the real intentions of the British are now known: it has not taken them so very long to come to light.”

King Hussein, however, who had complete faith in British integrity, at once forwarded the correspondence to the British Government. In reply he received the following communication from the Foreign Office :

“The loyal motives which have prompted Your Majesty to forward to the High Commissioner the letters addressed by the Turkish Commander-in-Chief in Syria to His Highness the Amir Faisal and to Ja'far Pasha have caused His Majesty's Government the liveliest satisfaction. The steps taken by Your Majesty in this connexion are only a token of the friendship and mutual sincerity which have always inspired the relations between the Government of the Hejaz and His Majesty's Government. It would be superfluous to point out that the object aimed at by Turkey is to sow doubt and suspicion between the Allied Powers and those Arabs who, under Your Majesty's leadership and guidance, are striving nobly to recover their ancient freedom. . . . His Majesty's Government and their allies stand steadfastly by every cause aiming at the liberation of the oppressed nations, and they are determined to stand by the Arab people in their struggle for the establishment of an Arab world in which law shall replace Ottoman injustice, and in which unity shall prevail over the rivalries artificially provoked by the policy of Turkish officials. His Majesty's Government reaffirm their former pledge in regard to the liberation of the Arab peoples. . . .”

This was accompanied by a telegram from Sir Reginald Wingate, to the following effect :

“Documents found by Bolsheviks in Petrograd Foreign Ministry do not constitute an actually concluded agreement, but consist of records of provisional exchanges and conversations between Great Britain, France and Russia, which were held in the early days of the war, and before the Arab revolt, with a view to avoiding difficulties between the Powers in the prosecution of the war with Turkey.

“Whether from ignorance or from malice, Jemal Pasha has distorted the original purpose of the understanding between the Powers and overlooked its stipulations regarding the consent of the populations concerned and the safeguarding of their interests. He has also ignored the fact that the subsequent outbreak and the striking success of the Arab revolt, as well as the withdrawal of Russia, had long ago created an altogether different situation.”

It is not surprising that the memory of these assurances used to provoke the Sherif in his later days into somewhat pungent comment upon the character of the British Prime Minister whom he held responsible for the disillusion of the Arabs at the post-war peace settlement.

While the author's criticisms of Allied policy seem, in general, fully justified, it might perhaps be suggested that the partition of the Arab world at the end of the war was, at least in part, due to a genuine doubt on the part of Britain and France whether a stable and progressive independent Arab government could have been at once established over such a vast area with good prospects of success. It can, it is true, be urged that an under-estimation both of the strength of the Arab movement for independence and of the capability of the Arabs for modern progress has been an unfortunate feature of Anglo-French policy in the Near East. Yet may it not prove in the end, in spite of the difficulties caused by the imposition of different educational, legal and administrative systems on the various portions of the Arab world, which Mr. Antonius rightly deploras, that there were also advantages in the gradual building up of efficient administrations in limited areas before any attempt was made to unite these areas into one vast whole? On the other hand, it is easy to imagine the disgust of Arab nationalists who had, it seems, been dreaming before the war of transforming the Ottoman régime into a Turkish-Arab Dual Empire, modelled on the Austro-Hungarian system, when they found themselves restricted after the war to minor posts in the fragmentary states into which the Arab world was divided.

The last section of the book deals with Palestine under the Mandate. This, chiefly it would seem from limitations of space, is a little disappointing. Mr. Antonius has certainly justification for criticizing the failure of the Royal Commission to go thoroughly into the documents which throw light on the Hussein-McMahon Correspondence and, in particular, their omission of any mention of the Hogarth mission to King Hussein in January, 1918, of the Foreign Office Communication to King Hussein in February of the same year and of the Declaration to the Seven Arabs a few weeks later. He might, indeed, have called attention also to the inexplicable omission, in their discussion of the meaning given to the term National Home in the Churchill White Paper of 1922, of any reference to the passage stating that His Majesty's Government had not at any time contemplated "the subordination of the Arabic language, population or culture in Palestine"—a statement which seems definitely to rule out the possibility that a Jewish majority in Palestine was ever officially envisaged. It is easy, too, to find support for his contention that there is an unconscious bias in favour of the Jewish point of view throughout the Report, owing to the fact that the Commission listened to Jewish evidence for seven weeks and to Arab evidence for only five days. It is, of course, true, as Mr. Antonius acknowledges, that this was entirely due to the Arab declaration of a boycott; this boycott was, however, itself due, in part at least, to the fact that the Government selected the very day that the Royal Commission left England

for Palestine to issue a new immigration schedule. There is no doubt, too, that a very good case can be made out for the author's claim that the Jewish share in the improvement of Arab conditions has been greatly exaggerated. Nevertheless it is hardly sufficient at the present time to reject certain of the Royal Commission's conclusions without giving the evidence on which the rejection is based. A Jewish critic has, in fact, already rebuked Mr. Antonius for stating that the British Government saw "that Jewish colonization involved the actual wiping out of villages." This the said critic could not have done had the author found space to quote the Government censuses of 1922 and 1931, which show, for example, in the case of Affule, a population of 500 Arabs and no Jews in the former year and a population of 785 Jews and only 85 Arabs in the latter year. Again, Mr. Antonius calls attention to the burden imposed on the Arab taxpayer to maintain the expensive bureaucracy necessitated by the establishment of the National Home. Here also it would be invaluable to have an estimate, however rough, of the sums which Arab taxpayers actually have paid, during the last twenty years, for the maintenance of a trilingual administration, for "defence," for such a luxury (in a country where the Administration habitually declares that money cannot be found to provide an adequate system of elementary education) as the establishment of a separate department of statistics, set up primarily to determine the absorptive capacity of the country and throw light on the problems raised by the growth of the National Home, for subsidized employment of Jews in public works and for customs duties imposed to protect Jewish industries. Without such an estimate the mere assertion makes little impression. There is, however, little doubt that Mr. Antonius is perfectly right in stating that "for a score of years or so, the world has been looking at Palestine mainly through Zionist spectacles and has unconsciously acquired the habit of reasoning on Zionist premisses." Under such circumstances perhaps, after all, the best method of dispelling the "smoke-screens of legend and propaganda" is to trust to the impression made upon the reader by a straightforward presentation of the case rather than risk confusing him with a mass of detail. At the end of the book Mr. Antonius prints, among other documents, his own reconstruction of the Hussein-McMahon correspondence (without, however, including Sir Henry's recent letter concerning his intention to exclude Palestine), the full text of the very interesting and prescient King-Crane Report, the Feisal-Weizmann agreement and the British Declaration to the Seven Arabs. In a later edition, this useful collection might with advantage be completed by some of the still less accessible documents which Mr. Antonius has succeeded in unearthing—e.g., Ibrahim Yezigi's poem, the placards of the Syrian secret society of 1880, the Sherif's Proclamation inaugurating the Arab Rising, and the Memorandum submitted by the Seven Arabs. These would be a valuable addition to a book which will, in any case, be indispensable to the student as well as of much interest to the general reader. It is to be hoped, too, that the author will one day place us still further in his debt by a supplementary volume tracing the progress—social, educational and literary as

well as practical—which is the background of the increased political part played by the Arabs in the post-war world.

The reviewer has noticed two curious misprints. On page 64 Arab recruits are said to have been conscripted for service on “foreign battle-ships” (battlefields ?); while on page 320 we hear, surprisingly, of “Lawrence’s genius in guerilla warfare, the skill and daring of his feasts” (feats ?).

NEVILL BARBOUR.

FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE IN THE NEW NEAR EAST

Some Aspects of Religious Liberty of Nationals in the Near East. A Collection of Documents. By Helen Clarkson Davis. Pp. xviii+182 and two maps. New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1938.

“What are you?” asked the judge of a witness in a civil court.

“A Christian, Your Honour,” replied the witness.

“No, that is not what I mean. What is your nationality?”

“An Armenian, Your Honour.”

“You still do not understand. Are you or are you not a citizen of Palestine?”

“Oh yes, Your Honour, I am a citizen of Palestine, and my father and grandfather lived here.”

Such is the normal result of many centuries of life under a system where religious minorities were schooled to think of themselves not as an integral part of the State but as a subject race, tolerated only so long as they remembered that they were different from the majority. The break-up of the old Ottoman Empire after the Great War brought many of these peoples into new states under Mandatory control where an adjustment had to be made between the old ways and the new political notions flowing in from the West. One of the major tasks laid upon the Mandatory powers was to give effect to the new notion of “freedom of conscience.” Mr. Davis’ study consists of a series of official documents from the archives of the League of Nations and the countries of the Near East dealing with the treatment of religious minorities after the war and up to the year 1937. The countries concerned are Turkey, the Lebanese Republic, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Trans-jordan, Egypt and the Sudan, with a collection of post-war agreements as to the protection of minorities in European countries. The study was undertaken under the auspices of the Religious Liberty Group, of which Dr. Joseph P. Chamberlain of Columbia University is Chairman. The documents are prefaced by extended comments by Mrs. Davis, pointing out the more significant features of this new legislation.

All the countries are predominantly Moslem and have but recently emerged from the condition where Islamic notions respecting the place of religious minorities were dominant. What these ideas were is well known.

In Islam, as originally founded, there was no distinction between civil and religious law, for all was religious law. Within Islam there was complete equality regardless of ethnic background. But the conquest of non-Moslem peoples raised the question what should be done with the new peoples. If pagans, they were offered the choice of accepting Islam or death. But the People of the Book (*Ahl al-Kitab*)—namely, Christians and Jews—were to be treated more tolerantly, not persecuted, and permitted to continue their life and their religion as subject-races within, but not of the Moslem state. The payment of a special poll-tax, inequality before the law in cases brought against Moslems, the wearing of a special dress, careful removal of external signs of their places of worship, and other restrictions were compensated for by the granting of communal autonomy under their religious heads, and permission to have religious courts to handle matters of personal status which could not be judged by Moslem law. Under strict Moslem law, while any Christian or Jew was free to become a Moslem and retain his property, no Moslem was permitted to embrace Christianity or Judaism. Death was the penalty for apostacy, and no non-Moslem could inherit property from a Moslem.

The first result of this system was to isolate the Christians and Jews from the main stream of national life. The second was to give them a certain *esprit de corps*, which made for the inner strength and persistence of various sects. The institution of the system of Capitulations, whereby non-Turkish nationals resident in Turkey were under the protection of their own consuls, naturally led to another complication: that various Christian *rayahs* looked abroad for diplomatic support in times of trouble, the Latins to France and the Orthodox to Russia, so that the Christians especially were regarded by their Ottoman rulers as not only subject peoples, but still more as potentially disloyal ones. Indeed, much of the trouble suffered by the unfortunate Armenians in the later years of the Ottoman Empire was directly traceable to this circumstance.

The rigidity of Moslem law respecting religious minorities had been considerably modified before the war. It was in 1844 that the British Ambassador to the Sublime Porte secured an assurance that thenceforth the death penalty for apostacy from Islam should no longer be carried out. Apostacy was still penalized by a provision that while a Moslem could inherit property acquired by an apostate before his apostacy, that acquired afterwards went not to possible heirs, Christian or Moslem, but to the Treasury. The property of a woman apostate went to a Moslem heir if there were such, otherwise it all went to the State. It was illegal for the property of a Moslem to pass by inheritance to even a relative who was a non-Moslem, but likewise the property of a non-Moslem could not pass by inheritance to a Moslem. The various reforms in Turkish thought and law before the war showed some effort to secure equality of citizenship for all regardless of religion.

Upon this basis the Mandatory régime had to build, for in the beginning the Ottoman Law was accepted as still in force and only modified as occasion demanded. Since the war, however, except in Turkey itself, which

has superseded the Ottoman Code entirely, there have been many modifications greatly changing the old provisions in certain respects.

The study shows that in the post-war provisions affecting the states formerly parts of the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the pre-war legislation of Egypt and the Sudan, there is "a trend, more marked in some cases than in others, towards more tolerant provisions than formerly existed of the guarantee of individual liberty of conscience and for the protection of religious minorities." But while all the states in one form or another grant "freedom of conscience" in so far as it is consistent with public order and good morals, there is a certain indefiniteness about the term as reflected in actual legislation.

The chapters of the book indicate the main subjects: international agreements and constitutional guarantees with respect to religious minorities; parliamentary representation of religious minorities; regulations with respect to change of religion and change of registration; regulations with respect to the effect of change of religion on inheritance.

The states of the Near East show a wide diversity, ranging from the now entirely secularized Turkish Republic to the Hejaz, mentioned only in passing as a Moslem state administered according to the Sharia law. Iraq, Egypt and Transjordan are avowedly Moslem states, while in Syria the President must be a Moslem. In Palestine and the Lebanese Republic no religion is identified with the state. Religious minorities are given special representation in Parliament in Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq, but not secularized Turkey or modern Egypt. In all the countries except Turkey the religious minorities still have the right enjoyed under the Ottoman Law of maintaining special communal courts for dealing with matters of personal status, marriage, divorce, and in some cases inheritance, although in Lebanon and Syria an abortive attempt was made to bring these subjects in cases of Moslems and minorities alike under the civil courts.

The real criterion of religious liberty, however, is in the provisions for change of religion. Here we see the effect of former provisions persisting into modern times. In general, there is no difficulty about a non-Moslem becoming a Moslem, but for a Moslem to become a Christian is in many states either impossible or attended by certain serious economic consequences. Thus, like the old Ottoman Law, there is no provision for a Moslem to change his registration to that of a Christian in Transjordan, Syria, and Egypt. In Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq, and the Sudan what was formerly a one-way procedure has been widened to cover changes in any direction. However, even in these latter countries such as the Sudan, the French Mandated territories, and Egypt a Moslem who becomes a Christian cannot inherit from a Moslem parent. The unofficial English translation of Young's French text of the Ottoman Law (*cf.* pp. 105 and 106) is infelicitous, if not actually wrong, as only the context makes it clear that the land of a Moslem cannot pass by inheritance to his children, (or to his) father, (or to his) mother (if they be) non-Moslems. This is made clear by reference to art. 109 of the Ottoman Land Code. Only in Palestine is it provided that a man's position in this regard is not prejudiced by a change of religion.

But even more important than the constitutional and administrative provisions for freedom of conscience are the social attitudes on the subject. The modern legislation is well in advance of popular feeling, so that even in a country like Palestine, and still more in the others, the attempt on the part of a Moslem to become a Christian is attended by serious social consequences. And indeed there has been even a contrary movement in so far as the totalitarian ideas characteristic of Islam have been reinforced by modern political philosophy (and propaganda?) and tend to make people consider that on political rather than strictly religious grounds all the citizens of the state should share a common culture and religion, and that Islamic. This has led to certain incidents in Egypt which have led to more numerous conversions from Christianity to Islam than formerly.

The modern provisions in these Near Eastern States for complete religious freedom, together with the abolition of the irritant which Capitulations always were, have paved the way for sincere tolerance. Naturally the special treatment accorded religious minorities still tends to hinder real national unity. However, until public feeling and social attitudes catch up with even the present legal provisions, and genuine equality amongst the adherents of all religions is generally recognized, it would not seem wise to abandon the protective laws which enable the religious minorities, Christian and Jewish, to carry on their life according to their religious standards. The time is coming, none the less, when a man will think of himself in his legal capacity first as a citizen of this or that country and only secondarily as a member of a racial or religious group.

C. T. B.

Palestine of the Crusades. A Map of the Country on scale 1 : 350,000, with Historical Introduction and Gazetteer. Jerusalem: Survey of Palestine. Price 5s.

This consists of a map of Palestine, measuring about 65 × 45 cm., mounted on canvas and placed at the end of a booklet of forty-two pages.

The map, which has been compiled under the direction of Colonel F. J. Salmon, is very attractively presented, its border being decorated at the sides with eighteen coats of arms of Crusading families, and at the top and bottom with ten *renk*, or badges, of Mamluk emirs. The Crusaders' names of places are printed in heavy type, with the modern name in italics beneath.

The booklet consists of two parts: (i.) an Historical Introduction, pages 1-21, and (ii.) a Gazetteer, pages 22-42, both by Mr. C. N. Johns. The Introduction gives a very brief but clear account of the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Jerusalem, followed by a short bibliography. The gazetteer is likely to prove very useful, for it constitutes not only an index to the map, but also a series of concise notes on the towns, fortresses, sites of battles, etc.

A. CRESWELL.

ATATURK

CONSTANTINOPLE at the Armistice showed a curious contrast between the two sides of the Golden Horn. On the one side, Pera and Galata, boisterous animation and rejoicing; allied soldiers and sailors, British, French, Italian, American in the streets, warships at anchor and coming and going in the Bosphorus; the native Christian population delivered from the long depression and anxiety of the war, Greek flags waving from the houses: on the other side in Stambul the stillness of death. The Turkish population stayed indoors silent. Only once was there a crowded demonstration in the big mosques to protest against the Greek occupation of Smyrna decreed by the Allies. The Turkish lady writer Khalideh Edib has described the sadness and despair of those days in her book *The Turkish Ordeal*. So it went on for four years. Then, in October, 1922, came the news that the Greek army had been driven out of Anatolia, and Smyrna had been recovered. The whole town on both sides of the Horn suddenly became red with Turkish flags which had not been seen since the Armistice. An anxious time followed for the allied Army of Occupation, until, through the wise diplomacy of General Sir Charles Harington, our troops were withdrawn with dignity and the occupation came to an end on October 2, 1923.

The man who had achieved this for the Turks was Mustafa Kemal.

As regards his early life and his struggle during the armistice, which lasted five years, it is difficult to add anything to the leading article and the obituary notice published by *The Times* on November 11, the day after his death.

The Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, known later by his chosen surname Ataturk (The Father Turk), was by origin half Albanian and half Circassian, two races which furnished so many eminent soldiers and statesmen to the old Ottoman Empire.

Even after his great military success he was faced by enormous difficulties. As he said himself, his task was only half done. *The Times'* leader speaks of his "ruling as a Dictator." But a wide distinction must be drawn between his method and those of Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler. Herr von Kral, in his recent book *Kamal Ataturk's Land*, emphasizes that the way of Mustafa Kemal was not that of a Dictator but rather that of an intelligent leader who can adopt the

opinion of others when advisable; and in *The Turkish Ordeal* Khalideh Edib, who worked in close touch with him during the critical years 1919-1923, explains his method: "Mustafa Kemal preferred to work through the Grand National Assembly rather than disperse it and take the entire responsibility." In his famous six-days' speech the Ghazi told quite frankly how he used persuasion to get his views accepted by the Assembly.

His aim was to found a new Turkish independent State; but the country had to be educated up to this ideal and disabused of its traditional loyalty to the Padishah and of its fanatical religious prejudices. If anyone who knew Turkey before the war had been asked whether such an ideal was practical the answer would certainly have been *no*, for the Turks had always been an intensely conservative and obstinate race. Two attempts had been made in the last century to lead them into the path of progress, the first by Sultan Abdul Mejid, the second by the Committee of Union and Progress; but both had failed to make any lasting impression on their mentality. Mustafa Kemal had to go slowly and cautiously to work. The successive steps are described fully in his speech, made to the National Assembly in October, 1927.

In April, 1923, during the elections to the second Grand National Assembly, he made public his programme, but omitted various important matters, such as the proclamation of the Republic, the abolition of the Khilafate and the wearing of the hat. The time had not come to include these measures, which would have given ground for ignorant reaction. He was sure that at the proper time they would be carried, and that the nation would approve them. On October 29, 1923, he succeeded by a manœuvre in passing the law proclaiming the Republic, and was himself elected President. On March 3, 1924, after a debate of five hours, three laws were passed:

1. The abolition of the Khilafate and expulsion from Turkey of the Osmanli family.
2. The abolition of the Sheri and Evkaf departments.
3. The unification of public education.

It is notable that these revolutionary measures were carried through with a minimum of force or violence, mainly by adroit persuasion and management. Opposition to the wearing of the hat was repressed, and armed insurrection was certainly put down ruthlessly in Kurdistan, and an assassination plot was sternly punished. There was criticism of the hanging of Javid Bey, the Union and Progress Finance Minister, whose connection with the plot was thought, in foreign circles at least, doubt-

ful. But there was no persecution and none of the sadistic cruelty practised in the Dictator States.

The speech is an authentic account of what Ataturk achieved and how he achieved it, and is well worth reading. It contains some remarkably statesmanlike reflections, for instance:

“Against an enemy there are two fronts, the inside and the outside. The real front is the inside. The outside is the army. This may be shaken or even broken, but it cannot destroy the nation. It is the fall of the inside front which destroys a country and enslaves a nation.”

“History shows no example of the success of a policy of pan-Islamism or pan-Turanianism. The policy indicated for us by history, science and reason is a national policy; that is to say, to aim at the true happiness and prosperity of the country and nation and to rely on our own strength to preserve our existence within our national frontiers; not to weary the people with distant aims, but to look for humane and civilized treatment and reciprocal friendship from the civilized world.”

Under his wise guidance Turkey has gained the friendship of the civilized world. Her friendship with us was stimulated by the visit paid to Constantinople by the then King Edward VIII. His personality made a great impression on Mustafa Kemal. A Turkish officer who had been his A.D.C. through all his campaigns said that he had never known his chief seriously depressed even in the worst moments, but that the news of the abdication took all the heart out of him.

The reforms he imposed on the country are many-sided, the most important being the emancipation of women and the introduction of compulsory lay education. Sport is encouraged, and the Turks take to it with enthusiasm. A typical instance of the paternal discipline exercised over youth may be given here. At a keenly contested football match the two teams lost their tempers and came to blows, the spectators joined in and there were two thousand combatants on the field. The scandal was reported in the Press. The teams were sent for by the authorities and the ringleaders were forbidden for life to play football again.

Perhaps the chief characteristic of the Turks as a nation is their strong sense of discipline, once they recognize the authority imposing it. This recognition Ataturk had won completely. There is no one who can to-day claim the prestige which was his, but his devoted follower and Chief of Staff Ismet Inoenü, who has been elected to succeed him as President of the Republic, may be trusted to carry on

the tradition. Ataturk devoted his efforts above all to improve the lot of the Anatolian peasant, the backbone of the Turkish nation, who, under the Ottoman Empire, had received little consideration from his rulers. This is recognized to-day by the whole Turkish Press which mourns for him : “ Ataturk, we thy seventeen million children, proud of thy glory, suddenly left fatherless, weep as orphans.”

A. T. W.

REVIEWS

BISMILLAH AND OTHER JOURNEYS

Bismillah: Vom Huang-ho zum Indus. By Professor Wilhelm Filchner. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. 348. 114 illustrations and one map. Leipzig: Brockhaus. RM. 6.50.

"We were nearing, after a march of some six miles, the post of the northern foot of the Mintaka Pass, when a report was brought to my guide of a 'Russian Officer,' who had just reached the post via the Payik Pass from the north. Having heard nothing before of such a visitor being expected, I rode up with some curiosity, and soon found myself face to face with the reported arrival. It was a young German officer, Lieutenant F., of the Bavarian Foot Guards, who had just travelled down from the head of the Russian railways in Farghana, and was now intending to make his way to Gilgit and India. He knew nothing of the special permission of the Indian Government, without which the Hunza route is closed to European travellers, and was also surprised to hear of the time required for the journey to Kashmir. Finding that his leave would not suffice for this extension of his trip, Lieutenant F. there and then, while refreshing himself at the breakfast my men had soon got ready for us, made up his mind to visit Kashgar instead. Accepting my invitation to share my camp, he accompanied me to Sarik-Jilga, the end of my march.

"On the way, and then at table, my young guest told me much of interest concerning his ten days' ride over the Russian Pamirs. Though far too rapid for close observation, it was a performance highly creditable to his endurance. Of outfit and provisions he had brought scarcely more than is wanted for a few days' outing in the Bavarian Alps."

This passage, familiar to most readers of this notice, describes the meeting of two men, who have during the last thirty-eight years proved themselves to be two of the most remarkable Europeans connected with Central Asia. The quotation is taken from Sir Aurel Stein's *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, the book in which this prince of archæologists describes his first journey to Chinese Turkestan. Lieutenant F. was Herr Filchner, then on his first visit to Central Asia. Herr Filchner's latest book now lies before us, and it is no exaggeration to say that such is the reputation which Herr Filchner has created for himself, that everyone with an interest in Central Asia will wish to read this book.

Students of Sir Aurel Stein's works have often remarked that with his first popular account of his first journey he stepped on to the stage quietly and without ostentation to take his place at once as a leader among travellers, geographers and archæologists, trained and mature. In the

case of Herr Filchner also, the qualities which characterized the young man's ride through the Pamirs in 1900 are found again in the journey described in the present volume: will-power, courage and self-reliance, the ability to overcome every kind of obstacle with the most meagre equipment, and intense concentration on the purpose, together with a certain vagueness about the passports. Herr Filchner is one of the world's born travellers, and as we look back upon his publications we see him as political agent, student of lamaism, geographer and geophysicist, but we suspect that what has enabled him to achieve his many-sided success is that he remained throughout his life the young subaltern out for adventure on his leave.

In 1904 Herr Filchner travelled in North-Eastern Tibet and displayed the keenness of his intellectual interests by his observations on the monastery at Kumbum, which led to his first book on that monastery, published in 1905. Together with other scholars, he collected further material on the monastery and the lamaistic traditions and practices cultivated there, so that his large volume on Kumbum, published in 1933, is now indispensable to all students of the subject.

In the meantime Dr. Filchner has devoted himself to the study of earth magnetism, and in pursuit of these studies he successfully accomplished in the years 1926-28 a journey on which he established a chain of measurements from Tashkent via Kulja, Urumchi, Hami, Suchow, Lanchow, Kokonor and Tang-la to Nga-chu-ka (about 200 kilometres north of Lhasa), and from there via Chen-ssa-dsong, Gartok to Leh. The 157 magnetic stations of this chain were placed at intervals of 20 to 30 kilometres. The measurements at each station took under favourable conditions 3 to 4 hours to complete, and in the case of unfavourable conditions up to 20 hours. So as to make it possible to find the different positions again, and to repeat the magnetic measurements, Herr Filchner is in the habit of making a sketch-map of every station and its locality.

The first journey, 6,000 miles in extent, thus described an ellipse and provided a series of earth-magnetic observations along that line. In order, however, to be able to study the earth-magnetic phenomena in their extension over the surface of Central Asia, and thus to make possible the preparation of a magnetic map of Central Asia, a second journey, the subject of this book, was undertaken during the years 1934-38, with a view to establishing a line of measurements stretching straight through the length of the ellipse described by the first journey—namely, along the line from Lanchow westward via Kokonor, Tsaidam, Ajak-kum-koll, Cherchen to Khotan. At Khotan contact would be established with the magnetic observations of Pievtsov and the chain from there was to be prolonged to Leh.

The present volume is the first popular account of this journey. The scientific material is still being studied by the specialists, and when we consider the difficulties under which, and in spite of which, Herr Filchner carried out his time measurements, checking his six chronometers and two stop-watches twice a day with the time signals of Nauen, Moscow, Buenos Aires or the U.S.A. naval harbour, Cavite, on his receiving set, as well as making the geophysical calculations, we can only express the hope that the

astronomers and geophysicists will find the material to be all that they require. They are unlikely to have at their service a more conscientious observer along that route for many a long day.

In this volume we are only concerned with an account of the journey itself. That journey is remarkable from every point of view. English readers are familiar with the descriptions of Mr. Peter Fleming and Miss Ella Maillart of their journey from Sining past the Kokonor, the Tsaidam and across the Altyn-tag to Khotan, during which they met not a single difficulty. It was almost exactly along the same path that Herr Filchner passed a year later, meeting difficulties all along the road, and finishing up with months of detention at Khotan. Whether Mr. Fleming's public school combination of sportsmanlike efficiency and nonchalance, and Miss Maillart's agreeable personality and medicine-chest had a decisive influence upon their success, and whether Herr Filchner's forcefulness and immense energy had anything to do with the mutinies of the easy-going local servants, or whether his companion, Brother Gervasius, a German called Heinrich Haak from Wesel on the Rhine, of the Catholic Mission at Sining, did not know how to deal with Mongols, these are questions which must remain open.

Of course we meet many familiar figures along the road, including Borodishin, who, after fighting with the Russian army on the Western Front during the war, had been a member of the Staff of the White General Annenkov in the retreat to Lake Baikal, and after Annenkov's murder had made his way to the Tsaidam, where he settled down to make a meagre living looking after the goods of a Chinese merchant. Borodishin acted as guide and interpreter to the caravan from Arachato (Taijinar), the westernmost corner of the Tsaidam, to the borders of Sinkiang, which he did not dare enter for fear of meeting Red Russian soldiers.

At the end of October, 1935, Herr Filchner was at Lanchow, when a munition dump exploded, and destroyed the whole suburb in which he was staying.

While waiting for his passports at Sining, Herr Filchner naturally rode to Lussar. He arrived in time to witness part of the butter festival at the monastery of Kumbum. He was at once recognized and welcomed by the Mohammedan family with whom he had stayed during the winter 1926-27.

"As the Panchen Lama was staying at the monastery," writes Herr Filchner, "the North Tibetans had come this year in large crowds. They advanced in regular bands, ruthlessly pushing on in wedge formations, not from mere boisterousness, but from the deeply sincere yearning to reach the centre of the sanctuary. The women had linked arms in order not to be swept away by the swaying multitude. The masses prayed aloud, and the sound was menacing, like the humming of angered swarms of bees. I was moved by the sight of these simple people, who were impelled by a deep longing after their gods. They stretched their folded hands to heaven, threw themselves in the dust, moving their arms as if they were oars, then rising took a few steps, and repeated their act of humility and worship."

The two pages describing the visit to this monastery are the best in the book.

The caravan left Sining at the beginning of January, 1936, and after skirting the north of the Kokonor by forced marches the Tang-kar servants mutinied. The salt mandarin of Dsacha sent word ahead to the mandarin of Dulan, who had the ring-leader punished and the mutineers sent back to Tang-kar under escort. Unfortunately the servants which were taken on at Dulan included a trouble-maker, and as early as Golma, where camels were bought from the Prince of Gobi, much delay was caused by the discovery that the Prince had been swindled by Herr Filchner's servants, and at Tengelik soldiers had to be sent out to fetch back mutineers, who at that point had run away. Herr Filchner's difficulties were increased by the fact that Brother Gervasius suffered from malaria, and he himself was struck down by kidney trouble and sciatica.

To this must be added the fact that his passport did not entitle him to travel to Sinkiang, and that the Chinese Government, whom he had advised to set up a wireless station in the Tsaidam, had unfortunately taken his advice, so that news of his journey might have been wirelessly back at even a late stage. As if this were not enough, it was discovered that, while the English maps which Herr Filchner carried gave Issik Pakte as the frontier between Tsing-hai and Sinkiang, the frontier in fact lay very much further to the west—namely, at Kusuk-kak-de-bulak, ten stages beyond the Chonkum lake (p. 188)!

The Altyn-tag was crossed without difficulty, and on October 7 Herr Filchner and Brother Gervasius reached Cherchen, where they were befriended by the old British Aksakal. With him they stayed for five weeks, while the Selling, the General in charge of the border garrison, sent word to Ma Ho-san, the Padisha of Khotan, to obtain permission for the travellers to continue their journey. The personality of the Aksakal at Cherchen is more vividly drawn than that of anyone else in the book, and it is clear that Herr Filchner retains strong feelings of affection and gratitude for the old gentleman.

On the road to Khotan orders had been given to the authorities to do all in their power to assist the travellers, and their anxiety that they should not be reported to the Padishah as having failed in this regard was almost embarrassing to Herr Filchner and his companion, who by this time were nearly at the end of their strength.

At Cherchen it had become apparent that further warlike measures were being prepared, and contributions in gold were being exacted from the population.

At Christmas, 1936, they arrived at Khotan. They were received in the most friendly way by the British Aksakal and by Mr. Moldovac, the ex-Armenian banker, who some years ago had tried to recreate the carpet industry at Khotan, and has more recently solaced his declining years with the weekly edition of *The Times* and the *News Chronicle*, and befriended all Western travellers. The Padishah Ma Ho-san immediately remarked that Herr Filchner's passport did not entitle him to enter Sinkiang. He

refused to permit him to continue his journey. Unfortunately in the night of December 26 and 27 an important officer of the Padishah was murdered. Suspicion fell upon Herr Filchner's party, and Herr Filchner and Brother Gervasius were interned under guard.*

At the end of February the British Consul, Mr. M. E. Gillett, passed through Khotan, saw Herr Filchner, and got the Padishah to promise to wireless to Tihua (Urumchi) for instructions. During the months that followed Herr Filchner and his friends were kept in a state of uncertainty, and everyone who has at any time suffered internment will agree with Herr Filchner that the physical discomforts are as nothing compared to the agony of uncertainty. It later transpired that fighting was going on during this period, between the forces of the Padishah and those based at Kashgar, and that it would in any case not have been possible to reach Kashgar after the early spring.

On July 15 Brother Gervasius was told that he and Herr Filchner were to be allowed to travel to India across the Kara-koram Pass and they were ordered to leave that very night.

During most of this period the two gaolers were two officers with whom Herr Filchner and Brother Gervasius established reasonably friendly relations. During the last ten days a new guard, who was a most unpleasant person, was appointed. Herr Filchner calls him "the devil," and goes to the length of placing his very disagreeable face on the dust cover of his book. This we frankly regret, for it gives the appearance as if Herr Filchner, even after achieving his success and the public acknowledgment which is his due, desired to immortalize this grievance.

The travellers were again detained at San-chu for a messenger to be sent back to Khotan for permission for Herr Filchner to retain his rifle. On August 12, 1937, a start was made from San-chu across the San-chu-Dawan and the Kara-koram Pass (19,680 feet). Herr Filchner's description of this part of the journey is more lively than that of any other section. The journey has been described many times, never perhaps better than by a countryman of Herr Filchner's, Professor von le Coq, who made the journey in 1906. A single sentence of Herr Filchner's sufficiently describes the difficulties of trade in this part of the world: "On this 'death-road' caravans

* Readers may be interested to compare the following two passages relating to Ma Ho-san, the Padishah of Khotan. Ella K. Maillart's *Forbidden Journey*, p. 232.

"He is an energetic man and may well be heard of again in connection with events in Central Asia. He seemed to have decided that he must, some day or other, set off for the north again and fight out the war. It would not be necessary for him to follow the principal trail and go round by Kashgar; Ma Ho-san would follow the Khotan river and cross the desert directly to Aksu."

Wilhelm Filchner's *Bismillah!* p. 328. On September 15, 1937, the *Charas* officer at Leh had invited Mr. and Mrs. Esboe of the Moravian mission at Leh to meet Herr Filchner.

"We spoke much of Khotan and of the Padishah. It was thought that Ma Ho-san would one day be murdered. At the time he was said to be fighting with his Tungans against the Chinese in the neighbourhood of Aksu and to be about to advance towards Ti-hua (Urumchi)."

bring wool, carpets and hides to Leh, and exchange these for household goods for East Turkestan, tools from China, conserves and bicycles from Japan."

The ordinary difficulties of travel were greatly increased by quarrels with the leader of the pony drivers. Brother Gervasius was suffering from congestion of the lungs, and hardly a day passed without more or less serious quarrels between him and the drivers. Before Panamakte was reached, however, and just when it seemed as if Herr Filchner might be unable to continue, an emissary of the "Special Charas Officer Ladakh" reached him with money and also a letter from the Moravian Mission. This officer accompanied him to Leh, which was reached on September 13. Here his troubles were at an end. He renewed friendships formed early in 1928, and after a short rest continued his journey to Srinagar. At some hours' distance from the town he was met by the German Consul-General, Count de Podeville, who had ridden out with his son and daughter to welcome Herr Filchner in the name of the *Führer*, and to congratulate him on the bestowal of the German National Prize.

On October 5 Colonel Lang, the British resident of Kashmir, informed Herr Filchner that the revolt of the Padishah Ma Ho-san had been crushed, and that the Padishah himself was now a fugitive, and was expected to arrive at Srinagar in two days' time.

It is clear that the difficulties which were overcome in the course of this journey were of no commonplace order, and that the man who overcame them is a very unusual man. If there is one criticism that might be made about this book, it is that it suffers somewhat from continuous emphasis, excess of detail, and a lack of that discrimination by which an author gives light and shade to his writing. The result is that passages of special interest, such as the description of Kumbum, do not stand out sufficiently as compared with the descriptions of the daily march and the loading and unloading of the camels. We should like to draw special attention to the excellence of the photographs and of the map.

The mutual aid which has been afforded to each other by Englishmen and Germans in Central Asia is a particularly happy page in the history of the relations of our two nations. The gallantry of Professor von le Coq in rescuing Captain Sherer has not been forgotten, and it is pleasant to read Herr Filchner's appreciation of the help which he received from English officials and friends.

HENRY MAXWELL ANDREWS.

Northern Najd: A Journey from Jerusalem to 'Anaiza in Qasim. By Carlo Guarmani. Translated from the Italian by Lady Capel-Cure. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Douglas Carruthers. 10½" × 7¾". Pp. xlv + 136. Argonaut Press. 1938. 25s.

The late Dr. Hogarth compared Guarmani's knowledge of the Arabs with that of Doughty, which is as high praise as an Arabian traveller can reasonably expect. Nevertheless, Guarmani remained unknown to all but

a few in England until Douglas Carruthers introduced him to a wide circle of keen war-time students of Arabia in an English translation made at his suggestion by Lady Capel-Cure and published by the Arab Bureau at Cairo in 1917. Since then we have learned a great deal more about Arabia than was known to the war generation. And Mr. Carruthers has once more placed us in his debt by re-editing Guarmani's work with copious notes on points formerly too abstruse for satisfactory explanation and with an entirely new introduction based on our present greater knowledge of the country through which Guarmani travelled. The volume is beautifully produced by the Argonaut Press with a few choice illustrations, and it cannot but be of the greatest interest and value to anyone desirous of knowing something about Northern Arabia as it was in the heyday of its history.

The scene has changed out of all recognition. The famous dynasty of Ibn Rashid has vanished. The glory of Hail has departed. The motor has usurped most of the functions of the camel. Arabian travel is not as laborious as it used to be, nor half so interesting. Douglas Carruthers is one of the survivors of the old camel-brigade of Arabian explorers. He is perhaps fortunate not to have witnessed the transition to new-fangled ways and not to have experienced the transformation. He can still write of Arabia as it was—and should be. His writing recalls the old forgotten scenes and smells of the daily camps—the lonely foreigner at the camp-fire conversing with his Arab companions, and burning the midnight oil to convey their table-talk to his notebooks. It recalls the endless days of marching so slowly that every item of the passing scene was indelibly impressed on the traveller's mind.

Guarmani was one of that gang. He was also primarily a horse-coper, and the author of a standard work, *El Kamsa*, on the five principal strains of the Arabian horse. But we are here only concerned with him as an explorer, one of the principal pioneers in a country that continued to defy intensive penetration until the advent of the motor-car after the Great War. In Arabia he was the contemporary of Pelly and Palgrave. The former had unimpeachable witnesses of his travels. But Palgrave and Guarmani, travelling alone, both came under serious suspicion as aspirants to greater fame than they deserved. In both cases the verdict is, as it were, in suspense owing to the lack of satisfactory evidence one way or the other. In fact the only available evidence of serious value in both cases is to be sought in the published works of the two travellers. And by the internal evidence of their respective books they both get away with the benefit of the doubt—the one rather luckily, the other rightly beyond question.

With Palgrave I am not here concerned. As for Guarmani, I have already referred to Dr. Hogarth's opinion. Mr. Carruthers, who is himself one of the four Europeans including Guarmani to have visited Taima, pleads for his out-and-out acquittal on the charge of imposture. As the result of my own fairly extensive travels during the last few years in the country between Madina, Hail and the Qasim—Guarmani claimed to have travelled from Khaibar to 'Anaiza and thence to Hail—I confess I cannot understand on what grounds Guarmani's claim was ever called in question. Like Mr.

Carruthers and Dr. Hogarth I cannot but accept his story as it stands. It passes muster easily enough on the internal evidence of his tale. The fact that he kept very elaborate notes for the first part of his journey and only very sketchy ones in the later stages is certainly annoying, as we cannot place his Khaibar-‘Anaiza journey in any detail on the map. But it is not unnatural in the circumstances. As soon as he emerged from the Khaibar lava-field into the Taiya hill-tract he found himself involved in a tribal war of some magnitude. On approaching ‘Anaiza he was made a prisoner by the Wahhabi forces operating in that area, and he was sent thence to the Shammar country under surveillance. If he had said in his book that his opportunities for making notes (or showing undue inquisitiveness about place-names and other matters) were restricted during this part of his journey, or that his Wahhabi captors impounded his records, nobody would have questioned his statement.

As Mr. Carruthers says, “we, in the light of present-day knowledge, are enabled to approach Guarmani’s book with a better understanding” than the critics of a past generation. “But,” he adds, “. . . for certain sections, namely, those on which aspersions have been cast, we are not in a much better position to-day than were the critics of the past, for no one has been there since Guarmani—seventy years ago—a long period of ignorance, when we consider the advance Arabia has made into the political and commercial limelight during recent years.” This reproach was justified when Mr. Carruthers’ book was published, but is so no longer. In May of this year I travelled over and mapped the pilgrim motor-route between Madina and Hail. Among other things, I discovered by astronomical observation that both these very important towns are shown in our existent maps of Arabia about 15 miles to eastward of their true positions. The eastern edge of the Harra of Khaibar is similarly shown too far eastward, and here I am able to supply a correction of Guarmani’s route as shown in the map accompanying Mr. Carruthers’ book. Guarmani says he came (from Khaibar) out of the great lava-field on to the pilgrim (camel) road, which actually runs from Hail via Ghazzala to Hulaifa (? Bueir of Mr. Carruthers’ map) to Shagra. He did not therefore emerge from the Harra westward, as shown, to skirt its western and southern fringes, but must have travelled south-eastward from Khaibar to strike the pilgrim route a good way north-east of Shagra to find himself at the threshold of the Taiya mountains. With that modification it is quite easy to envisage the rest of his route, though the actual identity of Buwair (Bueir, merely meaning a little well) with Hulaifa, Sufait or some other watering of the neighbourhood remains to be established. It also remains to find the mineral-impregnated rock-pool in which Guarmani so nearly came to grief. His account of the incident rings true enough, and I have heard vaguely confirmatory accounts of the existence of such a pool. Its discovery will be the crowning piece of evidence in favour of Guarmani, and it is at any rate significant that the tract through which he claims to have passed contains the copper (and/or gold) mines of Musaina’ (I think discovered by myself) and Nugra.

In conclusion, I fully share Mr. Carruthers’ certitude about the actuality

of Guarmani's travels and have no hesitation in recommending his romantic tale to the attention of anyone interested in Arabia. Mr. Carruthers' introduction makes one wish for more contributions from his pen to the history of Arabian exploration. No one is more obviously marked out to bring Dr. Hogarth's story of the *Penetration of Arabia* up to date. But his besetting sin is modesty carried to almost absurd lengths.

H. J. B. PHILBY.

Desert and Delta. By Major C. S. Jarvis, C.M.G., O.B.E. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii + 319. Illustrations. John Murray. 10s. 6d.

This book is opportune, for not only does it fill a gap unfilled by any other, but any book which deals with the land-bridge between Africa and Asia, and speaks of men and affairs on either side of the Suez Canal, must obviously be of interest at the moment.

The Delta of the Nile and the deserts of Sinai are the theme of Major Jarvis's recent publication. He offers us a brief survey of Egyptian affairs over the last fifty-six years, and then recounts his own personal experiences during his eighteen years of service, most of which were spent as Governor of Sinai. Full of anecdote, his reminiscences cover a wide field; contact with Egyptian High Commissioners—he knew five of them—insight into Delta politics and problems, acquaintance with officials high and low, with Arabs good and bad, with bandits and fishermen. But by far the most entertaining and original section of this book is that which recounts the author's experiences amongst the local inhabitants of the peninsula of Sinai—the desert of the Exodus; of his endeavours to bring peace and prosperity to these starveling tribes, who are "few in number, poor in body, and miserable in their manner of life," not to mention his efforts to reclaim dry wadi-beds and his success in making the desert blossom as a rose. By doing so the author has revived our interest in this odd corner of Asia, and the dry stones of Arabia Petræa live again under his fluent pen.

D. C.

Seen in the Hadhramaut. By Freya Stark. Pp. i + xxiii, 1-199. London: John Murray. 21s.

In *The Southern Gates of Arabia* (1936) Miss Stark gave a delightful and illuminating account of the Hadhramaut. After a second journey, she now crowns that work by a series of excellent photographs covering all sides of town and Bedawi life in and around the great Wadis and on the littoral of that ancient *terra clausa*. Her aim is "to keep the remembrance of something very complete, very ancient, very remote and very beautiful, which may pass for ever from our world."

The pictures show the various Bedou types—the women and children (here Miss Stark scores over the masculine intruder), wedding and holiday groups, the Sultans, Sayyids and Headmen, caravans, tombs, water-cisterns, and ancient forts.

As is but right, there are many illustrations of the big cities such as Terīm and Saiun, Shibām and Mukalla: these exemplify, in an excellent choice, all the charm and skill of the old builders.

But the main delight of the series lies in the magnificent photographs of Hadhrami architecture: the glorious wooden carved doors with iron studding-nails—their fluted horizontal treatment; the side decorations of the walls; the

scroll-patterned gateways; the Sumerian device of breaking blank wall surfaces with rectangular buttresses; the pronounced Hadhrami batter of the walls (to counteract the crumbling tendency of the mud used for building); the ibex horns adorning the roofs; and the skill of building great seven- and eight-storied buildings with local material so that "they settle, almost invisibly at a short distance, into the rock behind them" (as at Robāt).

Hewers of wood, fishers, water-carriers, the fertilizing of date-palms (dating back to before the age of Herodotus), pigeon-traps, ladies' hands decorated with henna, irrigation, camels, pretty girls loaded with bells and silver amulet-cases (their chins and cheeks painted with green daubs), strolling musicians: all have their place in this absorbing gallery.

These photographs are preceded by an extremely able and expert introduction which (to the reader acquainted with Arabia and with the Hadhramaut in especial) rings all too truly and, to a certain extent, sadly. Modern "civilization" is now being applied to that fabled incense-country

"where, through the sand of morning land,
the Camel bore the spice."

Let us hope that Miss Stark's warning will not fall on deaf official ears: "Unless the Colonial Office pursue a singularly enlightened policy and attend to Beauty as if it were a matter of importance," the civilization and the architecture of the Hadhramaut "are destined to perish, for the life they belong to is dead."

W. H. LEE WARNER.

To Persia for Flowers. By Alice Fullerton. Oxford University Press. 10s. 6d.

Mrs. Fullerton and her companion, Miss Nancy Lindsay, travelled to Iran to collect flowers and plants. Mrs. Fullerton has given us a straightforward and delightful account of their life in a village which was the centre for their field work, and she spares us the usual tourist writer's moralizings on the East and ululations on the progress in Iran. If the choice of their centre was haphazard at least it was fortunate: they settled down in the village of Sultanabad, off the Hamadan-Kazvin road, and in a very short time were accepted by the people, even to the Mullah himself, as friends. Mrs. Fullerton tells of the simple, kindly charm of the villagers, of their solicitude for the comfort and well-being of herself and her friend, and of their artless generosity which she was in part able to repay by her courageous treatment of their sick. She tells us of her trips to Kazvin which she made astride a donkey, afoot or beside the driver of a chance lorry. She enjoyed them and so will the reader. Field work took them into the vineyards and sometimes beyond into the plain and Mrs. Fullerton has much to say of the beauty of empty spaces and distant mountains. This is not an account in the grand manner, but the simple; there are no frills and it is the more refreshing on that account. Nor is it a treatise on the flora of Iran, and on that account it may prove a disappointment to the botanist, but the botanist's loss is the general reader's gain. There is just enough of plants and flowers to warrant the title, but not enough to detract from the general reader's enjoyment of a most readable book.

W. I. R. B.

We Sailed from Brixham. By Lieut.-Colonel Claude Beddington. Demy 8vo. Peter Davies. 12s. 6d.

The chief claim of an account of two yacht cruises to the attention of the Royal Central Asian Society lies in the chapters describing the voyage through the Eastern Mediterranean and the Gulfs of Suez and Aqaba, the objective of the earlier of the two cruises. The method of seeing the East is original, and though the real motive of the cruise is revealed as fishing, the author takes a lively interest in the peoples and places visited, and his comments are written in a pleasant and chatty style.

The yacht was built at Brixham, on the lines, slightly modified, of the largest type of Brixham trawler; and was manned by a professional skipper and crew from the same port. This Journal is not the place to enter into the controversy on the merits or otherwise of the Brixham trawler type for yachts, but the author deals with this in some detail, of great interest to yachtsmen. The first voyage began in the autumn of 1935, and, as mentioned above, led to the Eastern Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Aqaba was the limit of the outward passage, and the neighbouring countries, familiar to many readers of this Journal, are described from the viewpoint of an unusual type of visitor. The other cruise was down the west coast of Africa as far as the Equator, equally interesting, but hardly Central Asian. The book does not claim to present the most adventurous class of yacht voyages, nor to make serious contributions to the study of Eastern affairs, but it provides entertainment in a most readable form and enables the reader to share in the obvious enjoyment of the author.

J. R. G.

POST-WAR FAILURES IN THE NEAR EAST

Franco-British Rivalry in the Post-War Near East: The Decline of French Influence. By Henry H. Cumming. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. ix+229. Map. Oxford University Press. 8s. 6d.

In a well-written volume of comparatively small compass Mr. Cumming has tackled a subject of wide extent and great complexity which is full of controversial issues. He has tackled it thoughtfully and temperately but not wholly without bias. The opening words of his prefatory note are what he would call "revealing."

"The conflict of Franco-British policies in Western Europe following the World War is well known. Much of Europe's post-war political tension may be said to have resulted from it. The divergence of diplomatic aims between France and Britain in the Near East is comparatively much less known, although the results of it were more immediately catastrophic."

Most of the mischief in the Near East (by which Mr. Cumming means the area which is more generally known as the "Middle East"—Syria, Palestine, and Iraq) has been due to conflicts of policy between England and France, and, on the whole, English policy has been more persistent, more

self-seeking and more successful. Even during the war England was busy undermining French predominance in the Levant, and "the first blow struck at French authority was the armistice of Mudros." It was only a beginning. "The British attempt at supremacy in the Levant over her allies the French continued to furnish grounds for bitter recrimination on both sides." "Before the Peace Conference at Paris, Great Britain added still further advantages to her position in the Near East at the expense of French claims." "Thus, at the opening of the Peace Conference, France had been shorn of important territories and prerogatives promised her, the Emir Feisal was apparently in popular control of Syria, and hundreds of thousands of British troops were occupying areas that were pledged by their government to their French allies." These appreciations of the situation are probably good medicine for English readers, some of whom may recall an inscription at Beirut telling future ages how Syria was liberated from the Turks by French arms. But Mr. Cumming, who is an Assistant Professor at the University of Virginia, seems to have drunk a little too liberally from French sources. After all, the hundreds of thousands of British troops who were occupying the areas which France regarded as her heritage had done something to eliminate the Turk from those areas, and there were a good many more hundreds of thousands on the Western Front where French interests were admittedly at stake. "I do not hesitate to say," said M. Victor Bérard in the Senate, "that the day when M. Clemenceau abandoned Mosul, Palestine, Kurdistan in order to have Metz and Strasbourg without plebiscite, the Saar basin, occupation of the Rhineland, complete security and coal without advance payment, he fashioned a great French policy. (*Great applause.*)" But Mr. Cumming finds a juster appreciation in the "revealing although somewhat exaggerated" words of a French lady journalist: "The English were fighting us everywhere, in Asia Minor, in Cilicia, in Syria, opposing themselves systematically to us, in every circumstance, for the principle of the thing." If Mr. Cumming seems too ready to credit England with a definite and conscious anti-French policy in the early post-war years, there can be no denying that, as time went on, the differences grew more and more acute. Professor Toynbee records how a Greek soldier declared that the war which followed the Greek landing at Smyrna was really one between France and England for the possession of Anatolia, and adds:—

"He meant it, I think, in the literal sense, for a majority of the Greek and Turkish combatants in this battle believed that French and British officers were directing operations on opposite sides." From the date of the Smyrna adventure and its disastrous consequences things went from bad to worse. Of the Franklin-Bouillon Agreement at Angora the less said the better. Mr. Cumming does not defend or excuse it, and he quotes some very outspoken French critics of that *chef d'œuvre* of duplicity. The low-water mark of Anglo-French relations over Near and Middle Eastern affairs was perhaps reached on September 19, 1922, when "Poincaré telegraphed orders to Constantinople to withdraw the French contingent, which, by arrangement between the Allied commanders on the spot, had proceeded to Chanak to support the British force already there." War was then not less imminent

than it was last September, but the flower was grasped out of the nettle and an armistice was signed at Mudania—where the sinister presence of Franklin-Bouillon shocked even French opinion. Mr. Cumming closes his volume with an account of the negotiations of the Treaty of Lausanne. He regards it as on the whole, a victory for England and a defeat for France. But the real victor was Turkey. France found that her Angora agreement had won her neither goodwill nor respect from the Turks and she left Lausanne with an uneasy feeling that she had always been getting the worst of hard bargaining. The Hôtel Beau-Rivage at Ouchy already rejoiced in one monument recording peace with Turkey. The Treaty of Lausanne is not undeserving of recognition. It has at any rate shown a greater vitality than its sisters of Versailles, Fontainebleau, and Trianon—to say nothing of Sèvres.

R. V. V.

The British Betrayal of the Assyrians. By Yusuf Malek. Introduction by W. Wigram, D.D. Pp. ix+380. Illustrations. New Jersey: Kimball Press.

This is a most difficult book to review. It is written by an Assyrian, about the most disastrous period of the history of his people.

One must bear in mind, therefore, that the writer is, only naturally, most bitter over the whole of the events.

But I consider that he would have been more convincing if he had not scattered so many uncomplimentary epithets throughout his book.

I do not think, too, that he is quite fair in certain things he says. To take, for example, the name of the book itself. This seems to put the blame on the whole British nation. But I think the writer will admit, as he does, in fact, on page 309, that a great many of the British nation have tried all they could to help the Assyrians, and only failed through force of circumstances. We cannot all be blamed for the betrayal.

Then the expression on page 233, "On discovering that it was now the British *will* that the Assyrians should be dealt with thus," is neither fair nor accurate.

The remarks about Major Thomson on page 241 and, on page 207, the remark in the note ("Does this include your pay?") is not pleasant reading, nor is it just to a hard-working officer trying to carry out a difficult job.

I also must take exception to the writer's remarks on Ja'afar Pasha el Askari on page 284. I knew him well, and have a great regard for his memory now, I am sorry to say. His country is the poorer by his death.

What makes this book rather difficult to follow is that there is a certain amount of repetition of events, and some events are described out of their chronological order.

The book is in two parts.

The first part, which gives a brief history of the Assyrian nation, a description of His late Majesty King Feisel I., and six following chapters describing the inhabitants of Iraq, I will not attempt to criticize or comment on, as the writer knows a great deal more than I do.

The chapter on missionaries and politics has some very bitter remarks in it, whether deserved or not I cannot say; but, at any rate, I did know Mr. Cumberland, and much regret his murder by a burglar last summer. I should have thought it most unlikely that he had anything to do with politics.

The Assyrians as soldiers in the Levies (see Chapter XI.) I knew all about, and

I will not withdraw a word from what I put in my book on them. The Kirkuk incident described in this book is simply a quotation from my account.

With regard to the statements, on pages 172 and 173, of the promises made to the Assyrians by Captain Gracey. I know that he denies this, and it is very obvious that he had not the power to make such promises.

The next three chapters lead up to Book II., which centres about the events of 1933. The events as they took place are as follows: Chapter XV. describes a series of interviews with the Mar Shimun by Sir Francis Humphrys and other officials and the curious stone-throwing incident in Mosul, all of which I have heard from various sources. Chapter XVI. gives further events after the Mar Shimun has reached Bagdad, and are, as far as I know, accurate.

Chapters XVII. and XVIII. give the events of August, 1933. There is a point mentioned here on page 254, and repeated on page 289, which, I think, has a great bearing on the events prior to the fighting.

In the letter signed by Yakub D'Malik Ismail and the leaders of his party appears this: "Mutasarif openly said, 'Those unsatisfied with this policy are free to emigrate from Iraq.'"

According, therefore, to the writer, the Assyrians took the mutasarif at his word and crossed into French Syria on what seems to have been a reconnaissance; but, with no intention of fighting (see pages 256 and 257), and they only fought when attacked. I believe this to be correct, though I am not prepared to say who fired first.

But of the events which followed there is no doubt. The fighting on the river (pages 257 and 258), the killing of prisoners, murder of the army commander, and finally the horrible massacre of Simel, an everlasting disgrace to its perpetrators.

I am not going to comment on the details of the massacre; no certain account has ever appeared. But the numbers are given as high as 3,000, and this I believe to be wrong. In the East numbers are usually exaggerated, and I believe the figure of about 500 is more likely correct. But that does not matter. That there was a massacre was enough.

The action of the Government in rewarding those who did it was also to be condemned; but their action was very likely dictated by fear of the army commander, a fear justified by events a year or two later on. He has now gone to his account, and so have some others who figured in this period. The attempts of the Iraq Government to conceal the massacre (see page 290) were, of course, futile, and it was finally admitted (page 308).

Yusuf Malik brings his book to an end with the Mar Shimun at the League of Nations' meeting in October, 1933. His book ends with an interesting series of appendices, beginning with the letter to the Mandates Commission by the Assyrians on October 23, 1931, list of Assyrians killed prior to the massacre, the massacre lists, a number of other letters on the Assyrian question and petitions, and minutes of the meetings of the Iraq Committee of the League of Nations Union in London. There is also an appeal by the Mar Shimun to all Christian churches, dated after he had reached Cyprus.

It will be seen through the whole of the book that the writer shows that the Assyrians are dissatisfied and apprehensive. In justice to ourselves we must claim that the award of the League of Nations in 1925 gave both to us and Iraq a problem, but no solution. But we must accept the blame for raising the mandate in 1933, after eight years, and not twenty-five, as the League of Nations Commission recommended. It is quite likely there were strong reasons which actuated us in doing so, such as possibility of trouble with the Arabs. But the responsibility is ours.

The Assyrians would not, as a whole, accept the situation. Some of the nation no doubt would, but in every nation, however small, there exists a strong, determined body with a national feeling, and this among the Assyrians is intensely so.

The older people still hope to get their country back. I have seen, when on the Ser Amadiya, Lady Surma d'Beit Mar Shimun sitting outside the summer residence there at a point when the mountains of Hakkiari were in view. And she told me then that, though she could not get to her land, she could look at it. As things are now it is very doubtful if they ever will get to their old country again.

There are a certain number of clerical errors in the book, the most important being:

Page 32 and page 43: Count Teleki's name is spelt wrong—*i.e.*, Telski and Telekib.

Page 33: Sheikh Mahmud Barzanji, not Mahmur.

Page 35: Something left out between the fourth and fifth line.

Page 60, top line: Amok, not amort.

Page 121: Ghurkha, not kurkha.

Page 158, last line but three: This was not in the service contracts of the Levies. Their action was wrong.

Page 259: Major Aldwards. I think this must be Major Allfrey, who was present at the start of these operations.

There are excellent photographs of Assyrians in this book, and a very good one of the late Benyamin Shimun XIX., who was murdered in 1918 by Ismail Agha Simko of Shekak, and the present Patriarch also.

J. G. B.

The Tragedy of Mesopotamia. By Sir George Buchanan. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Pp. x+288. End-paper map. Blackwood. 12s. 6d.

Sir George Buchanan has been a very long time in giving us this book, and, though there are valuable lessons to be learned from it, it makes melancholy reading indeed.

He graphically describes the disasters due to the failure of senior military officers in Mesopotamia and also the Government of India to grasp the fact that ample river transport and a smoothly working port at Basra were essential to the continued success of our arms in that country. Here certainly are lessons, if those who should can absorb them, for it is true that in peace-time the machinery of Government is so often apt to become more powerful than the man.

When he treats of the "medical scandal," Sir George is, to use the words he himself uses, "flogging a dead horse." No one who had anything to do with Mesopotamia during the first eighteen months of the campaign would attempt to defend the higher medical authorities. From the action at Sahil (which was fought on November 17 and not November 12) it was clear that the medical arrangements, devised for a normal frontier expedition, could not possibly cope with the flow of casualties in Mesopotamia. Though this lesson was rammed home at Shaiba, Nasiriyeh, and the first battle of Kut-al-Amara, nothing was done, and the holocaust of Ctesiphon, the retreat to Kut, and the terrible struggles of the relieving force furnished an example of suffering happily unquelled in the annals of modern British warfare.

In this book a well-earned tribute is paid to Sir Percy Cox and Captain (now Sir Arnold) Wilson for their eminently sane outlook and their efficient handling of difficult problems. The immense improvement in the lines of communication consequent on the appointment of Sir George MacMunn is also stressed.

When Sir George Buchanan discusses what might have happened and the development which might have taken place if Mesopotamia or a large portion of it had become a Protectorate or Crown Colony, he raises a very controversial question. Once the bug of "self-determination" had been let loose by the late President Wilson it is difficult to believe that it would not sooner or later have infected all the inhabitants of Mesopotamia, even though as late as 1921 the people of Basra wished for inclusion in the British Empire.

In these days of world over-production of wheat and other commodities it would be impossible to find a ready market for those vast crops which Sir George visualizes as likely to have resulted from British control and wholesale development. In Mosul, where the rainfall is adequate and irrigation is unknown and unnecessary, there is great difficulty in disposing of the crops produced. Since the War the use of irrigation pumps and the completion of certain irrigation schemes has given Lower Mesopotamia ample crops and flooded the markets formerly supplied from the north.

Sir George also questions whether the Turks really oppressed the Arabs. Among the meanings the dictionary gives to the word "oppression" is "sense of weight pressing." Surely it cannot be doubted that the dead-weight of Turkish government did constitute oppression. The treatment of certain minorities by the Iraq Government is undoubtedly worthy of severe criticism, but there is another side to the picture. Those British officials who were dealing with these incidents are well aware that provocation by the minorities was not by any means lacking. On the whole it cannot, moreover, be doubted that the general policy of the Iraq Government towards its minorities compares very favourably with that accorded by some "civilized" European Governments to theirs.

As much of the interest in this book lies in the discussion and description of river conservancy, it is a pity that a better map is not provided. To some of us such names as Beni Hutait, Mezlik, Akaika, and Chahala are pleasant or unpleasant memories, but the average reader would probably like to see them on the map. An index would also be an advantage.

INDIA

The Gateway to India: The Story of Methwold and Bombay. By A. R. Ingram. 8vo. Pp. xxix+191. Six illustrations. Oxford Press. 1938. 7s. 6d.

A subsequent history of military triumph has tended to overshadow, in retrospect, the East India Company's early ventures in India. So that it comes as a shock to many people to realize how far the pioneers were from claiming a racial superiority; how little they concerned themselves with European prestige. In those early days of the Factory at Surat there was an anxious English Ambassador at the Mogul Court; while even the Company's President might find himself in a native jail. A study of this period corrects many illusions while reminding us how largely the later conquests were due to the collapse of the Mogul Empire after 1707. A work such as this, therefore, dealing generally with the years 1599-1668, is to be welcomed, if only as drawing attention to an epoch which we are too apt to neglect. This book has a further claim on our gratitude in that it also draws attention to William Methwold, whose life has been undeservedly forgotten.

The Gateway to India is undoubtedly a valuable study. It is based on original material, well written and well illustrated. Where Mr. Ingram's book seems to

fail, however, is in arrangement. His work falls into two very distinct parts: the stories, respectively, of Methwold and of Bombay. Since Bombay did not fall into English hands until years after Methwold died, the connection between these two parts is of the slenderest. There is a failure, moreover, to emphasize such connection as there is. Artistically considered, the book is invertebrate. The relationship between its beginning and end is too vague. Considered as a biography of Methwold, the book continues after the story has ended. And, considered as an account of the English at Bombay, the book ends before the story has begun. The sole connection between Methwold and Bombay would seem to consist in his designs on the island, which were more than realized after his death. But these designs were not furthered by any effort on his part. Nor does the author show that Methwold's suggestions in any way affected the event. From this point of view, the book would be strengthened were it to include some discussion of the Portuguese motives in surrendering Bombay. Their principal motive may have been one of economy, since the island was to be run at a loss under English rule. On the other hand, other considerations doubtless had weight. It is a pity that Mr. Ingram is content with the bald statement that Bombay was included in Catherine of Braganza's dowry. There must surely have been some preliminary negotiation to arrange what her dowry should be.

The earlier and larger part of this book, dealing with the life of William Methwold, is based upon a series of papers in the India Office Library. These throw considerable light on a part of his career, and even to some extent on his character. Unfortunately, other information is scant, so that the biography (like others of the period) is incomplete. The main facts, however, are clear. Born in 1590, Methwold was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to a London merchant, Manninge, a member of the Skinners Company. Of his nine years' apprenticeship he spent five in Manninge's establishment at Middelburg. Having thus gained a familiarity with the Dutch and French languages and with the Eastern merchandise brought to Middelburg by Dutch East-Indiamen, he sought employment from the English East India Company in 1615. Succeeding in impressing the Court, he was engaged at a salary of £100 a year and duly sent out to the Factory at Surat in 1616. When it is realized that £100 then was perhaps the equivalent of £500 or £600 in the currency of to-day, he cannot be thought to have been underpaid. Nor was promotion slow, since he was appointed Chief Factor on the Coromandel Coast in 1618. Recalled on a charge of peculation in 1622, he was discharged soon after his arrival in England in the following year. Reinstated in course of time, he accepted the post of President at Surat in 1633, remained in India until 1639, and then returned to serve on Committee in England and achieve the title of Deputy-Governor before his death in 1653.

From the above account it will be seen that Methwold's career as the Company's servant is sufficiently chronicled in the Court Minutes and in his official correspondence. It is no less evident that his other activities have mostly escaped notice; and more especially during the period 1623-1633. One fact which emerges is that he must have been a man of substance and probably a merchant on his own account. The nature of his apprenticeship would tend to suggest this, as would also his appointment as Deputy-Swordbearer of the City of London. What makes it certain, however, is his refusal in 1629 of a proffered appointment as Chief Factor in Persia. He would not accept the post for a smaller salary than £350 a year, which was more than the Company would pay. By the time he was offered the Presidency at Surat, four years later, his terms had risen. He demanded, and obtained, £500 a year, which was then a very substantial income indeed. His attitude in these matters seems to argue not a carelessness in money

but a considerable independence. He had probably inherited some fortune, improved it in the course of his first ventures in India, and then prospered as a merchant in London. He evidently bore the Company no grudge for his treatment in 1623. On the other hand, he was very far from sitting on the Company's doorstep when out of its employ. It is a pity that more is not known of his affairs as capitalist and merchant.

In reading of Methwold's career, the student is confronted by two mysteries. Why, in the first place, was he dismissed in 1623? And, having been dismissed, why was he reinstated ten years later? The first question admits of several possible answers, the simplest being to assume that the Company was split into factions and that Methwold was victimized when the opposite party gained a majority. His reinstatement could then be explained as being due to his own friends' subsequent triumph. If this explanation is untenable, we are left with the problem of how he could have made such a reputation in so short a time. He spent altogether less than a dozen years in India. His first stay there lasted little more than five years, the first two of which were spent in learning the trade, and the last marred by a suspicion of his integrity. In that short space of time he had become expert enough, apparently, to be offered, on his own terms, the highest office in the Company's service. This is a remarkable tribute to his personality. It might, however, be less astonishing if more were known of his reputation in the City during the period 1623-33. It is possible also that the Presidency at Surat was difficult to fill after the great famine in Gujerat and the outbreak of cholera in 1630. His appointment can therefore be explained either in terms of his personality, his reputation as a financial expert, or the unwillingness of others to face an epidemic.

The great event of Methwold's Presidency was the treaty he made with the Portuguese in 1635. After the strife there had been in the past, diplomatic relations between Goa and Surat became surprisingly cordial, partly through Methwold's tact, but more through a mutual fear of the Dutch. This was the beginning of a firm alliance, none the less durable for the fact that it seems to have been ratified by neither party. If for this treaty alone, Methwold deserved well of the Company. This review cannot conclude better than with Sir William Foster's words:

"Alike in character and ability, Methwold stood head and shoulders above both his immediate predecessors and colleagues. His period of service proved to be an exceptionally arduous one, yet no danger daunted him, no emergency found him wanting; his cool judgment at once pointed out the course to be pursued, while his energy and fixity of purpose wrested success from even the most adverse conditions."

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON.

The Library of the India Office. A Historical Sketch. By A. J. Arberry, Litt.D. With a Foreword by the Most Hon. the Marquis of Zetland. 7½" × 5". Pp. 109. Frontispiece. Published by order of the Secretary of State for India at the India Office, London. 2s. 6d.

A glance at the title of this little book, *The Library of the India Office*, might lead the casual reader to pass it by as one of the works which Charles Lamb aptly called "biblia a-biblia"—books which are no books—like a railway time-table or the Telephone Directory. But in fact it would be hard to find a volume which contains so much interesting information within a few pages. Space forbids us

to do more than touch briefly upon some of the salient features in the history of the Library.

The stirring of the human spirit at the close of the eighteenth century, which gave rise to the French Revolution in the sphere of politics, was elsewhere strikingly manifested in a passion to explore the undiscovered regions of Oriental literature.

Napoleon's conquest of Egypt led to the revival of the science of Egyptology, which had lain dormant almost since the time of Herodotus. In India the Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784, to be followed by similar societies in France and Germany, and a galaxy of brilliant scholars, headed by Sir William Jones and Sir Charles Wilkins, became the pioneers of Sanskrit philology. The Honourable East India Company, though still engaged in commercial enterprises, was not unaffected by this movement, and in May, 1798, the Court of Directors issued a memorable letter announcing their decision to set apart a portion of their new buildings in Leadenhall Street as a Repository of Oriental Manuscripts. This was the foundation of the India Office Library. The idea may have originated with the historian Orme, but it was Charles Wilkins who formulated and submitted to the Court a grandiose design for an Oriental Museum, to include not only manuscripts and printed books, but maps, charts, coins, statuary and antiquities, specimens of all the natural and artificial products of the country, and a printing office for Oriental types. The scheme was warmly supported by Warren Hastings, who had been triumphantly acquitted in 1795 after his seven years' trial. His broadmindedness contrasts strongly with Macaulay's ignorant prejudice (for he knew no Eastern language) when he declared in his famous Minute of 1834 that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

Happily the Library survived Macaulay's onslaught, and Dr. Arberry is able to detail for us the stages of its development from a small collection of books and curios to its present proud position as the finest Oriental library in existence, comprising some 20,000 manuscripts and 230,000 printed books in all the known Indian languages.

Dr. Arberry refrains from further discussion of the disputed question of Macaulay's Minute, which admittedly did grievous wrong to the cause of Oriental culture in England, insomuch that the Library had to turn to America and Germany for scholars to carry on its traditions. On the other side we may observe that Macaulay's decision to make the English language the sole medium of higher education, however disastrous to Oriental scholarship, has undoubtedly proved an important factor in laying the foundations of a national and public life in India. It is by means of English as their *lingua franca* that Indians from the remotest parts of the sub-continent have been enabled not only to understand each other, but to hold their own with British statesmen in debate.

On the transfer of the Company to the Crown in 1858 the old East India House was sold and demolished. The Library was removed to Cannon Row, and the Museum to Fife House, Whitehall, where they remained till they were reunited in the new India Office building in 1869.

In 1867 the Indian Press and Registration of Books Act, which required a copy of every book printed in India to be forwarded to the Secretary of State for India in London, led to an immense increase in the size of the Library. The Museum also had been constantly enriched by gifts rather than by purchases, so that by 1874 the space available had become hopelessly congested, and when a plan for a separate India Museum and Library, with an Indian Institute for enquiry, lecture and teaching, fell through for financial reasons, it was decided to distribute the

collections among the great London museums. The break-up of the India Museum, however regrettable on other grounds, was a gain to the Library, which continued to expand.

The ruin of many historic libraries, from the final destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria by the Caliph Omar in the seventh century down to the wrecking of the Louvain University by the Germans in 1914, was repeated in the fate of several Indian libraries, notably that of the 'Adil-Shahs at Bijapur, and the Imperial Library of the Moghuls at Delhi, which was described in all its magnificence in the seventeenth century by the traveller Maudelslo. The only compensation for the melancholy retrospect of vandalism is to be found in the ecstatic joy of the archæologist when he lights upon a fragment of a statue by Praxiteles, or a mutilated text from a monastery on Mount Athos. Such a precious remnant of the Moghul library survives in the Dara Shukoh "Album," a series of exquisite paintings presented, with his own autograph, by that unfortunate Prince to his wife Nadira Begum in 1641. One of these paintings forms the frontispiece of Dr. Arberry's book, representing the youthful Jehangir facing his aged tutor, who holds a volume of Hafiz which he expounds to his pupil. This is not to say that the Library does not retain many priceless illuminated texts and Persian and Indian paintings from other sources, mostly unpublished and but little known, which are well calculated to excite admiration and stimulate Oriental studies.

A relic of a different kind, which was once in the India Office and may now be seen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is the remarkable toy known as Tippoo Sultan's Tiger, preying upon the body of an English officer, which has fascinated generations of children with the growls of the animal and the groans of its victim.

Another precious monument from the India Office, now in the British Museum, is the "Babylonian Stone," which came from the Company's Resident at Baghdad in 1801, and, as one of the earliest documents to be deciphered, played an important part in the foundation of Assyriology. It is tempting to linger over such treasures as Tippoo Sultan's Library and the Philip Francis Papers, but enough has been said to show what vast resources the India Office holds for visitors and students, whether British or foreign, to whom it has always been the liberal policy inherited by the Indian Government from the Court of Directors to offer every facility for inspection and research.

The uninstructed reader would perhaps be grateful for a few more explanatory notes on unfamiliar words and phrases—for instance, "the very curious species of steel, which is known at Bombay by the name of *bat* or *coots*," "the *kern* stone, which is used for cutting the inferior gems," and "that very curious fossil known in Bengal by the name of *cuncur*."

The Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India, has written an appreciative Foreword, which we heartily endorse. Dr. Arberry is to be congratulated upon a scholarly, and, we may add, captivating, monograph, which we do not doubt will bring this great Library, already well known to scholars, within the ken of a far wider public.

C. W. W.

Ordeal at Lucknow: The Defence of the Residency. By Michael Joyce.
8½" x 5½". Pp. ix + 396. Murray. 1938. 8s. 6d.

This narrative does not claim to be in any sense a history of the Indian Mutiny. No attempt is made to lay bare the subterranean causes of that volcanic outburst, or to estimate its effect upon the later political development of India. We are

not even given a sketch of the difficult military situation with which Havelock, Outram and Colin Campbell had to deal in their prolonged and strenuous efforts to relieve the beleaguered garrison of Lucknow. Our author's aim is less ambitious. His stage is small and his actors are few. But the drama is all the more vividly enacted. Within the Residency compound, a perimeter of some 2,000 yards, roughly equal in area to the historic mound of Hissarlik, where Greeks and Trojans waged their epic warfare, Mr. Joyce presents us with a series of Homeric combats, which we watch with breathless interest and alternate hopes and fears.

The story opens on a note almost of despair, with Sir Henry Lawrence's letter of June 30, 1857, to General Havelock at Allahabad, relating his defeat at Chinhat and saying that he had no hope of holding out more than ten to fifteen days. His force of little more than 1,500 regular soldiers, English and Indian, with a few civilians, was surrounded by never less than 10,000, and sometimes by 50,000 well-armed rebels. Lawrence himself was killed on the second day of the siege. But thanks to the admirable preparations which he had made for defence, and to their own valour, the garrison was able to hold out for 140 days until the moment of their final deliverance by Sir Colin Campbell. The daily and hourly vicissitudes of their desperate struggle against almost overwhelming odds pass before our eyes like the rapid succession of scenes in a film theatre. There were constant alarms, daring sallies and forlorn hopes, the rescue of the wounded under fire, everlasting mining and counter-mining. The heat was stifling. The food was unpalatable and covered with myriads of flies. The stench from decayed offal and dead animals was often insufferable. Cholera, dysentery, smallpox and scurvy took their heavy toll. There was an almost total lack of hospital requisites. Amputation without anæsthetics was invariably fatal. Behind all lurked the dread of capture by the rebels, which steeled the defenders to resolve on death rather than surrender, while the self-immolation of the women was to be carried out like the ancient Rajput rite of *Johur*. The heroism and the horrors are relieved by some lighter touches, such as the adventures of the Padre's dog, which was adopted by Private Metcalfe and survived the siege, and by the bands of the rebel regiments, which paraded within sight of the garrison, playing popular English airs and always ending with "God Save the Queen"!

A few figures famous in later years are flashed upon the screen. We catch glimpses of the future Lord Napier of Magdala, of Lieutenant Frederick Roberts, R.A., and of Captain Garnet Wolseley. These do not lack biographers. Nor is the vain-glorious Kavanagh in need of further advertisement. But we think that Mr. Joyce would have added much to the interest of his tale if he had traced the later lives of some of the humbler combatants. What led to the unhappy suicide of Martin Gubbins (we might have wished him a more heroic name) who displayed such fine courage and resolution, whatever may have been his faults of temperament? Why did Colonel Bonham receive no recognition of his services? What was the after career of Mr. Rutz Rees, the Calcutta trader, who found himself so unexpectedly shut up with the garrison, and whose excellent account of the siege, published early in 1858, supplies Mr. Joyce with most of his facts and anecdotes? What became of the Italian alabaster merchant, Barsotelli, who can only be compared to Alice's White Knight? What reward fell to Ungud, the Indian pensioner, who made so many perilous journeys through the enemy lines with despatches? And who was the "old Indian woman" who went out with a note rolled up in a quill addressed to Havelock?

The unfortunate differences between Brigadier Inglis and Mr. Gubbins, due to the supersession of the latter as Chief Commissioner of Oudh, and between the

Brigadier and his overworked chaplains and his engineers, are clashes of personality which at this date should not be revived. As we read of their rivalries, we can only murmur, "Tantæne animis cælestibus iræ?" But Mr. Joyce raises one question of modern interest. Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, in his recent book *The Indian Mutiny in Perspective*, condemns as quite illegal the famous gesture made by Sir James Outram (known as "the Bayard of India") when he refused to take over the command from General Havelock and so deprive him of the honour of relieving Lucknow. If Havelock had blundered, it is said that Outram would have been justly held responsible. Mr. Joyce remarks that the word *illegal* is misleading, since Outram's action was subsequently approved by both the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General. As a matter of military law it would seem that Outram's decision, however unselfish and chivalrous, was not legal from the military point of view and could only have been made so if it had obtained the *previous* sanction of the Commander-in-Chief. Perhaps the verdict of posterity may be summed up in the old saying, "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre."

Mr. Joyce's account appears to be based on all the well-known sources, with the addition of the unpublished narrative of Private Metcalfe. It is a mosaic, and therefore lacks a certain spontaneity, but it is a mosaic so skilfully pieced together that it gives the impression of being the work of an eye-witness. Mr. Joyce vouches for the accuracy of all his facts and for the substantial truth of the conversations which he records. We may, however, be allowed a moment of incredulity when we read that Dr. Fayrer sallied forth against a flock of sparrows which had alighted in a clump of bamboos and returned with 150 corpses, which provided an excellent curry!

As may be expected from John Murray, the book is produced in good form and at a moderate cost. The bibliography and index are satisfactory. A few minor defects may be noted. The map of India is meagre and lacks a scale, while from the sketchy plans of Lucknow and its environs it is hard to follow the disastrous reconnaissance to Chinhât or the fighting which led to the final triumphant issue. These features compare disadvantageously with the work of Mr. Rees. But the story on the whole is told in such a way as to stir our pulses and arouse our pride.

C. W. W.

Death and Diplomacy in Persia. By Yury Tynianov. London: Boriswood. 10s. 6d.

The central figure of this tedious book is Alexander Griboyedof, who, when Russian Minister in Teheran, was murdered there in 1828. The story takes him from Azerbaijan to Petersburg, where he delivers to Alexander I. the Treaty of Turkomanchai. He is appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and proceeds to Teheran with a view to implementing the new Treaty and more particularly collecting the indemnity. *En route* he marries in Tiflis and after much delay reaches Tabriz, where he leaves his bride in the care of Sir John and Lady MacDonald when he moves on to Teheran. In Teheran his Legation is stormed by an infuriated mob and he is killed. Such is the outline of the story, but the narrative is confused by an irritating lack of sequence and the characters are nebulous and unconvincing.

There is a *plan* which causes much heartburning to Griboyedof and arouses cupidity in the hearts of others, but we never learn exactly what the *plan* is. The servant Sashka is a wearisome bore who trails through the story, and it is difficult to understand why he is given such prominence. A morbid Russian introspection pervades the book and pierces our consciousness like the persistent and lugubrious

wailing of a fog siren. The account of the storming of the Legation is the best part of the book and is convincing, but it is not worth wading through 300 pages to arrive at the climax of this unhappy story.

W. I. R. B.

THE LEPCHAS

Living with Lepchas. By John Morris. 9" x 5½". Pp. xiii+312. Map and illustrations. Heinemann. 15s.

Major Morris has written a travel book of the very best kind. He has gathered his material, not by rushing from place to place, but by sitting still; the book assumes no previous scientific knowledge on the part of the reader; it is as accurate as it is witty and interesting; it fills a gap. Literature on Sikkim is scanty, and on the Lepchas who inhabit the remotest valleys of the State it hardly exists.

The author first saw the lovely Talung Valley in 1936 and at once determined to seize an early opportunity of learning more of it and its attractive inhabitants. His chance came next year, when he went to live in it, having with him Geoffrey Gorer as companion, and as chief assistant a Christian Lepcha, who, on wet days, would play right through the Church of Scotland Hymnal on a flute, apparently as an atonement for the extremely Rabelaisian conversations he was at times asked to translate. The Lepcha sense of humour is indeed frank, as the book shows.

Major Morris was fully qualified for his task of describing a little-known people. He is an anthropologist with unrivalled experience of Himalayan tribes and holder of the William Wyse Studentship at Cambridge. The scientific results of his expedition will be published later. The present book is a popular one, which owes its charm to the facile pen with which the author describes the scenes he witnessed and the virtues and failings of his many Lepcha friends. His method was to live in a Lepcha village for some months, getting to know his neighbours and watching all that went on. Much questioning was, of course, necessary to explain and supplement what he saw, but his book is essentially a record of personal experiences marshalled under the appropriate headings.

The race is undoubtedly dwindling, partly, it would seem, owing to the inability of the easy-going, unselfish Lepchas to stand up against the more vigorous, self-seeking Gurkhas, and partly to the high percentage of sterility among the women, who begin their sexual life unduly young. Major Morris' account, set down before it is too late, is therefore all the more valuable. His subject is a people who have charmed all who have come in contact with them, and he describes in full, always with concrete examples, their secular and religious administration, their remarkable festivals, and every aspect of their public and private lives. Of particular interest is his account of a system of polyandry that necessarily makes sexual jealousy a thing unknown. The illustrations are not just the pick of a fine lot of photographs. They are all strictly relevant and really enhance the value of an excellent book.

J. P. M.

Salween. By Ronald Kaulback. Pp. xi+331. Illustrations. Two page maps, one fold map. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s.

This excellent travel book is a fitting companion to Mr. Kaulback's previous *Tibetan Trek*. It deals with a portion of South-Eastern Tibet and is an account

of an expedition with Mr. Hanbury Tracy in which the two young travellers surveyed many square miles of unknown country. In 1933, in company with Captain Kingdon Ward, Mr. Kaulback had visited some of the country which formed his starting-point of this trip, and the friendships he had formed, especially with the Tibetan officers and the Shikathang, were of the greatest use to the party on this second visit; on his previous journey he had also grounded himself in the Tibetan language and the fundamentals of Tibetan travel, all of which contributed to the success of this enterprise. Although the travellers failed in their main object, which was to reach the source of the Salween, the expedition as a whole must be considered a major success; and the fact that a little is left to do will be an inspiration and inducement, we hope, for a further journey.

Mr. Kaulback travelled especially to Showa to connect up with the work of Captain Morshead; he does not seem to have realized that he had already been on that traveller's map at Shingke Gompa a few days previously. It is surprising that by early October, with eventually a further year's journey before the party, the author should have been in difficulty about boots! To civilized man (and no uncivilized man can bring back results) boots are an absolute necessity, and it seems to have been an avoidable risk to have taken with the health of the leader, with which was involved the final production of results of this well thought out and organized expedition.

In view of the fact that no specimens of mammals or birds were brought back the lists in the appendix are apt to be misleading. It should have been clearly stated that these were simply sight records, and of little value for identification. Reptiles, insects and some flowers were actually collected and lists of reptiles and flowers are given. Correct scientific lists of insects, especially of butterflies, which resemble the British forms, would not have been of "insufficient general interest."

The presentation to Mr. Kaulback of one of the annual awards by the Royal Geographical Society was an encouragement to this young and enterprising traveller. Higher awards have been gained for less important journeys, and we are sure to hear of Mr. Kaulback again and to see his name as the recipient of one of the higher awards.

The illustrations are excellent; the maps also are good, but it is a pity that the much better map on a larger scale published with Mr. Kaulback's paper in the *Geographical Journal* could not have been supplied. There is evidently a misprint on page 40, where the height of Lungphuk camp is given as 15,000 feet, since the Diphuk La, to which they later ascended from this camp, was only 14,280 feet (p. 45).

Lords of the Sunset. A tour in the Shan States. By Maurice Collis. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".

Pp. 326. Forty-seven photographs and a map. Faber and Faber. 15s.

The Shan States lie on a plateau between Burma proper on the west and China and Siam on the east. They are administered as an integral part of Burma, and their status and that of their chiefs does not, therefore, correspond with that of the native States of India and the rulers thereof. It remains to be seen whether, in the constitutional developments which will result from the new régime in Burma, they will be absorbed into some sort of federation, or whether they will attain the greater independence of protectorates.

In the cold-weather season their climate, their scenery, and the charm and picturesque diversity of their inhabitants combine to make them an enchanting playground for the enterprising traveller. That their very name is unknown to

the vast majority of the people of this country is due to the almost complete lack of facilities for the tourist, for which the Shans have, perhaps, good reason to be thankful.

Mr. Collis was fortunate in being able to make his tour under the ægis of Mr. Fogarty, the Commissioner of the Shan States, to whom his book is dedicated. This has enabled him to see and to understand much that would otherwise have escaped him on so brief a visit, the more so as he confesses complete ignorance of the Shan language.

His claim that he has been able to make the Shans walk from their hills on to his pages is hardly substantiated. For he saw but little of the common folk, and his pages deal almost exclusively with the *Sawbwas*, their wives, and their relations. But of the personalities of these latter, and of their endearing courtesy and hospitality, he has given us word-pictures drawn with all the literary grace and freshness of style which marked the writing of *Siamese White*, the book with which he made his bow with such success to the reading public. And the excellent photographs form a worthy pendant to the letterpress.

For those who have had the privilege of making the acquaintance of that remarkable woman, the author's success in getting under the skin of the Lords of the Sunset can be appraised by his penetrating study of Tip Htila, who, *si parva licet componere magnis*, has blended in her small person the seductiveness of Mary, Queen of Scots, with the forcefulness, the business and political acumen, and the skill in handling men of Elizabeth of England. The photographs of this lady in her youth and in her old age, opposite pages 272 and 273 of the book, are worth more than a passing glance. We can well understand how Mr. Collis, as his tour was drawing to a close, wrote: "The plain truth was that after meeting Tip Htila everything else in the Shan States was a little flat."

The casual reader will find good entertainment in this book. For the more knowledgeable student it is marred by a number of sweeping insinuations about the manners of the English in their relations with their fellow-citizens in India and Burma, and of hasty criticisms of the Governments of India and Burma in their dealings with the Shan States, which the author would find it hard to substantiate in any serious discussion.

Mr. Collis suffers, as his book *Trials in Burma* showed, from a certain mental astigmatism with which the champions of the underdog, real or supposed, are apt to be afflicted, and which serves, did they but realize it, only to weaken the causes which they advocate.

F. L.

AFGHANISTAN

L'Afghanistan. Par René Dollot. Pp. 318, illustrations and map. Paris: Payot, 106 Boulevard St. Germain. 1937.

This pleasant account of Afghanistan is the work of a former French minister to that country. It is not a learned or elaborate treatise, but a readable description of Afghanistan to-day. The author in a short introduction makes clear that the book is not a historical study, but he is nevertheless wise enough to give a short résumé of Afghan history. In this outline, Monsieur Dollot expresses the view (p. 35) that the Government of India when it placed Shah Shuja on the throne, in the first half of the last century, meant to make Afghanistan a British

protectorate. This opinion is doubtful; but what a quantity of trouble India, Afghanistan, and Asia in general would have been saved if this had been accomplished.

The book gives a good account of the journey to Kabul and also of that city, which the author did not admire; and in this respect most visitors will agree. The northern part of the country was visited, and the Oxus much disappointed the writer. It is not the first time that a great and historic river has proved inadequate when seen. No matter how famous and how rich in past memories, it is hard to be enthusiastic over a muddy, sluggish stream.

Monsieur Dollot's descriptions of Ghazni, Kandahar, and Bamyān are agreeable but superficial. Perhaps they are not meant to be more than that.

Afghanistan has only recently been opened to tourists, and, alas! they all travel by car. Persia has been spared this incursion of ephemeral trippers, and there is consequently a large body of literature which describes the country as it is, and not as seen through a cloud of dust from a passing car. Travel by motor is, in fact, not travel at all; and in the East it is even more than usually misleading. So accounts of Afghanistan will always be those of the motorist, who will be the only travellers in the country. It is one of the many drawbacks of this shallow and slovenly age. So although the descriptions of the chief towns of Afghanistan given by Monsieur Dollot are lively and entertaining; they can never have the value, as he himself would admit, of the leisurely and deliberate traveller. This gentle, unhurried, observant progress through the country will never be achieved. The tourist in that land is relegated inextricably to a dirty machine.

The author has studied Afghanistan from many angles, and he has not neglected to consult the authorities, which he often quotes at length. Like other writers, too, he deplores the scantiness of the literature. Such as exists, Monsieur Dollot has read with care and discrimination. There are chapters on the habits and customs of the people, and the replacement of Persian by Pashtu has not escaped the observant minister. A final chapter is devoted to French achievements, which are almost wholly archæological, and of which, thanks chiefly to the work of Monsieur Hackin and his companions, the French have every reason to be proud. Otherwise a French legation at Kabul is a pure waste of money.

The more humorous side of life has not escaped Monsieur Dollot. It is amusing to hear of "nightingale's meat" as a euphemism for pork; that in Kabul a morning-coat is known as a "bonjour"; and that formerly during the fast of Ramadan the mullahs would stop passers-by in the street and look at their tongues—if they were not white they were not keeping the fast. The toilet arrangements at Kandahar surprised the traveller, as he previously had not understood the use of clods of earth in a bathroom. This only shows how his education would have been improved much sooner if he had not travelled by car through Afghanistan.

Proper names in French and German are always strange and often a stumbling-block, as writers in those languages still strive, with small success, to reproduce by their own particular spelling the pronunciation of names which Western orthography cannot properly ensure. English writers for the most part use a conventional spelling, which is neater and quite as effective. In this book the following are some of the horrors which are due to the futile desire to reproduce the right pronunciation in French: Chattel-Arab for Shatt-el-Arab, Djemroud for Jamrud, and Pouchtou for Pashtu. There are, alas! others. The documentation of the book is very careful and thorough; there is a fair bibliography of French and English books; there are some illustrations of an inferior

kind and a map of the most indifferent description. Foreign publishers in this respect are as great sinners as their British brethren.

Monsieur Dollot deserves our thanks for adding another book to the meagre literature of Afghanistan.

Prisoner in the Forbidden Land. By Gustav Krist. Translated by E. O. Lorimer. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 354. Map. Faber and Faber. 10s. 6d.

There surely cannot be many readers of war books whose appetite for lice and latrines is not yet satiated, nor do the daily papers fail to supply us with accounts of insensate and bestial cruelty, showing that this is peculiar neither to war-time nor to one nation.

This story of the adventures and sufferings of an Austrian prisoner of war in Russian Turkestan has little to tell us outside these subjects for its first hundred pages. Then follows an interesting and entertaining interlude covering two attempts to escape and describing the author's wanderings through Bokhara, Afghanistan and Persia and his shifts to earn his living.

A further period of imprisonment and brutal treatment, mainly on the shores of the Caspian but finally in Samarkand, brings us to the Bolshevik revolution and the release of the prisoners.

The remainder of the book, and to the reviewer the most interesting part, deals chiefly with the setting up of various industries in Samarkand by the prisoners of war, to support themselves until they can obtain their repatriation, a very interesting account of a visit to Bokhara, and finally their repatriation by the same route by which they had originally arrived—namely, Tashkent and Orenburg and through the famine area of the Volga at the height of the famine in 1921.

It is difficult to know from what angle to view this book. As a record of hardships and ill-treatment gallantly borne and vividly described it can well hold its own with the many similar books. As a description of a most interesting and comparatively little-known part of the world it seems to miss a great opportunity, since it tells us very little of the countries visited and their inhabitants. As a sidelight on events in an out-of-the-way corner during and immediately after the war little reliance can be placed on it, since such statements as relate to the British troops are so hopelessly inaccurate as to make it a fair assumption that other statements are not much more reliable. Nor is the author's thermometer above suspicion.

It is doubtless from the first of these angles that the book will be mainly read, and those who desire more of this diet will be amply rewarded.

The interest of the book is greatly enhanced by an admirably clear map.

D. E. K.

25,000 Kilomètres au-dessus de l'Asie. Par Ph. d'Estailleur-Chantereine et le Docteur Max J. Richon. Préface par le Maréchal Franchet d'Esperey. Five illustrations and sketch-map. Paris: Les Éditions de France. 1938.

This is an account of a flight to the French Establishments in India by a well-known French airman and his medical companion. The route was via Baghdad, Jask, and Karachi to Pondicherry. After visiting the two French possessions of Karibal and Mahé the party went on to Chandernagore and Calcutta. They returned to Europe by much the same route as they reached Karachi, but made a detour to Tehran, Ispahan, and other places in Persia.

The book is pleasantly written, with an agreeable enthusiasm which all who

know the attractive personality of Monsieur d'Estailleur-Chantereine will well understand. Certainly some cheerfulness is necessary to any Frenchman who wishes to write favourably about the melancholy, neglected, and inaccessible little settlements which are the decaying remnants of the empire of Duplex. The author bestows much praise on them, and Pondicherry as a "capitale vivante" is hard to recognize. Some excuse is due to the patriotism of a Frenchman for so describing that moribund and poverty-stricken little place. He even writes with enthusiasm of Chandernagore, the town on the Hooghly which Clemenceau flatly refused to visit.

On their return journey the first place of importance in Persia that the party called at was Shiraz. Thence they went via Kum to Tehran. The remarks about the air currents in Persia are important, and the author observes that their force and violence are well-nigh incredible, and are the cause of the many accidents that take place. Their machine was often sucked up, or sucked down, at the rate of 3,000 feet in two minutes; and on one occasion, if there had been any high ground near, nothing would have prevented a disaster. Conditions improved beyond Kum, and near Demavend the air was almost normal. The party were all experts, and their remarks deserve attention. As it was, the rarefaction of the air at Ispahan nearly caused an accident, and the aeroplane actually grazed a mosque.

There is a good if short description of Tehran, and a particularly shrewd account of tendencies in that city, and the great tact and ingenuity needed to avoid—well, friction. At Ispahan the fleas were too many, and the writer suggests that modern Iran has preserved the flea as a memento of old Persia. After a call at that place "without roses," and where the heat was extreme, the travellers went to Persepolis, saw the ruins and the American excavators, had a whisky-and-soda, and went on home by way of Baghdad and Aleppo. And so they reached Paris, on their aeroplane the "Paris."

Monsieur d'Estailleur-Chantereine is responsible for the book, and he is well acquainted with the political questions and tendencies of the Near and Middle East; and has, in fact, written several books on cognate subjects. His opinions on British politics in the East have therefore a certain value.

He thinks in particular that Great Britain does not realize the good that a policy of mutual confidence and good-will would produce. He regards Russia as a menace quite as great now as in Czarist times, and is certain that the aim of Germany is what it was before the war. He even prophesies that all Arabia will take a hand in Palestine. It really looks as though he might be right, and these gloomy conclusions are depressing to the out-of-date Imperialist.

Altogether this book is a pleasant and well-informed account of an original flight, the first from France to the French possessions in India. It may be slight, but it is more than a mere tourist's log. To the foreigner the style seems admirable.

HIMALAYAS

Blank on the Map. By Eric Shipton. With a Foreword by T. G. Longstaff. 9" x 6". Pp. xviii + 300. Map. Illustrations. Hodder and Stoughton. 18s.

This book tells of a journey by Shipton and three British companions to explore the unknown and uninhabited area in the vicinity of the Shaksgam River.

The area visited lies near the borders of Kashmir, Hunza, and Chinese Turkestan in Central Asia.

Accompanied by an amazingly small number of coolies, these four explorers crossed the main Karakoram Mountains—no mean feat in itself—and established themselves on the north side of the range. From here they sent back most of the coolies and, with only seven Sherpa porters and a few Baltis, proceeded to explore some 1,800 square miles of quite unknown country. The party remained in this barren country, cut off from the outside world, for some three months. The country over which they worked must be some of the most hazardous in the neighbourhood of the always difficult Karakoram Mountains. In spite of coolie strikes, swollen rivers, and terrific physical exertions and hardships, the members of the expedition collected sufficient data to produce an excellent $\frac{1}{4}$ -inch-to-the-mile map of the whole area: previous to this the area had been shown as a white space marked "Unexplored." A great deal of interesting geological data was also collected by Auden.

The book is quite the most absorbing story of adventure in the mountains which I have ever read. To the ordinary man who potters about in the mountains of Asia (or Europe, for that matter), the book will come as a revelation of the hardships and unpleasant times which the real enthusiast will endure to be in his beloved unexplored mountains.

N. R. S.

Himalayan Assault. By Henry de Segogne and others. 48 illustrations. Methuen. 15s.

Himalayan Assault is an account of the first French Himalayan Expedition, which in 1936 attempted the ascent of the so-called Hidden Peak, one of the giants of the Karakoram, to which attention was first called by the explorations of Sir Martin Conway and the Duke of Abruzzi.

It cannot be said that this account adds anything to our knowledge either of mountaineering methods or of the geography of the area in question, and the expedition seems from the first determined not to profit from the experiences of previous Himalayan expeditions. The party accomplished so little that it is difficult to understand the reasons for publishing this book, which is badly put together and full of unnecessary repetition. Even so, the various authors seem to have had some difficulty in filling the bare two hundred pages of large print of which the book, including the various appendices, is composed. The translation from the French is no more than adequate.

C. J. M.

ART, ARCHÆOLOGY, ETC.

A Survey of Persian Art. Edited by Arthur Upham Pope and Phyllis Ackerman. 3 vols. text and 3 vols. plates. To be published in the course of 1938-39. Subscription price £36 15s. Vol. I. Text. The Prehistoric, Achaemenid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods. Vol. IV. Plates. 510 pages of plates, of which 256 belong to Vol. I.

In a short review of such a volume as this comprising 895 pages, 38 principal and 13 subsidiary chapters, the work of 37 authors—it is mani-

festly impossible to do justice to all the subjects and all the writers. Certain chapters, however, naturally stand out, either because of the importance of the subjects dealt with or because of the clarity and brilliance of the treatment which they display; it is such chapters that will be dealt with here most fully.

The volume opens with an introduction by Pope, in which the decorative quality of Persian art as a whole is stressed; we must bear this characteristic in mind if we are to enjoy the art to the full, for it is an art which does not by any means conform to the same rules as that of the Classical world. To call it decorative, however, is to use the word in a descriptive and not in a derogatory sense, and Grousset in his chapter on the History (chapter 3) shows clearly that there is a new yet perfectly valid standpoint distinct from that of the Classicist which must be adopted, not only by the student of art, but also by the historian of events and by the observer of social development. Achæmenid culture, he shows, was thus not just a mere barbarism as opposed to Greece but a definite entity in itself, while Achæmenid art—as is shown especially in the chapter on the sculpture (Casson)—was not just eclectic but rather a new and distinct creation. And if this is true of Achæmenid art, how much more true is it of Parthian and Sasanian?

One of the most vital features of the Iranian style through the ages is a sense of suitability of decoration, and whether it be pottery vessel or textile, metal dish or palace wall, the decoration is there not as a mere adornment of the surface but as a basic principal of the object; without its decoration the object would cease to exist. Further, the elements of the decoration are invariably extraordinarily intense and vivid, especially in the sphere of animal art, and though there are variations between extremes of stylization and naturalism, vitality is never lacking (see especially chapter 15, "Pre-Achæmenid Animal Styles," Pope and Ackerman).

Mr. Pope's introduction has a fault in common with another chapter by him, "The Relation between Geography and Art in Iran"; it is over-long and straggling. But both of them contain important matter, and though at present no conclusion more definite than that geography issues the challenge but man is the ultimate determining agent is to be drawn from the evidence presented in the latter chapter, there is every reason to believe that future research will have much to disclose regarding art and geography. It is a subject which has as yet hardly been touched on: Sir Charles Holmes in his book, *An Introduction to Italian Painting*, was one of the first to give it any attention, but it has been little considered since: no book on the art of a specific region should in the future leave this subject unexamined.

Much more definite conclusions are offered by Herzfeld in his admirable chapter, "Iran as a Prehistoric Centre." He believes that agriculture was first evolved in the plateaux and not in the plains, and the striking similarities that we see between all the lowland cultures around Iran—Anau, the Indus valley, Elam, Mesopotamia—are to be accounted for by the fact that all drew alike from the same highland centre. Herzfeld places this centre in the Caucasus and in Eastern Anatolia, and he thinks that it remained supreme as a source of inspiration well on into the copper age, since metals were for

him also first used in the highlands, close to their sources, and not in the plains. Herzfeld's conclusions as to an original mountain home are borne out in several of the chapters that follow, more especially in that of Contenau, "The Early Ceramic Art," and they can hardly be disputed. Where exactly the most vital centre of the highland culture should be located is, however, another question, and not all would agree with Herzfeld in assigning a primary rôle to Anatolia.

Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9, on the early cultures of Susa (R. de Mecquenem), Damgahan (Rogers Warren), Astarabad (Wulsin), and South-East Persia (Sir Aurel Stein), are brief summaries. The problems would better have been treated in a single chapter, for which the admirable one of Contenau already alluded to might have served as a model; together with Herzfeld's chapter, it is certainly the most outstanding in the first sections of the volume. Contenau's work not only shows that the wares from Susa should be dated in the order Susa I. *bis*, Susa I., Susa II., but also proves that it is only by treating the whole Near East as a unity that final results are to be obtained. His "comparative" method might have been extended with advantage to the other subjects dealt with, and, masterly though Dussaud's chapter on "The Bronzes of Luristan" is, one feels that the last word has not yet been spoken on the question of dating. His three main groups—*c.* 2000 to 1000, *c.* 1000 to 800, and *c.* 600 to 500 B.C.—are clear enough, but a detailed stylistic study should permit closer sequence dating of individual objects within the groups.

Of the chapters of Achæmenid art the most important are those on Architecture (Wachtsmuth) and Sculpture (Casson); though both deal in the main with more or less familiar material, they afford the first convenient summaries that are available. More than that, however, they disclose something of the quality of this rather cold but majestic art, which the chapters on contemporary minor arts serve to bear out. It is far more proficient than Sasanian art, but at times lacks the sympathetic appeal of the latter. The difference is that Achæmenid art is antique, whereas Sasanian is mediæval. And the more we learn of the age that separates them, the Parthian, the more clearly do we see that it was then that the new spirit which we know as the mediæval was born.

This is most clearly shown in two admirable chapters by Reuther on Parthian and Sasanian Architecture. There is more difference, he notes, between the earlier and later phases of each of these ages than between the one and the other, and already in the Parthian we see foreshadowed a number of features which were later to become characteristic of Islam; the circular plan of the first city at Baghdad may be noted among them.

The other arts of this important and vital period are unfortunately dealt with in a far less penetrating manner. The chapter on "The Art of the Parthian Silver- and Goldsmiths" is thus little more than a summary of the rather scanty material. It was completed by Dr. Ackerman, apparently at the last moment, on Dr. Zahn's defaulting, and the assistant editor's energy was obviously beginning to flag. At times the chapter is almost incomprehensible, as, for instance, when the author writes, "where the escutcheons

are tangent is a three-bract foliate segment" (p. 462). It is much to be regretted that Professor Rostovtzev, who has dealt with Parthian art in more than one brilliant publication,* could not have been persuaded to add a chapter on the general significance of the age, in which Parthian sculpture and painting could have been alluded to. Though paintings of this age have only so far been found outside the confines of Iran proper—at Dura and in South Russia—there is reason to believe that the art was very important. A remark in Sir Denison Ross's chapter earlier in the volume (p. 132) must hence be accepted with reserve. He writes: "The Persian genius for painting was only to come into its own when the artists had for inspiration the national poetry of Islamic Persia." The few paintings of the Parthian age that we know seem definitely to herald the style of the Mesopotamian or Abbasid school of the thirteenth century.

Reuther's clear and suggestive chapter on Sasanian architecture has already been alluded to. Two chapters that follow, "Textiles" (Ackerman) and "Metalwork" (Orbeli), are no less important. The one sets a new foundation for the hitherto uneasy structure of the subject of Near Eastern textiles, and one awaits the fuller publication of the author's conclusions, which is announced in the footnotes, with impatience. The other chapter is welcome as the first full work on this important subject. Professor Orbeli, who is Director of the Hermitage, is not only more thoroughly familiar with Sasanian metalwork than anyone else, but he also knows intimately the Near East of to-day; how often features that appear in the decoration of the vessels are to be explained by a knowledge of customs which were until recently in vogue among Kurdish and other tribes of the Near East is clearly seen in his text. The significance of the scenes, the forms, the techniques, the social background to be discerned behind these vessels—all these are admirably dealt with. It is only with regard to the problems of interrelation with the West and of dating that the chapter falls short. The author says little about the former and practically nothing about the latter, but the order in which the plates are arranged shows the sequence that he suggests. The editors, after long consideration, put forward another scheme of arrangement in a footnote on page 716. Their system seems on the whole more satisfactory, but it may be noted in passing that they cite Plate 230A twice and Plates 230B and 224 not at all in their sequence.

Sasanian stone sculpture is dealt with rather briefly by Professor Sarre; he has little to add to his earlier work on the subject. The stuccos, however, are treated much more fully, as they deserve to be, since we know but little of them, and nearly all the material is new. The illustrations to these sections are especially welcome, as are those to Ettinghausen's important chapter on Sasanian ceramics. Sections on coins, jewellery, seals, and enamels complete the section, and the first volume of the "Survey" closes with a long chapter by Dr. Ackerman on "Some Problems of Early Iconography." She sets out on an intriguing chase after the origin of numerous motives in Iranian art, most of which begin as astral symbols, and she shows

* *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, Yale Classical Studies, New Haven, 1936; *Dura-Europos and its Art*, Oxford University Press, 1938.

that in many cases later designs, as, for instance, one on a Sasanian plate first published by Trever,* are only to be explained when the age-long history of the motives of Iran is taken into account. But the subject is one which must not always be pursued to extremes, for often enough ignorant conservatism was the controlling factor in the use of these motives rather than conscious symbolism.

A few definite criticisms may be made. Thus in a work of such vast proportions certain repetitions and overlappings are inevitable; but in two cases, between the chapters by Herzfeld and Grousset, and again between those on Achæmenid sculpture and metalwork they are perhaps more considerable than need be. Some of the conclusions, again, more especially that as to the Iranian feeling for animal art, are perhaps too often repeated. Certain of the shorter chapters would perhaps have better been incorporated into the longer ones. Grousset's chapter on the History might have been better illustrated with sketch-maps as regards the later periods. The English reader regrets the use throughout the book of certain rather ungainly words, such as "rendition" in place of the much pleasanter "rendering." It seems a pity that in a work of some fifty chapters and sub-chapters as many as ten, on the most diverse subjects, should have had to be completed by Dr. Ackerman. And one wonders why the well-known fire altar at Naqsh-i-Rustam (p. 68, Fig. 3) is always unquestioningly accepted as Achæmenid, when its whole style and appearance are Sasanian and when the fire altars that appear on Achæmenid reliefs are always of a different form.

But these are criticisms of detail only. The unanimity of the style throughout the greater part of the volume (chapter 37B by Trever is an exception) is striking, and the vastness of the task of editing, which included not only the insertion of numerous cross references to pages and plates but also the addition of many learned footnotes, and in one case (Professor Orbeli's chapter) the writing of all the footnotes, cannot fail to awaken one's admiration. The text is as authoritative as possible at a time when discoveries are constantly being made; the plates could not be better, and the tremendous array of unfamiliar material in both bears witness to the basic value of the work. Editors, printers, and sponsors alike must be congratulated on the production of a volume which will be invaluable to the specialist, and which in addition cannot fail to interest all who have to deal with the art or archæology of other regions, however distant.

D. TALBOT RICE.

"The Wild Rue": A Study of Muhammadan Magic and Folklore in Iran. By B. A. Donaldson. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 216. Luzac. 10s. 6d.

The author has amassed a vast amount of information and must be congratulated for the very thorough way in which she has dealt with this complicated subject. The work entailed must have been enormous, especially when one realizes that it was first necessary for her to gain the confidence of the people—

* Trever, *Nouveaux plats sasanides de l'Ermitage*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1937. See the "Survey," p. 882, Fig. 306.

particularly the common people—for the subject is not one which they will readily discuss with a foreigner.

The information has been classified under various headings, and this helps to make the book more interesting.

The author has certainly chosen her field well, for Iran is a happy hunting-ground for superstitions and magic. Iran, whose history goes back into the dim past, where civilization succeeded civilization and where religions have succeeded religions and have sometimes managed to exist side by side, was bound to have retained the superstitious practices to which they gave birth.

A good many of these practices—call them superstitions or magic—have undoubtedly been passed down from the days of the Magi, becoming distorted in the course of time.

Religion is also the source of many curious practices, so much so that it may be said with truth that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line and say where religion ends and where superstition begins. The author explains how in certain cases an invocation to God has to be made to avert the Evil Eye, and how tradition bases this practice on certain suras of the Koran which are supposed to justify it.

Talismans consisting of a piece of paper on which a surat has been copied, and which is sewn up in a little piece of cloth adorned with blue china beads or other charm-bearing objects, are still very much in use, not only on children, grown-up people, and animals, but also on motor-cars.

The lower classes are notoriously credulous in Iran; the people are nimble of wit, and quite a few use their imagination to better their own conditions at the expense of others, and it is not, therefore, astonishing to find that a number of people have been making a living by selling charms and, of course, inventing new charms to cover any fresh fears their customers may have—and so the practice has spread in an incredible way, as the author shows us.

The fertile imagination of the Iranian people (who have often been described as a nation of poets) revels in the supernatural, fairy-tales, and such like, which, of course, predisposes them to believe in magic.

The steady decline of Persia, where education had dwindled down alarmingly, favoured the spread of superstition.

But Persia no longer exists. Iran has arisen in its stead. A resolute stand has been made against the process of decay, which has been halted. The problem of education for both boys and girls has been energetically tackled, and schools and universities are springing up everywhere. Likely youngsters of both sexes are sent abroad to finish their education, and quite a number are now back in Iran. Education is the surest way to combat superstition, and the effects of education are now being felt in the country. But nevertheless, it will take a long time to eradicate the custom, which usually starts among the lower classes and spreads upwards to the better classes, for the process of elimination has to start from the upper classes and work downward among the poorer people, who are more credulous, and whose belief in superstitious practices is so deeply rooted.

The author deserves our thanks for the work she has undertaken so successfully.

I may be excused for making the following quotation, "*Nil humanum mihi alienum puto,*" which I would translate as follows: "Nothing that concerns human nature should be foreign to me." And is not the picture the author draws for us of Persian life and customs intensely human, pathetic, and interesting, for is it not, after all, one of the aspects of the eternal struggle of the people, trying by simple practices, naive faith, and puny efforts to ward off the dangers and terrors of life?

J. F. R.

Dura-Europos and its Art. By M. Rostovtzev. 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. xvi + 162. 28 plates and other illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1938.

In 1921, Captain Murphy, of the Indian Army, while engaged in operations against the Arabs in the region of the Middle Euphrates, came across, in the course of digging trenches, some wall-paintings at Dura, a spot almost due east of Palmyra. He sent a sketch to his General, and this was passed on to Miss Gertrude Bell, who immediately recognized its importance. Two years later excavations were carried out by Monsieur F. Cumont, and the results were published in 1926 in his *Fouilles de Dura-Europos*, issued by the Service des Antiquités of Syria. In 1928 systematic exploration of the site was undertaken by Yale University in collaboration with the French Academy of Inscriptions. Work was continued up to 1938, and then had to be stopped through want of funds, about a third of the site having been explored. Six Preliminary Reports have been published; four more are to appear, followed by a final comprehensive report. The present volume is based on lectures delivered by the author in 1937 at University College, London, and at the Collège de France, Paris. The book professes to be a sketch of the history and topography of Dura-Europos and of its art. But, besides giving a summary of the factual results already reported in the Preliminary Reports, it contains a tentative critical evaluation of the art, and especially of the pagan religious and secular paintings, and the Jewish and Christian paintings discovered in the fourth year of the work. It is these criticisms, with suggestions as to the origins of the art and as to their influence on subsequent Christian art in Europe, that are likely to receive most attention.

The Macedonian colony of Europos was founded about 300 B.C. on the site of a previous settlement which had borne the Babylonian name of Dura. The date is also that of the founding of Edessa and Nisibis. Its position was of strategic and commercial importance: it commanded the route up the Euphrates from Seleucia and Mesopotamia to Northern Syria, and, by way of Zeugma, to Asia Minor, while another route took off from Europos, crossing the desert to Palmyra and Damascus. The city was built on the edge of a rocky plateau on the west side of the river, a position of great natural strength, which by the erection of massive fortifications was converted into a military stronghold of first importance. The greater part of the high walls, all the towers, the four gates, and the citadel were built entirely of quarried stone. Apart from its military purpose, the author suggests that the place was intended to secure the political control of the neighbouring Arab tribes. The colony was planned on the lines of a Greek *polis*, with a Macedonian garrison. The culture was Hellenistic, and art was in favour. Apart from what appears to have been the work of local artists, many imported objects were found, including intaglios and coins, and notably a charming marble statuette of Aphrodite with her tortoise, which may throw light on the vexed question of the Venus of Milo. The city was a place of great prosperity, not only from its position on the caravan route from the East, but also as the centre of the rich alluvial plain along the Euphrates.

With the rapid decline of the Seleucid Empire after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Europos was at the mercy of the Parthians, who finally occupied it about 150 B.C. They appear to have used it as a military stronghold, to form part at a later date of the Parthian *limes* described by Isodorus of Charax, and probably intended as a barrier against the Roman invaders of Parthia—Crassus, Cæsar, and Antony. Apart, however, from the military occupation, the place remained Greek in all essential respects, the inhabitants being allowed a maximum of autonomy, with complete freedom in their social, economic, cultural, and religious life. Its importance was enhanced by the peaceful policy of Augustus and his encouragement of trade. Palmyra appears to have become the chief entrepôt for the Eastern trade, and the caravan route was neutralized and was guarded by a native Palmyra levy only, the Parthian garrison being withdrawn from Europos, though nominally the place remained part of the Parthian Empire. This was the most prosperous period of its history, as shown by the feverish building activity that reigned in the first and early second centuries A.D. The Macedonians, the early settlers, appear to have retained their leading place in the political, economic, and social life of the city. But there was a great influx of Greek families, and also of families of Semitic origin, especially from Palmyra, the Semites marrying freely with both Macedonians and Greeks. Trajan's forward policy appears to have led to a Roman occupation of Dura at the end of the first century. The expedition discovered near Dura a triumphal arch built and dedicated to the safety of Trajan by the IIIrd Cyrenean Legion. This is the first evidence we have of what appears to have been an important battle fought by Trajan against the Parthians, as also of this Legion, normally stationed in Egypt, being engaged on this front. Under Hadrian the pacific policy of Augustus was renewed, and Dura enjoyed another fifty years of prosperity under the nominal suzerainty of Parthia. There was then, about A.D. 160, a reversion to the forward policy, and Dura became a Roman fortress, with a Roman garrison, which in succeeding years was greatly augmented. For the needs of this garrison a quarter of the city was taken from the inhabitants and turned into a Roman camp, separated from the rest of the city by a wall. The Roman occupation was destined to last less than a hundred years. In A.D. 226 the Parthians were defeated by Ardeshir, who claimed descent from the old Achæmenian kings of Persia, and who founded the glorious Sasanid dynasty. The defeat and capture of the Roman Emperor Valerian at Edessa about the year A.D. 258 by Ardeshir's son, Shapur, put an end to the dominance of Rome on the Euphrates. Shortly either before or after this battle, Dura was besieged, taken, and sacked. It was soon abandoned and reverted to the desert, and the Emperor Julian tells how he hunted lions among its ruins. It was reserved for the author and his fellow-workers to rescue it from oblivion.

During the Roman period Dura had greatly declined in prosperity, partly owing to the fact that the caravans from Seleucia to Palmyra now took the shorter route across the desert, cutting out Dura. The Romans

were not easy masters, and after the long years of self-rule the lot of the easy-going inhabitants, who had steadily become more and more orientalized, was not a happy one. Apart from those required for the garrison, no new buildings of any importance were erected, while many of the great houses of earlier days were divided into tenements. The only new sanctuaries were those of the new religious sects—the Jewish synagogue and the Christian church.

The ruins of Dura, thanks to their admirable preservation, have produced a large quantity of minor finds—intaglios and inscriptions, jewellery and metal work, arms and weapons, domestic utensils, toilet articles, etc., as well as thousands of coins. The author speaks of a unique series of textiles. The special nature of their importance is not indicated, and the Preliminary Reports hardly appear to justify such a claim. In particular, the finds do not seem to throw any light on the origin of pile carpets. Of special importance are the parchments and papyri. A few of these contain fragments of literary and religious texts, but the bulk consist of official and religious documents, including the military archives abandoned by the garrison after the capture of the city by the Sasanians. These documents, written in Latin, Greek, Aramaic, Syriac, and Pehlevi, are of supreme importance for their contribution to palæography, to the history of languages, and to our knowledge of the civil and military administration and of the social and economic life of the Roman East.

But the chief importance of Dura-Europos in the eyes of the author is the light it sheds on the Greco-Semitic civilization of Mesopotamia. Some two-thirds of the book is devoted to consideration of the art, secular and religious, of this civilization, and it is the religious that is the more important. There are comparatively few remains of Hellenistic religious art. But for the Parthian period there is a wealth of evidence unsurpassed elsewhere. We are now confronted with a multiplicity of gods, chiefly of Semitic origin. There is very little trace of Mazdaism and Zoroastrianism: not a single fire-temple was found, nor any mention of Ahuramazda. The real religion of Dura was now the traditional religion of the predominantly Semitic part of the Near East, tinged by survivals from Hellenism. But behind this chaotic polytheism there was at work in the East a tendency towards unification. The principal deities were Zeus and Artemis. But, by a process of syncretization, the worship of Zeus took the form of solar henotheism, embracing the attributes of the many sun and sky gods of the East, while Artemis was regarded as the Mother-Goddess, the goddess of procreation and fertility, whose names were Legion. The new religion brought a new art. This art, which is similar to that of Palmyra, was not Greek, but a reaction and probably a conscious, not instinctive, reaction against it. It is described as archaic, clumsy, static, naïve, and primitive. It was a return to a simpler, more elementary, more (so-called) barbaric form of art. This art the author regards as a synthesis or syncretism of Greek, North Syrian, Iranian, and Babylonian. He describes its basic principles as verismus, effacement of the body (with greater attention to dress, ornament, etc.), primitive grouping, and lack of depth and perspective, principles

common to all Oriental art. To these must be added frontality, which was never a leading principle of Oriental art, but a ritual convention. He finds exactly the same characteristics in the Bharhut sculptures: "According to some leading specialists in this field, the early Indian figural art as found at Bharhut shows a highly archaic aspect; it is stiff and ritual. The scenes are memory-pictures, two-dimensional, linear. They are primitive and rigid. There is no movement, no real life." It is sufficient to remark that other leading specialists are likely to reject this valuation. Nor are the views expressed in the following sentence likely to win universal acceptance: "In India we see the revival of the ancient civilization and its splendid evolution in the new civilization of Sandragupta (*sic*) and Asoka, strongly imbued with Greco-Iranian elements imported into India probably from Bactria." And again: "We know India comparatively well, less well the evolution of the Gandhara civilization, practically nothing of that of Bactria except for coins and some products of Bactrian art in India and reflections of it in the art of India and perhaps of Gandhara and Seistan." Even this more cautious statement seems hardly justified in view of the fact that we know practically nothing about Bactrian art except its coins. Some, again, may cavil when the author speaks of the frescoes of Ajanta as an example of certain "revivals, not of Greek influences, which would find their expression in imitation, but of the Greek spirit." Some might say that it is the Aryan spirit that speaks in the art of Ajanta. An explanation less open to criticism is that the Ajanta frescoes are the expression of the spirit of early Buddhism.

In this same Mesopotamian art the author further discerns "the rudiments of the later brilliant culture of the Christian Near East, which has had so deep an influence on the Byzantine civilization and through it on that of Western Europe." What these rudiments were is not made clear.

While these religious paintings had no influence on later Iranian art, the art of the secular paintings (few in number) and the numerous *graffiti* and *dipinti*, representing chiefly hunting and battle scenes, had its continuation, both as regards style and motif, in later Sasanian art, and, it might be added, influenced the art of the Safavids, and of the Moguls in India.

But probably most will regard the chance discovery of a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church as the most important of the results of the excavations. Both these buildings were converted private houses, and both were hidden in the centre of a cluster of other houses. The synagogue, erected on the site of a previous synagogue, was constructed about A.D. 245. Its interest lies chiefly in the fact that its walls were covered with paintings, a practice strictly forbidden by the Jewish religion (Exodus xx. 4). Behind the Torah shrine are four large figures, two on each side, which appear to represent Moses, canonized, and almost deified, as it were, like Buddha or Christ, in the chief episodes of his leadership. He is beatified with a square nimbus, light where living, black where dead. The other paintings are arranged in zones round the walls, thus following the system observed in the pagan temples. They represent episodes of Jewish history, such as

Jacob's dream, the Exodus, Ahasuerus and Esther, the exposure of Moses, etc. No systematic scheme appears to have been observed, the selection of subjects following, presumably, the choice of the individual donor. Nor is there any appearance of chronological sequence. The preservation of some of the paintings is excellent, the colours remaining brilliant; others are obscure. In style they are similar to the pagan religious paintings of Dura, though somewhat more Greek. The subjects are mythological, not ritual, and they have no symbolical character. Their object was to enable worshippers to visualize some of the chief events of Jewish history. The author again compares the style to that of early Indian sculpture, especially in respect of the continuous method of narration, by which the various phases of an episode are rendered consecutively, a method not found in Greek or Roman art, but common to India and to these Jewish paintings, and prevalent in mediæval Christian art.

The Christian church, originally a private house and converted to its later purpose soon after A.D. 232 (a few years before the Jewish synagogue), is chiefly notable for a series of paintings depicted on the walls of the Baptistery, now re-erected in a reconstructed form in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts. The paintings still extant show on the west wall, thus immediately confronting a member of the Christian community on entry, examples of the miracles of Christ, the healing of the paralytic, and Christ walking on the water. There is a painting of Adam and Eve, with the Serpent and Tree, and above it one of Christ as the Good Shepherd standing with a ram held on his shoulders in the traditional manner of the Greek κριοφόρος, in a highly naturalistic landscape, while the flock drink at a stream which runs down from the rocky background. The author explains that the paintings were designed to convey to the *catechumanoi* in impressive images the leading ideas of the Christian religion. Thus we have Sin and Redemption expressed by the Adam and Eve and the Good Shepherd group. The healing of the paralytic and the miracle of the lake represent Doubt and Faith. And for the Faithful there is the culmination in an impressive picture of the Resurrection, rendered symbolically: the sarcophagus alone is shown, with two stars shining in the sky, while the three Marys are moving towards the grave bearing torches and vases of myrrh. Finally, in the lower zone, is a picture of David and Goliath, a symbol of Faith struggling against brute elemental Force, Christianity against Paganism. This symbolic treatment, with its unity of plan and conception, so different from the haphazard matter of selection of the Jewish paintings, shows that there was behind it a long tradition, a scheme already familiar throughout the Christian work.

No illustrations are given of the Christian paintings. Reproductions of them in colour will be found in M. Cumont's *Fouilles*. While the Adam and Eve group is rigid and schematic, the other paintings are realistic to a marked degree, particularly that of the Good Shepherd. That of Christ healing the paralytic appears to follow the continuous method, Christ being shown once, in a spirited attitude, while the paralytic is first shown lying on his bed (exactly similar to the modern stringed charpoy of India) and

common to all Oriental art. To these must be added frontality, which was never a leading principle of Oriental art, but a ritual convention. He finds exactly the same characteristics in the Bharhut sculptures: "According to some leading specialists in this field, the early Indian figural art as found at Bharhut shows a highly archaic aspect; it is stiff and ritual. The scenes are memory-pictures, two-dimensional, linear. They are primitive and rigid. There is no movement, no real life." It is sufficient to remark that other leading specialists are likely to reject this valuation. Nor are the views expressed in the following sentence likely to win universal acceptance: "In India we see the revival of the ancient civilization and its splendid evolution in the new civilization of Sandragupta (*sic*) and Asoka, strongly imbued with Greco-Iranian elements imported into India probably from Bactria." And again: "We know India comparatively well, less well the evolution of the Gandhara civilization, practically nothing of that of Bactria except for coins and some products of Bactrian art in India and reflections of it in the art of India and perhaps of Gandhara and Seistan." Even this more cautious statement seems hardly justified in view of the fact that we know practically nothing about Bactrian art except its coins. Some, again, may cavil when the author speaks of the frescoes of Ajanta as an example of certain "revivals, not of Greek influences, which would find their expression in imitation, but of the Greek spirit." Some might say that it is the Aryan spirit that speaks in the art of Ajanta. An explanation less open to criticism is that the Ajanta frescoes are the expression of the spirit of early Buddhism.

In this same Mesopotamian art the author further discerns "the rudiments of the later brilliant culture of the Christian Near East, which has had so deep an influence on the Byzantine civilization and through it on that of Western Europe." What these rudiments were is not made clear.

While these religious paintings had no influence on later Iranian art, the art of the secular paintings (few in number) and the numerous *graffiti* and *dipinti*, representing chiefly hunting and battle scenes, had its continuation, both as regards style and motif, in later Sasanian art, and, it might be added, influenced the art of the Safavids, and of the Moguls in India.

But probably most will regard the chance discovery of a Jewish synagogue and a Christian church as the most important of the results of the excavations. Both these buildings were converted private houses, and both were hidden in the centre of a cluster of other houses. The synagogue, erected on the site of a previous synagogue, was constructed about A.D. 245. Its interest lies chiefly in the fact that its walls were covered with paintings, a practice strictly forbidden by the Jewish religion (*Exodus xx. 4*). Behind the Torah shrine are four large figures, two on each side, which appear to represent Moses, canonized, and almost deified, as it were, like Buddha or Christ, in the chief episodes of his leadership. He is beatified with a square nimbus, light where living, black where dead. The other paintings are arranged in zones round the walls, thus following the system observed in the pagan temples. They represent episodes of Jewish history, such as

Jacob's dream, the Exodus, Ahasuerus and Esther, the exposure of Moses, etc. No systematic scheme appears to have been observed, the selection of subjects following, presumably, the choice of the individual donor. Nor is there any appearance of chronological sequence. The preservation of some of the paintings is excellent, the colours remaining brilliant; others are obscure. In style they are similar to the pagan religious paintings of Dura, though somewhat more Greek. The subjects are mythological, not ritual, and they have no symbolical character. Their object was to enable worshippers to visualize some of the chief events of Jewish history. The author again compares the style to that of early Indian sculpture, especially in respect of the continuous method of narration, by which the various phases of an episode are rendered consecutively, a method not found in Greek or Roman art, but common to India and to these Jewish paintings, and prevalent in mediæval Christian art.

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then leaping away with the bed on his shoulders. According to Dr. Rostovtzev, the style is not Mesopotamian. He considers that the paintings hark back to originals of a more Hellenistic character. Alexandria or Antioch are suggested tentatively as the provenance of the style. It may be mentioned that he nowhere refers to the later school of Manichæan painting, either in connection with the synagogue or the Christian church paintings.

The story of the finds is told in a lucid and highly engaging manner, and the exposition is generally clear. There is some repetition of matter in successive chapters, a defect—if, indeed, it is such—inherent in the form of the book as a series of lectures. It is, however, a masterly summary of discoveries of supreme importance.

The illustrations are good, and the production of the book, including the printing and the punctuation, is such as we associate with the Oxford University Press.

F. B. P. LORV.

Cotton in Mediæval Textiles of the Near East. By Carl Johan Lamm. 11" × 8". Pp. xxiv + 265. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 12, Rue Vavin-Vie. 1937.

Carl Johan Lamm, a professor of historical art, deals in this publication with textiles acquired in Egypt by the National Museum of Stockholm. Many of them are from the burying-grounds of Egypt, others from the ancient refuse heaps of old Cairo preserved throughout the centuries by the dry climatic conditions. To the ordinary man they would be regarded as being made of flax, a natural product of that country, but examination by microscope has been able to determine the nature of the fibre of the specimens, and it was found that cotton was used to a very much greater extent than hitherto imagined; flax is, of course, found in many of them, and also mixtures of cotton with wool and silk.

There has been much confusion by ancient writers, cotton often called linen. Herodotus (456 B.C.) added to the confusion, and not till Professor Lamm had the materials examined under the microscope was the importance of this manner of research established, to prove that cotton was utilized in mediæval textiles found in Egypt to a much larger extent than previously supposed.

Professor Lamm, inspired by the interest aroused by the results of his preliminary investigations in this field, enthusiastically conducted further research among the textiles in the museums of Egypt and Europe, or in the hands of private collectors, and was able to secure the collaboration of experts in the technique of spinning and weaving. He at the same time made a study of mediæval texts and scripts to assist in fixing the date or period of individual specimens, while epigraphy and paleography based on undated inscriptions to be compared with dated examples, outside the domain of textiles, was not overlooked.

The result of all this study and research is the production of a work of exceptional merit of the highest value to the antiquary and the student of

design, and to those manufacturers, whether weavers or textile printers, who have made a study of the historical side of their industry.

Professor Lamm's introductory chapter deals with a review of raw cotton from earliest recorded times, and quotes from all the leading authorities, Arabian and European, establishing the well-known fact that cotton of various species was indigenous to India, but whether it was the tree wool (*Gossypium arboreum*) or the herbaceous plant which produced the cotton industry he is at present unable to say. He might well have quoted Theophrastus, book iv. 5, who gives a very clear indication that the plants set in the plains in India, arranged in rows, so as to look like vines at a distance, were no other than the herbaceous *Gossypium*. He establishes that cotton was one of the staple products of India, and that the cotton plant spread from there to other parts of the East; that in the fifth century B.C., on the authority of Herodotus, it was known to the Greeks as an Indian production; that in classical times much of the cotton used in the Mediterranean countries was imported from India; that the geographical position of Egypt made it the centre of trade "to which it was said are brought the riches from the kingdoms of two seas, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean."

To what extent cotton was grown in Europe is not definitely known, though we surmise that during the Roman period it was as widely extended as in the tenth century A.D. The spreading of the growth of cotton is supposed to have been to a great extent the work of Phœnicians; on the other hand, it is generally believed it was the result of the Arab conquest.

The book is illustrated with some 100 examples of materials all in photogravure, and where the examples are too fragmentary to distinguish the design, the author's mother, Mme. Dora Lamm, and Mustafa Kamel Ibrahim came to the rescue and deciphered the puzzle in line drawings.

The fabrics are divided into sixteen classes, and each is then exhaustively explained with all its technical complications of yarns, weaves, or dyes. Nor does the author confine himself exclusively to cottons of mediæval times. Many of the examples in the different classes wholly cotton, or with wool, flax, or silk, are of a B.C. period. Some are of tapestry weaves in wool and cotton, chiefly Sasanian and related types: others show chain-stitch embroideries, or fabrics of such technical weaves as trimita, heximita, and polymita, known to the Greeks of the sixth and seventh centuries; others again are tabby woven fabrics of Sasanian and Abbasid periods, and others are carpets, chiné, or knot dyeing. Cotton, however, in most of them plays some part in the production of each example. Although to anyone without a good knowledge of all the ancient fabrics referred to by the author, and seen by him in different museums and churches in Europe, it might be found difficult to follow them in detail, the very studied explanations given in the text go a long way to enable the reader to appreciate the points of interest.

On pages 122-123 we are given the origin of many technical words such as buckram, muslin, cramoisy, siglaton, tabby silk; he might have added chintz and bandanah, words which having served an apprenticeship of many centuries in this country now form part of our language.

In the last of the classes, resist printing and mordant application combined

with resist printing on cotton, rarely on linen, of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries are illustrated and explained, the author indicating that one chapter of a book would not deal adequately with the vast collection of material which has come to light, partly through the instrumentality of Professor Newberry, quite apart from numerous examples in the Arabic Museum, Cairo, the Benaki Museum, Athens, the National Museum, Stockholm, and the Rohss Museum, Gothenburg.

I have, as a textile printer, made a study of the historical side of my industry, having published an illustrated work on Indian painted and printed cottons of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the conclusion I have come to with regard to all Egyptian material I have seen and handled of this nature is that they were produced by the mordant and resist process as expounded by Pliny A.D. 70, and in the eighteenth century fully and elaborately described by the Jesuit missionary in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, and furthermore in use with textile printers to within modern times when the method of steam as a fixing agent substituted the mordant process. India we may regard as the birthplace of calico printing; not only was the country provided with cotton, but also all the drugs and dyes were Indian, and it was during the sway of the East Indian Trading Companies that Indian methods were adopted by European printers. Whether the examples illustrated in this work were produced in Egypt or India it is not possible for me to say, and, as the professor surmises, they may have been printed in Egypt on Indian cloth by Hindus. The terra-cotta coloured grounds, much in evidence with many of the cotton examples, may well have been produced in Egypt with a madder red of the Levant, *Rubia tinctorium*,* which, although a wild plant in many parts of Southern Europe, was, until recent years, largely and systematically cultivated in the interior of Asia Minor, applicable for wool as well as cotton, and used in the manufacture of Turkey carpets as well as by the calico printers throughout the Near East and Europe. In the latter case by varying the mordants, immersion in a bath of madder produces reds of various tones, browns, clarets, pinks, and black. As the professor does not appear to be quite versed in the process, he might well give his attention to the study of dyestuff, for they furnish a good indication where the old fabrics may have been produced. Resist printing with dyeing was only needed for the indigo, all other colours being produced by mordant process. On the other hand, the examples of a deep red tone may well have been produced with the chay-root of India, *Oldenlandia umbellata*. It gives a deep rich red, most esteemed in the chintzes of India at the period of the East India Companies.

Professor Lamm points out the absence of texts, script, or printers' trade marks in mediæval printing. Might not this be due to the marks being stamped at the end of the cloths instead of on the selvages, which would in consequence be the first of the fabric to disappear with wear?

Another feature of the publication, and on the authority of Pfister, is that

* According to Herodotus IV., 189, also used in Egypt for dyeing the cloths of the Libyan women, and cloth dyed with it has been found in Egyptian mummies (*Enc. Brit.*).

Egyptian textiles could be distinguished from those imported from abroad by observation of the direction in which the yarns are spun. Spinning to the left is characteristic of Egypt, whilst all categories of printed cottons, he says, from Iran, Iraq, the Yamen, or India are nearly always spun to the right. If this is established as a fact, without exception, it goes far to solve one important point in connection with mediæval fabrics.

Part II. of the publication is devoted to some seventy pages of excerpts and quotations from many known authorities—Arab, Persian, Hindu, and European—of the products, whether silk, cotton, wool, or linen, of the various countries of the East at the mediæval period. The native names of the fabrics are given. The list embraces all India, Western Turkestan, Iran, Mazandaran, Arabistan, Iraq, Mesopotamia, South Russia, Greece, Asia Minor, all Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Sudan, Somaliland, Abyssinia, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, and finally Spain. The aim of the author being to facilitate the study of any single passage of the text and to make them as varied as possible.

The book is dedicated to Mrs. R. L. Devonshire, who revised the manuscript.

G. P. BAKER.

Bulletin of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archæology.

Vol. v., No. 2, December, 1937.

Adopting the same historical-critical standard of the preceding issues of the *Bulletin*, last December's number easily distinguishes itself by its increased volume and a richer illustrative content of its communications and discussions.

In the opening article, "Nomadic Tradition in the Prehistoric Near East: The Sacred Enclosure, the Draped Façade, and the Tent-Pole," Alexander zu Eltz points out the efficacy and persistence of the nomadic contribution to the subsequent sedentary civilizations. The starting-point and the object of Dr. Eltz's study is the well-known *motif* frequently represented on Mesopotamian seals and stone vessels of the third millennium B.C.—two verticals joined on the top by a bent cross-member in the form of a festoon. Contrary to the prevailing opinion, according to which this *motif* would be a representation of an architectural element—the gateway—in reed, of a primitive reed construction, Dr. Eltz, supporting his argument by archæological evidence (extra-Mesopotamian painted pottery from South-East Iran, the Indus Valley, and Baluchistan; the carved steatite vase from Khafaje, the open terrace of the "White Temple" at Uruk-Warqa, fourth millennium B.C.) and by literary testimony (Biblical quotations), proves its direct connection with a primitive sacred structure—a temple enclosure with draperies suspended between the poles—and its derivation from a ritual and domestic practice (the tent) of the nomadic era. And not only the antiquity of that connection and its presence in later times (a design of a niche in Khorsabad, c. 700 B.C.), but also the same origin for other related *motifs*—the ringed pole, the "ringed standard," the sceptre, and their variations—which is made evident by the author.

Contributing, as usual, to the elucidation of the most obscure plastic formulæ of the ancient East's symbolical realism, Dr. Phyllis Ackerman, in "Additional Notes on the Tent-Pole and on Curtained Structures," incorporates this nomadic tent-pole *motif* and its modalities into the great complex of all the ritual-cosmo-

gonic substitutions of the Great Heaven. This *motif* persisted, in spite of its plastic transfiguration in the forms of the Achæmenid "hundred column" palaces.

There is also the "Preliminary Report on Takht-i-Sulayman" of the Institute's Survey of Persian Architecture, richly illustrated with numerous architectural survey photographs, provided with a beautiful map of Antony's campaign, made by Arthur Upham Pope, the director of the expedition, and an original plan of the fortress drawn by the staff architect, Donald N. Wilber. The Report is divided into three descriptive and documentary sections. The first, "The Significance of the Site," by Mr. Pope, is a detailed memoir of the situation, the natural resources, the defensive power of the fortification, the origin and the rising as a political, military, and religious centre in Parthian and Sasanian times of this formidable Parthian stronghold, and, above all, its rôle of Iranian deliverer, played in the Roman-Armenian-Parthian contest. Following, yet at the same time controlling, Plutarch's narration of Antony's defeat in 36 A.D. and of his tragic retreat, the author offers us a most vivid picture of that far-reaching event in Iranian history. Mr. Pope's challenging and original thesis is that the battle of Phraata was not just one more battle in the interminable series between Rome and Parthia, but was in effect one of the world's decisive battles—if not a Marathon, at least a Gettysburg for Roman Oriental ambitions. The second section, supervised by Mary Crane, "The Historical Documents," brings to us the fullest documentary account of the historical background of Takht-i-Sulayman, the Parthian Phraata, based on all the available Islamic and Byzantine sources. Thus, for instance, the identification of different names—Saturiq, Shiz, Ganzaca—which were mentioned in the texts, often vaguely, in connection with that place, is established. In the third section, written by Donald N. Wilber, "Summary Description of the Extant Structures," the huge *ensemble* of the Parthian, Sasanian, and Islamic ruins (of which the Parthian are the only ones to be clearly identified and dated) is surveyed; the building material, the construction, the measurements of the walls, the gateway, the thirty-seven bastions, and the other attached or isolated Parthian buildings are accurately given; and the stylistic analogies with the architecture at Hatra are pointed out. Surprisingly enough, it is from among the confused vestiges of the Islamic era that the most curious architectural problems arise, such as the "unique and experimental type of squinch" observed by the author in a building of the "cross within a square" plan.

Phyllis Ackerman's study, "The Throne of Khusraw (The *Takht-i-Taqdis*)," which was located at Takht-i-Sulayman, sheds new light upon the obscure Sasanian problem of the structure and the significance of this famous throne, which Khusraw II. built in the form of a palace pavilion, containing the king's official seat and the three adjoining areas. These were destined for the three classes of courtiers numbering 1,000 men. Not only the astral symbolism, so constant in Iranian tradition, is clearly identified and located by the author as the unique *raison d'être* of the architecture, ornament, and the complex rotatory mechanism of the main royal structure, but—and here is the absolute originality of Dr. Ackerman's interpretation—the architectural form and the entire ornamentation, including the dominant colours of each of the three platforms, are functionally related to the same Iranian astrological symbolism. Thus each of the three areas is hypostatically the Heaven of the Sun, the Heaven of the Moon, and the Heaven of the Planets. A most original identification of the *Takht-i-Taqdis*, as described by old Byzantine and Arabic authors, with the structure—in its minute architectural details—of a garden pavilion engraved on a possibly seventh-century bronze salver in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, provides convincing proof for the correctness of this religious-cosmogonic interpretation.

The Preliminary Report of the eighth season's work is given by Donald Wilbur. Ernst Kühnel and Mojtabi Minovi contribute valuable papers.

"New Findings in Persian Ceramics of the Islamic Period," by Arthur Upham Pope, is a condensed and yet, because of the richness of its objective content, extensive survey of a great deal of new material made recently available for the comprehensive reconstruction of the history of Islamic ceramics. The effort to systematize that history, together with the providing of conclusive proofs for the elucidation of some of the most difficult problems of that art, constitutes the major value of this richly illustrated study. Concrete proofs are offered for the problem of the continuity of ancient Iranian Avestic traditions in Islamic times, exemplified in the image of the legendary bird-beast, the *senmurv*, on a lustre-painted bowl of the ninth-tenth century; or for the problem of the Iranian theological non-conformism as proved, for instance, by the astonishing presence of human figures on lustre-painted tiles (thirteenth century) employed to adorn the sarcophagus of a saint in Kashan. Also to be considered as resolved is the question of numerous Kashan attributions (black-painted wares; white jugs or beakers often carved and reticulated; large blue storage jars with relief designs, etc.) and the question of so-called Kubachi pottery of the seventeenth century, the manufacturing of which should now be attributed, because of the recently acquired evidence, to the workshops of Sava.

A very short note by Mr. Minovi, "A Persian Quatrain on a Dyed Silk," has the merit of offering us good illustrations of that curious and rare resist-dyed textile, probably of the twelfth century, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, with the name of the artist revealed in the translated verses.

The book reviews include Sir Aurel Stein's *Archæological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* (London, 1937), summarized accurately by A. W. Lawrence; Erich F. Schmidt's *Excavations at Tepe Hissar, Damghan* (Philadelphia, 1937), read carefully by a professional, Henry A. Carey, whose preference for the thesis of local economic and social forces as main factors in the mechanistic theory of extraneous influences is a good critical point; Neilson C. Debevoise's *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938) and L. Lockhart's *Nadir Shah* (London, 1938), evaluated by Léo Bronstein; and, especially, Phyllis Ackerman's sound review of Nancy A. Reath's and Eleanor B. Sachs' *Persian Textiles and their technique from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (New Haven, 1937). In this latter review, or rather a restudy of all the facts and problems dealt with in the analysis of the book, a highly cultural and universal historico-methodological view is opposed, with authority, to the banality of the narrow "scientific method" which prevails in the author's presentation.

The life, the personal and the social merits, and the work of the late Honorary President of the Institute, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson—the American leader in Indo-Iranian studies—are evoked in a moving obituary by David Eugene Smith.

Oriental Mysticism. By E. H. Palmer. Second edition with introduction by A. J. Arberry. Pp. xiv + 84. London: Luzac and Co. 1938. 5s.

What is the purpose of this little book? This is a question which forces itself on the reader. If it is meant for the scholar, it is too short to be more than notes which he can expand into lectures; if for the beginner, it is strong meat and more likely to disgust than attract. The extravagances, which have been grafted on to the Neo-Platonic philosophy, will put off those who are drawn by the high tone of the moral teaching and the deep religious sense underlying it.

It is hard to make an obsolete philosophy live, to show that what is now absurd seemed once the key to all mysteries, and Palmer has not succeeded. It may be agreed that the book contains "a remarkably clear and concise account of the philosophical and theological basis of the Sufi system," but it is doubtful if the book is well arranged. The exposition should lead up to the culminating doctrine of the perfect man for whom and by whom the world is and in whom God reflects Himself. Instead, this doctrine comes in the middle and what follows is an anti-climax. Dr. Arberry has contributed a useful and interesting introduction. It is a pity that certain errors in the text have not been corrected; to give one example, on page 1 the Persian writer is Nafasi, while in the introduction he is Nasafi.

A. S. T.

The Art of Early Writing. By Cumberland Clark. The Mitre Press. 6s.

This is a simple straightforward account of the facts required for the beginning of a study of cuneiform. It gives the story of its discovery and decipherment, of its creators the Sumerians, and of their successors the Babylonians, Assyrians and Persians, who developed the system and made it the vehicle of their civilization.

The title might have led one to expect more reference to the other early systems of writing which were contemporary with cuneiform, and especially to the Phœnician alphabet which, in its Aramaic form, ultimately superseded the more complicated system. Though cuneiform characters developed from picture-writing to syllabic characters and ideograms, and finally to an alphabet of only about forty characters, the "last stage" of development to which Mr. Clark refers in his introductory chapter, "the compilation of an alphabet of about two dozen signs," never took place. Cuneiform gave way to the simpler script which had been developing in different form in Phœnicia, Greece, Syria, and Palestine.

Such a book ought to be useful as an introductory handbook, though its very brevity and conciseness has perhaps led here and there to over-simplification. In addition to the historical chapters, there is a summary comparison of Bible passages with their cuneiform parallels, and also a number of translations of cuneiform tablets in the author's own collection.

C. W.

THE ART OF LIVING

The Letters of T. E. Lawrence. Edited by David Garnett. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 896. Jonathan Cape. 25s.

Readers of *Lawrence, by His Friends* were provided with eighty sources of illumination, from whose rays emerged the well-defined figure of a man. Now that figure is lighted from within by *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence*: and these shafts, which radiate variously, are at once the complement and the converse of the others. Letters from their very nature give out an intense but patchy and sudden light, revealing much detail—momentarily. Hence, the first effect produced by this collection is, inevitably, to subject the seen image to uneven and illusory changes amounting to distortion.

Only when it is borne in mind that the darker spaces are seldom empty and that excesses of brightness are accidental, can a just view of the whole figure be maintained.

Mr. David Garnett, who at an early stage took over from Mr. E. M. Forster and brought to fruition the immense task of reading, sorting, noting and selecting the letters to be published, has wisely adopted chronological order, and has divided the whole into five period-groups: from 1906 (when Lawrence was eighteen), broadly entitled "Archæology"; from 1914, "The War"; from 1918, "The Dog-Fight in Downing Street" (Lawrence's phrase); from 1922, "The Years of Hide and Seek"; and from 1929, "Flying Boats."

The opening letters are those of a young man seeking to share with his family a fraction of the fruit of his observations and travels. Some show an alert apprehension of beauty; most reveal the bent of that passionate curiosity which is the force behind every sort of intellectual effort; and all are framed, as such letters should be, to assure the recipients—sometimes in opposition to the immediate facts—of the writer's well-being. It is interesting to compare the reassuring letter of July 29, 1911, summarizing a three weeks' tramp undertaken after the end of the season's dig at Carchemish with Lawrence's diary of the trip (*The Diary of T. E. Lawrence MCMXI.*, beautifully produced, with magnificent photographs, in a limited edition, by the Corvinus Press). This diary, admirably terse and matter-of-fact, discloses in face of what hardships the tramp was accomplished, and in what state of ill-health the letter was written. Thus early appears an outstanding example of the need for reading between the lines of a letter, or between one letter and another, if their meaning and value are to be justly assessed.

There can be no rigid formula for this assessment. We may estimate the personal co-efficient of the writer, and apply it; but also we must not forget the co-efficient of the recipient, so as to allow for the general colouring of the letter. Then again, all letters are eclectic in matter and localized in time: they tend, therefore, to be inferior in essential content to the most meagre diary—and Lawrence was not the man to keep a diary for long, unless for some practical purpose. Even his early letters, whether to his family or to the late D. G. Hogarth, are very good letters, but they are the letters of a man too impatient for action to find unmixed enjoyment in their writing. The pen may be mightier than the flashing sword, or more important; but it is dreadfully slow.

Small wonder that, when the sword came into its own in 1914 and played such astonishing tricks in the hands of Lawrence, it left him little time for private correspondence. Not many letters of that period survive, and some have been withheld, but the *Arab Bulletins* here published are of very great interest, while, in contrast to their scrupulous objectivity, we shall discover, in a letter dated July 5, 1918 (a month before the thirtieth birthday meditations recorded in the *Seven Pillars*), the subjective aspect of the Revolt—the uncertainty, the weariness both felt and foreshadowed.

From the intense activity of the period 1919-1922 few private letters

emerge; chief in interest being those addressed to Doughty, whom Lawrence was making strenuous—and ultimately successful—efforts to help. Work at the Peace Conference, at the Colonial Office—with visits to Jidda, Aden and Transjordan—and on the first three versions of the *Seven Pillars* gave his pen more than ample occupation, but by careful selection of a few documents other than letters Mr. Garnett has been able, with the aid of notes admirable in economy and clearness, to preserve the thread of continuity.

“Hide and Seek,” beginning in earnest in 1922, is the story not so much of a game of skill or chance with the spotlight of publicity as of a man running away from his own identity—and yet, to seize himself of reality, clutching at it for very sanity’s sake. Who was that Lawrence, that “I,” who fought in Arabia? Was it the “I” in the *Seven Pillars*? Is it the “I,” who reads what that “I” wrote and reflects upon it? At least the evolution of the *Seven Pillars*, the discussion of it with friends of the highest rank in literature and the plans for its first issue, which are prominent in the earlier letters of this period, helped the suffering man to keep his sanity by uniting, from time to time, the severed portions of his life.

The mood of all this period to 1929 is dark. Self-consciousness grew fevered under the constraining pressure of barrack-life. *The Mint* of Uxbridge had no successor: so soon was one of Lawrence’s motives in joining the ranks exhausted, and the critical appreciation of others’ literary work—always a principal pursuit with him, and brilliantly displayed in his letters—replaced the attempt to create. Physical damage, too, the result of various accidents, had borne hardly upon even so tough a body as his. Many of the numerous letters of this group induce in the reader a feeling of strain not unlike that engendered by the more overwrought passages of the *Seven Pillars*. Yet through all this long gloom of “self-torture” or “persecution mania,” as it is sometimes called, the positive facet of suffering appears in the unceasing exercise and growth of the will which enforced it.

With Lawrence’s return from India early in 1929 the horizon brightens. Very soon his letters begin to reflect an improvement in bodily health and the less laboured outlook brought about by the constructive work officially allotted to him. At the same time his circle of friendship and acquaintance widened yet further. Those last, full years, well represented in this book, sped fast.

It is hardly conceivable that anyone should read the *Letters* without reading also *Lawrence, by His Friends*, or *vice versa*; for the one has to be fitted, as it were, over the other, and belongs to it. The *Letters* deserve a very wide public. “Lawrence of Arabia” is a convenient label for the man, but not a descriptive title. Lawrence was not “of Arabia” at all. Arabia was an incident—a big one, but no more—in his life. Even to orientalists the wider interest seems to lie in the man himself.

For the general reader, the life of Lawrence has a significance far transcending its incidents. When a mathematician wishes to test a general proposition, he tries it first on an extreme case. Lawrence was an extreme case of man, his life a vivid example of a general proposition. All life is a process of adjustment between subjective and objective, the self and the

not-self. In Lawrence this process took the form of a lifelong conflict, to be resolved only in death; it affords the appearance—almost the fact—of Individuality darting in and out of the Absolute. In the highest sense he came as near as possible to being what might be called Absolute Everyman.

Purposely I have avoided quotation, which is too apt to mislead: the letters must be read as a whole. It is a common fate of letters to be quoted in part, or irrelevantly, or to some perverse purpose; and in regard to Lawrence's it cannot be denied that, all the more for their writer's width of experience and interests, they make up as stout a box of red herrings as the most ardent detractor could desire. The reviewer is not required to analyze their content in detail. Each reader will judge of their value in illuminating Lawrence as archæologist, soldier, statesman, writer, literary critic, or man. It is enough to say that new and important light is shed on every aspect of his life. I do not know what a "great letter-writer" is, and I cannot therefore be sure whether the publisher's claim on behalf of the book is in that respect sound. But I believe most readers will agree with him that this volume establishes more firmly Lawrence's title to greatness "not because of what he did, but because of what he was."

We owe a profound debt of gratitude to Mr. Garnett, whose intercurrent notes and judicious annotations enable the book to be read and understood as a continuous whole, while the Table of Contents, List of Recipients of Letters, and Index make specific reference easy. The book is, of course, excellently printed, and there are nine photographs, two maps, and two sketches by Lawrence. There are also a few reproductions of Lawrence's handwriting; perhaps it would have been unreasonable to expect more of these—yet how much of the felt meaning of a letter is lost in print!

E. D.

A Servant of the Empire: A Memoir of Harry Boyle. By Clara Boyle.

With a Preface by the Earl of Cromer. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " × 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xxvi + 337. Sixteen plates. Methuen. 1938. 12s. 6d.

One has the feeling on reading this book that for several reasons it should have been published some years ago. So many high Niles have come and gone since the days of Lord Cromer and his famous Oriental Secretary that few people will remember to-day the striking figure Boyle cut in Cairo in the days of the British Agency, and the new generation may find it difficult after this lapse of years to envisage the situation in Egypt in the eighties and nineties. The chapters that deal with Harry Boyle's life in Cairo during the twenty-three years of his service are so full of good stories, so rich with incident, and so enlightening as to the general atmosphere that they seem all too short considering the very important part he played in those eventful days. One cannot help feeling, therefore, if the book had been compiled somewhat earlier, when memory for details was fresher, that so many more delightful and interesting episodes might have been recounted, making a more complete picture of his life.

It is, perhaps, ungrateful to register this mild complaint, considering the excellence of the fare supplied, but this is a book dealing with a very remarkable and interesting man, who held reins of office in Egypt during a most difficult period in the country's history, and without being indiscreet he might have told

us so much more. One feels, also, that too much attention is paid to the latter part of his service, when he held the post of Consul-General in Berlin, and too little to those very full days when, as Oriental Secretary and close friend of Cromer, he had so much to do with the creation of modern Egypt. As his wife and chronicler says: "I realized that Berlin, however excellently he might do his work, might be served by another man, but that his work in Egypt had been unique."

The biography starts with Boyle's childhood and very haphazard upbringing in the Lake District, when all the education he received was from a very brilliant but unstable father. This very unusual upbringing accounted for the fact that Boyle was never quite as other men, but a queer, untidy and unusual character with an outstanding intelligence. There follows his service in Turkey to qualify as an interpreter and then his long career in the Agency in Cairo, where for twenty-three years he was Cromer's right-hand man. During those twenty-three years in the torrid heat of Cairo summers Harry Boyle only took leave home to England on two occasions, and this in itself will cause modern Cairenes, with their annual two months' holiday to the United Kingdom, to gasp with amazement and realize that Harry Boyle was no ordinary man.

The first part of the book is full of intimate stories of Cromer, Kitchener, Wingate, Abbas Hilmi, Gorst, and others who figured prominently in Egypt during the days of its reconstruction. These make wonderful and engrossing reading and vary from gay to grave. Harry Boyle and his natural slovenliness is depicted in the tale of the old hat at the Khedivial Club in Cairo. "During dinner the *maitre d'hôtel* flew into the dining-room and besought Lord Cromer to forgive him. It appeared that one of the workmen had hung up his 'filthy old hat' on the peg next to Lord Cromer's, and the *maitre d'hôtel* had flung it away. 'Oh,' said Harry, 'that was my hat.' And it was." There is the story also of the noisome and dirt-encrusted cushion in his office at the Agency, which was burnt ceremoniously at the end of the garden after it had been carried in procession with Lord and Lady Cromer and the complete staff in fancy dress.

Another good story recounts how Harry Boyle attended a dinner, but, having failed to notice the trousers ready in the press, turned up in immaculate white shirt, tails, and white tie, with the lower part of his body clothed in the old grey flannel bags he wore when cleaning out his poultry runs. Owing to a huge rent in the seat, he showed more of the immaculate white shirt than is customary on State occasions.

On the other side of the picture is the account of Boyle's farewell to Cromer on the latter's retirement; a poignant scene vividly recounted, when "The Lord" broke down on leaving the country he had made, and at parting from his greatest friend who had helped him in his work of reconstruction.

One senses later the unhappy atmosphere that existed when Boyle strove to serve under Gorst, whose policy and temperament were entirely opposed to his own. One obtains, also, some inkling of Egypt as it is and has been always, with its official friendships and private mistrusts, its little intrigues and its half-truths, its subterfuges and queer standards of integrity.

One detects in the latter chapters of the book, when he was serving in Berlin, that nostalgia and longing for the country he had served in his youth. In his letters to his mother he refers again and again to what he calls "Egypt days"—red-letter days to be remembered—when old colleagues and friends from the Nile Valley called in at the Consulate and found there Harry Boyle of Oriental Secretary fame. He had drunk too deeply of the waters of the Nile to savour any other, and one realizes this in the chapter that deals with his short official visit to the country in 1921 after his retirement from Berlin. In this he describes how

much Cairo and its surroundings have changed for the worse, and reiterates constantly the desire to finish his work and return. Nevertheless, when reading between the lines one has the suspicion that this dislike is not quite genuine, but is something of a pose—a purely private one to assure himself—and that actually Harry Boyle's heart is still in the land to which he devoted the best years of his life.

The book is exceedingly well compiled by his devoted wife, who worked with him in Berlin, and it is unquestionably one to be acquired by all those who know Egypt and who are interested in any way in the country. It is the saga of a great man who served well and who served without adequate reward.

C. S. JARVIS.

Laughing Diplomat. By Daniele Varè. Pp. 445. John Murray. 16s.

Signor Varè, who has already given the English reading public several charming volumes on life in China and Peking, presents us with his diplomatic reminiscences. The book opens with an entertaining account of his pre-war experiences as a junior diplomat in Berlin, Vienna, and the Foreign Office in Rome. Later he was stationed for seven years in Peking as Secretary of Legation, from 1913 to 1920, years which covered the troubled adolescence of the Chinese Republic and the period of the European War. Back again in Italy, he gives a racy description of his experiences at the post-war conferences in Europe and the doings of the League of Nations at Geneva. In 1927 he returned to China as Italian Minister. In the chapters that follow he gives a picturesque account of the twilight of Peking under the rule of Chang Tso-lin, of a trip up the Yangtze Gorges, details of diplomatic life in the difficult early days at Nanking, the negotiation of the new Italian treaty with China's energetic Foreign Minister, Dr. C. T. Wang, and the ceremonies at the funeral of Sun Yat-sen. Finally, there is an epilogue of his experiences as Italian Minister in Denmark.

The book is mainly of interest to this Society on account of the descriptions of the author's experiences in China. These chapters are full of anecdote and incident, eminently readable, but rather long-drawn-out. There are many good stories (well found, if not in every case supported by the evidence of fact), an excellent description of the trivialities of diplomatic life in China, and some shrewd comments on Chinese characteristics and personalities. There is in the Chinese portions of the book singularly little of the background and the clash of mighty forces by which China and the East are being rocked. So that the author's lively cynicism leaves at times an impression of shallowness and unreality. But he warns us in his preface not to seek in these pages instruction or the inner history of modern times.

E. T.

Spoils of Opportunity. An autobiography. By Janet Mitchell. 8½" x 6". Pp. 290. End map; one illustration. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

Miss Mitchell might well be called an adventuress in the best sense of the word. She has crammed into her life up to date a greater variety of experiences and work than fall to the lot of most people.

Born of distinguished Scottish colonial stock almost within hail of Melbourne city, in the first part of the book she provides a pleasing and sometimes humorous picture of life in a cultured Victorian household. Always, from her childhood, her keenest desire was for knowledge, travel, and adventure, and she started on this course during the war, when most of her family migrated to London, where she

herself plunged into musical studies, but failed in her examination. She redeemed this, however, by taking an excellent degree in arts at Bedford College, and then returned to Australia.

In 1924 she embarked on the first of her numerous jobs as Education Secretary to the Y.W.C.A., Melbourne, but the work, unfortunately, did not suit her, and in June, 1925, she considered herself lucky to be chosen as one of the Australian delegation to the first conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations at Honolulu. This trip launched her into international circles, and provided her with an insight into Far Eastern affairs, with which she had already some sort of hereditary connection as a cousin of the celebrated Dr. Morrison.

Shortly after her return to Australia she received the offer of her next job—as Thrift Service Director to the Government Savings Bank of New South Wales, which gave her the longed-for opportunity to do some real creative work. After a whirlwind study-tour through the United States to England, during which she made many pleasant and interesting contacts, including one with the Franklin Roosevelt family, she settled down in Sydney in June, 1927, to organize and to encourage thrift by means of propaganda, lectures, collection of information, research, and personal contacts of all sorts. The work was most absorbing, and she seems to have been carrying on most successfully when the whole thing suddenly crashed as the result of the great slump combined with Mr. Lang's policy of repudiation. In April, 1931, the bank suspended payments, and in June Miss Mitchell emerged, looking for another job.

After a short period of waiting, another job turned up, and in September, 1931, she found herself sailing towards Shanghai to attend, for the second time, as member of the Australian delegation, the conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. On the way the sabotage of the South Manchurian Railway occurred, followed by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, and Miss Mitchell realized that she was standing on the threshold of a great Far Eastern drama. As the result of these events the conference, which was convened to try and establish peace and understanding in the Far East, was carried on in an unpleasant atmosphere of hatred and mistrust as far as the Chinese and Japanese were concerned.

After the conference Miss Mitchell was seized with a sudden impulse to travel northwards. After sampling Peking, both past and present, she decided to go to Harbin as a journalist, being encouraged in her plan by Mr. W. H. Donald, another Australian journalist, who has made a name for himself amongst the Chinese. The journey thither, under conditions of war and civil disturbances, was sufficiently unpleasant and exciting. At Harbin, with only a small sum of money at her disposal, she lodged cheaply with Russian émigrés, collected journalistic material, and taught English at starvation wages. Perhaps the most interesting part of the book is the description she gives of the Russian life in this extraordinary town. Founded originally as an Imperial Railway city, Harbin developed into a great commercial Russo-Chinese city and enjoyed a period of great prosperity. As the result of the melancholy series of events in Russia and the Far East generally, Harbin has been steadily declining, and Miss Mitchell does not advance a clear opinion as to whether it is likely to rise again from the ashes of the past under Japanese domination. Living amongst Russian exiles, she was able to observe the struggles and miseries of their existence; without country and nationality, flying from a ruthless foe in their own country, and at the mercy of the Chinese in Manchuria, it remains to be seen if their future will be brighter under Japanese domination. After witnessing the events which led to the foundation of the so-called "independent" Manchukuo State by the Japanese Government and the arrival of the Lytton Commission, which achieved, as she says, "a valuable

historical document," Miss Mitchell left Harbin in mid-September, 1932. Passing through Korea, the interesting "Land of the Morning Calm," and visiting the beautiful flashing "Diamond Mountains," she proceeded to Japan, where she found herself to be an object of considerable interest to some of the Japanese intelligentsia. Her feelings about the Manchukuo business were, in truth, rather mixed. On the one side, the clear evidences of Chinese misrule; on the other side, the illegality of Japanese methods, which had ushered into the world another era of force and power-politics.

Thence to Australia, where she was in great request for some time as a writer and lecturer on Far Eastern affairs, and another job for a year as Acting Principal of the Women's College in the University of Sydney. Then, with enough money at her disposal for a few months' sustenance, she decided to go to England and to make her way as a freelance journalist. At this occupation she went through hard but interesting experiences, including a visit to the League of Nations. Finally, with her extraordinary capacity for finding jobs, she applied for and obtained the post of Warden of the Ashburne Hall of Residence for Women Students in the University of Manchester, where, after all her travels and adventures, she works in comparative security and affluence.

The best that can be said about this book is that it is vivid and most sincere. Furthermore, the pace of the narrative—if it can be expressed in this manner—carries one along without a break from start to finish.

D. B-B.

Separate Star. By Francis Foster. Demi-oct. Pp. 320. Gollancz. 12s. 6d.

This is by no means a profound book; it is, indeed, quite superficial. But I read it with interest. The author, like so many in these unhappy times, is pursued by the Hound of Heaven, and in his descriptions of his flight from the relentless pursuer many will be confronted with problems and ideas similar to their own.

It is all the more disappointing, therefore, to find so much interesting material laid out to such little purpose and mixed with so much really second-rate jargon and nonsense. For instance: "Whilst I was at Rafa I was informed by a credible witness that a mummy had been unearthed near Jerusalem. During the process of unwinding the cloths which bound it, the excavators concerned were astonished to find that the cloths were becoming more and more coloured. Finally, they stopped in amazement, for the pattern which the bindings had made at this stage on the mummy were those of a perfect Union Jack in red, white and blue." That mummy must be smiling in this autumn of 1938.

The book begins with an amusing though quite pointless account of the author at school. The descriptions of his early manhood are by no means uninteresting and his sketches of active service in France are really well done. His service in the East first aroused his interest in mysticism. One wonders why he was so deeply influenced by two very platitudinous conversations with a chance Indian acquaintance. Nevertheless, in spite of irritation with the recounting of unimportant and unrelated incidents and the not very significant utterances of the Indian friend, the reader's interest is aroused. Where will this new Bengal Lancer bring his boat to anchor—or, if you prefer, what sort of a pig will he stick?

Unlike his better-known prototype, he steers clear of Yogi and Fascism; he even, despite the mummy, avoids becoming a British Israelite. He drifts, first, towards the Left; then, in a few years, he passes through the Catholic Church

and ends up by becoming a Nestorian Priest. He decides not to give us the history of his progress to this position and the reader is left somewhat bewildered. His views have broadened considerably, whilst his ability to twist events to suit his theories, evidenced throughout the book, has in no way diminished. He has learnt, what a man of his potential ability might have learnt with half his experience, the futility and the hypocrisy of most of the accepted religious and political shibboleths. He has decided that Jesus of Nazareth attempted to lead a non-violent crusade upon the lines of Gandhi's campaigns. This by no means impossible idea helped to bring him back into the Christian fold. At this period he was also influenced by reading Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means*, but he draws back from his almost inevitable pacifist position by saying: "I have never met an out-and-out pacifist who was not primarily inspired not by dislike of taking another's life but by regard of his own." This sort of judgement is typical of his soldier's contempt for those who have not faced death, which is most clearly seen in his hasty condemnation of the women he saw during his war leaves.

It will take Mr. Foster at least one more volume and, I suspect, a little tolerance, to clear his own and his readers' minds, and when it comes out I shall certainly read it. But let me warn those who are seeking sidelights on post-war events in Central Asia that this is not the book for them.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.

The Importance of Living. By Lin Yutang. William Heinemann. 15s.

As I read *The Importance of Living* I recalled many pleasant evenings spent in Dr. Lin's company, but I was sorry that I was reading and not talking to him, for our talks have always been mixed with good food and good wine and good company and have lasted for just so long as seemed good to us all.

Dr. Lin's book is one which should not be read through, but should be opened just when one feels in the mood to discuss any of the particular subjects—or if the reader wishes to obtain a spurious reputation for both wit and knowledge it might well be read before a "high-brow" dinner-party, provided the rest of the company has not done the same.

The dust jacket tells me that "in America 141,000 people bought *The Importance of Living* within five weeks of publication," and this does not seem surprising, for to quote another reviewer: "One can well imagine American club women rolling their eyes in ecstasy after reading it through and sighing, 'How marvellous!'"

This is far from saying that the book is not packed with wit, knowledge and sound common sense, and there is much in it which might well be taken to heart and pondered on by any thinking European: the English find it difficult to take a puckish humour seriously, and I feel that the best way to spread the teaching of Y. T. in this country is to buy copies of his book and distribute them to selected friends: there is no doubt that it will please the week-end guest (my reviewer's copy was nearly stolen last week) and make her smile—and may well make him think deeply also.

EDWARD AINGER.

OBITUARY

FILIPPO DE FILIPPI

SIR FILIPPO DE FILIPPI was born in Turin in 1869, studied surgery at the universities of Bologna and Genoa and was lecturer on operative medicine and studied physiological chemistry, on which he published several papers. He also attended several foreign universities, in England, Germany and Austria.

He soon gave up medicine for exploration, and having been from his youth a keen Alpine climber he was selected by H.R.H. the Duke of the Abruzzi for the expedition to ascend Mount St. Elias in Alaska, on which he published a book, also brought out in English. In 1903 he travelled through Transcaucasia and Russian Turkestan. In 1909 he again accompanied the Duke of the Abruzzi to the Himalayas, and explored the great Baltoro glacier in the eastern Karakorum, on which he wrote a valuable scientific report. He edited the report on the Duke's ascent of Mount Ruwenzori in 1906, where, however, he did not accompany him.

In 1913 he organized another expedition to the Himalayas on his own account, under the auspices of the Italian and Indian Governments and of the various Italian and foreign geographical societies, and conducted it himself. Among his collaborators and companions were Colonel Wood, of the Indian Topographical Department, Professor Abetti, the well-known Italian astronomer, and various other British and Italian scientists and travellers. The journey took over a year and covered Baltistan, Ladakh and Chinese Turkestan, the object being not only the exploration of the less-known or unknown parts of the Himalayas, but also to make scientific observations at a great altitude. The world war broke out while the expedition was in a remote part of the Himalayas, and as soon as news of it reached the party those members of it who were officers of the British or Italian fighting services left at once to rejoin their respective countries, but De Filippi and the others went on, and eventually reached Russian Turkestan and, finally, Italy. De Filippi devoted many years to preparing the report of the expedition, which has been published in sixteen volumes.

As soon as Italy entered the war De Filippi offered his services to

the Italian Red Cross. Later he was sent on a mission to London, where he did useful work in explaining the aspects of the Italian war to the British public.

After the war he retired to Florence, where he bought and restored La Capponcina, a beautiful Renaissance villa at Settignano, which had previously belonged to the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio. There he continued to devote himself to his geographical studies, prepared the report on his last expedition, and published various works of a scientific nature dealing with ancient travellers and explorers. He also contributed articles on these subjects to the *Enciclopedia Italiana*.

De Filippi had married the late Lady E. Fitzmaurice (*née* Fitzgerald), who died before his last Himalayan expedition, and he had many connections with England and America. Although he led a very retired life and seldom went out, in his villa he entertained his many friends, Italian and foreign.

He edited the account of the Duke of the Abruzzi's last expedition, the exploration of the course of the Webi Shebeli river in Ethiopia (1928-29), the first complete edition of Marco Polo's *Milione* (1928), and in 1932 he published in English a complete edition of the Jesuit Father Ippolito Desideri's report on Tibet, where the latter had resided for several years early in the eighteenth century (London: Routledge, 1932).

He was general secretary of the Italian Geographical Society from 1928 to 1931, and member of the National Italian Research Committee (geographical section) since 1932. He was awarded the Mussolini prize for science by the Royal Italian Academy in 1931, and other prizes were conferred on him by scientific academies of Turin, Paris, London and New York. He was corresponding member of the *Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, a member of the Pontifical Academy of Science, honorary member of the Italian, French, American, German and Rumanian geographical societies and was created an Honorary K.C.I.E. He was well known in London scientific circles, and his loss will be widely felt.

L. V.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE TRANSJORDAN TRIBES

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

In the July issue of this Journal Major J. B. Glubb has criticized an article of mine on "The Bedouin of Transjordan: their Social and Economic Problems."* I venture to hope that his outspoken criticism, which I shall try to answer herewith, will stimulate interest in the subject under discussion and will induce others to step into the controversy and to contribute to its elucidation.

Method

Major Glubb wrote: "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." This statement, that I have studied the subject on "paper"—though incorrect in itself, since I have visited Transjordan several times and studied the problems of the Bedouin in their tents—seems to me to constitute no blame whatsoever. On the contrary, I expect a writer on a certain subject to know in the first place all the available literature prior to his setting out to add to it. In this respect Major Glubb's article seems to create the impression that no literature exists on the subject, or at least none known to him. Otherwise, how could he write "Mr. Epstein quotes figures stating that the Government gave £900 to the Huweitat in 1935 and £250 to the Beni Sakhar. I do not know where he obtained these figures, but expect that they are quite correct." These figures may be verified from the most obvious source on Transjordan—namely, "Report . . . to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for the year 1935,"† submitted by His Majesty's Government and issued by the Colonial Office. It is furthermore significant that not even in one single case did Major Glubb support his statements by reference to reports, books or statistics. On the other hand, he uses exclusively subjective measures of judgment (*i.e.*, "as far as the eye can judge"), which are a somewhat unreliable basis for a scientific study.

The Problem

I have tried to show in my article that the basis of the Bedouin economy in Transjordan is deteriorating and that the problem of settling the Bedouin is rather complicated.

* *Journal*, April, 1938, pp. 228-236.

† Further quoted as "Annual Report."

Major Glubb raised a number of objections :

(a) The process of settling Bedouin tribes is not peculiar to this epoch and occurred at all times.

(b) Camel breeding has not decreased.

(c) The statistics chosen by me are not typical, since they apply to years of drought.

(d) "The introduction of foreign capital would not benefit the tribesmen of Transjordan even if it gave them increased financial prosperity, because it would introduce a simple, smiling people to the hell of race hatred." (Major Glubb.)

The problem under discussion is the alleged breakdown of the nomad economy in the modern Arab States, which was based in the pre-war days in the first place on camel breeding and raiding. It is a well-known fact that since "times immemorial" nomad tribes have, by means of conquering cultivated areas or otherwise, given up their nomad mode of life when the economic pressure in the desert became too strong; however, at the same time, the nomad economy of the other tribes continued. The feature which distinguishes our period from the former is the necessity for changing, sooner or later, the economic basis of *all* tribes in the states under discussion. In my article I have shown how this transformation affected several tribes, and that to-day in Transjordan the various tribes are in a state of transition, some having already taken to permanent places of residence, pasturing and agriculture. The difficulties of our epoch, when a Bedouin tribe no longer can make a living on its former economic basis, are, however, not peculiar to Transjordan alone, but are met with in 'Iraq, Syria, Egypt and to a certain extent even in Sa'udi-Arabia.

Why has the economic basis of the nomad economy been shaken? I have stated three reasons :

(a) Camels have lost a considerable part of their market and their price has declined.

(b) Raiding, which, especially in times of drought, represented a means of income, has been made impossible by desert police controls.

(c) Wandering of the Bedouin tribes has been curtailed by the increase of the cultivated area and by the division of the Ottoman Empire into a number of states.

Against this Major Glubb points out that :

" . . . It is a mistake to think that modern means of transport have killed camel breeding. . . . 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 "common error," as Major Glubb calls it, is shared, for instance, by Mr. Bertram Thomas, who writes :

"In pre-war days there was a camel-raising industry in the north-west for export via Damascus to Egypt. At that time the camel was the ideal means of transport in those neighbouring countries that lacked roads and much water, but the introduction of the American motor-car has brought great changes, and what was once a valuable export trade has decayed."*

Furthermore, the import of camels into Egypt has declined sharply since the war. According to the Official Egyptian Statistics the import of camels in 1902 amounted to 41,198 heads; in 1903 to 46,640 heads; in 1904 to 57,324 heads; in 1910 to 34,317 heads; in 1911 to 46,619 heads; in 1912 to 48,982 heads.† The average import during the years 1899-1912 amounted to 41,137 heads.

After the war the import of camels into Egypt fell much below that before the war. In 1922, for instance, it amounted to 23,291 and in 1935 to 22,628; in 1936 to 35,554; in 1937 to 24,792 heads.‡ The average import during the last ten years amounted to 28,137 heads; that means a decline of 32 per cent. as compared with the average of the pre-war years, although the consumption must have increased together with the increase of the population from 12 millions in 1912 to 16 millions in 1937. Corresponding to the decline in the number of imported camels the average price of an imported camel dropped from £12.5 in 1922 to about £5.6 in 1935-37.§ This figure shows that the Egyptian market for Middle Eastern camels has contracted.

Now to the share of Transjordan camels in the Egyptian trade. The Egyptian statistics in pre-war times do not reveal the origin as between the different parts of the then Ottoman Empire. After the war, imports from Transjordan are grouped together with those of Palestine, and we find that during the last three years the imports from "Palestine" amounted to 12,418 in 1935, to 13,513 in 1936 and to 8,598 in 1937. There is every reason to suppose that the share of Transjordan camels in this figure is very small, as apparently Sa'udi-Arabian, 'Iraqi and Syrian camels are transported via Transjordan and Palestine to Egypt.|| Already in 1929 the Annual Report gives an import of 6,030 camels and an export of 9,467—i.e., a net export of only about 3,500 camels.¶ In the latest years the export of camels from Transjordan seems to have lost all its importance, as in the Annual Reports the major items of exported goods are enumerated such as wheat, samneh, etc., down to 844 cattle valued at £3,781, but camels are not mentioned. This seems to indicate that the export of camels represents a value of less than £3,000 or roughly less than 600 camels per annum.

* Bertram Thomas, *The Arabs*, 1937, pp. 264-265.

† *Statistical Year Book of Egypt* for 1909 and 1913.

‡ Annual Statement of the Foreign Trade of Egypt (annually). § *Ibid.*

|| This is confirmed by the following statement in the last Annual Report for 1937, p. 393: "A large number of camels, sheep and goats continues to enter the country from Sa'udi-Arabia; some of these are for local consumption, but many pass in transit to Palestine and Egypt."

¶ Annual Report for 1929, p. 152.

The decrease in exports clearly indicates the decline in camel breeding among the Transjordan tribes. This trend is furthermore depicted by the estimates of the number of camels in Transjordan published by the International Institute of Agriculture.

NUMBER OF CAMELS IN TRANSJORDAN*

	1931.	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.	1936.
Number ...	27,600	22,400	15,900	4,400	3,400	2,300

Though these figures probably understate the total number of camels in Transjordan (as they possibly refer only to a part of Transjordan) it is fairly safe to assume that they show the general trend.

The decline in camel breeding, in exports and in market prices must have therefore hit severely the camel-breeding tribes.

It may be of interest to add at the end the opinion of an Arab writer on this subject. An authority such as 'Aref Bey al 'Aref, the district officer of Beersheba, who is well known for his scholarly investigations of tribal life, writes :

“Until the war the trade in camels was very profitable and big gains were connected with it. . . . The price of a camel was £20 to £25 (before the war). . . . Those conditions do not exist any more. The prices of camels dropped enormously. To-day a camel can be bought for £3. I have seen with my own eyes a camel which was sold for 20 piastres (about 4 shillings), as the use of the camel diminished on account of the increase in means of communication, of steam and electricity and also because of the drop in cotton prices in Egypt.”†

The stoppage of raiding has virtually closed an additional means of income, especially in times of distress. Two authoritative quotations clearly emphasize this point: “Raiding is a very common practice among nomadic tribes, especially in bad years. They raid not only each other, but also neighbouring village people.”‡

“The problem of the employment of sons of Bedouin Sheikhs remains a difficult one, as they are unwilling to engage in manual work, and are unemployed and discontented in the tribes. These men were formerly the leaders of tribal raids, and have found no occupation since raiding ceased.”§

The matter seems to be rather too obvious in order to demand further elaboration.

With regard to the limitation of the movement of Bedouin Major Glubb writes: “One of Mr. Epstein's most unfortunate errors is his statement that the boundaries between Syria, Transjordan and Sa'udi-Arabia have

* *International Year Book of Agricultural Statistics*, Rome, 1937-38, p. 399.

† 'Aref al 'Aref, *Kitab al Qudhā bein al Bedu, Qūds*, 1351 Hijrah, p. 224 (Arabic).

‡ Said B. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 13.

§ Annual Report for 1936, p. 349.

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."

This statement seems to overlook that the creation of the new states after the war has brought about new customs and veterinary controls, different police regulations and different laws. All these factors and also some others have limited the movement of tribes.

"In addition, the post-war settlement has created new political boundaries, which prevent free movement of tribes in search of pasture and water."*

It is true that in the last years agreements with regard to the tribal movements have been concluded, but those are subject to some important restrictions. The Syrian-Iraqi agreement, for instance, forbids the permanent settlement of an 'Iraqi tribe on Syrian territory and *vice versa*. Contrary to Major Glubb's opinion, this actually constitutes a transformation of the old principle of the *dirah* into a serious legal limitation of the natural trend towards migration among some of the tribes wandering in the Syrian Desert, now divided between four states (although the area of the new *dirah* has been considerably widened).

In the light of these facts Major Glubb's statement seems rather rash.

I persist, therefore, in believing that the decline of camel breeding, the stoppage of raiding and the limitation of tribal movements have undermined the Bedouin economy.

Statistics

Now we come to the statistics mentioned by me, which were so sharply criticized by Major Glubb. He even suggested partiality in choosing the figures. When writing I used the latest statistics available for camels and sheep. I think I have made it perfectly clear that the point under discussion is not the business cycle in Transjordan but the structural changes of the Bedouin economy. The declining trend is clearly shown by the number of camels quoted by me above. These cover six years, including some years which were not years of drought. Major Glubb stresses that the number of animals in Transjordan undergoes a cyclical rotation, and that the year I chose was one of drought. The discussion, however, concerning the rotation of the number of animals as influenced by rainfall seems to be irrelevant. It might influence our judgment superficially, but it does not touch the underlying problem of decline, which belongs not to the science of meteorology but to that of economics.

Scope of Cultivation

One of Major Glubb's most astonishing statements, though only indirectly connected with our subject, is his opinion that the cultivated area in Transjordan has now reached the full extent of that under cultivation in the past. Major Glubb unfortunately overlooks the results of the recent researches of Dr. Nelson Glueck, Director of the American School of

* Himadeh, *op. cit.*, 13.

Oriental Research in Jerusalem, who in the last few years greatly enlarged our knowledge of Transjordan. Compare, *e.g.*, Dr. Glueck's remarks on a site called Jemeil in the ancient Moab (at the present mainly occupied by the Beni Sakhr and Huweitat tribes). "None of the area surrounding it is cultivated to-day except several patches scratched and planted. . . . Jemeil was, however, the centre of an intensively cultivated area. This is evidenced by the many fields in the immediate vicinity, which are cleared of stones and surrounded with stone fences."* Edom, which is now a stony waste, was in Edomite and Nabatean times a field of intensive and extensive cultivation. To quote Dr. Glueck again: "In the Nabatean period much more energy was expended in catching and preserving the available rain-water than to-day. . . . The modern Arabs, failing to emulate their Nabatean predecessors, have been forced to abandon one site after another so that the entire Ard ez-Zobayer, which was dotted with villages and hamlets in Nabatean times, is almost completely abandoned to-day."†

Agriculture

The tribes in Transjordan turn—some more and some less—to agricultural work. The transition from nomadism and semi-nomadism to settled agricultural life is, however, not only connected with psychological difficulties, but is also a very costly process. More than once we find in the Official Reports of Transjordan remarks on limited financial means for settlement. Though most of those tribes are in possession of abundant areas of cultivable land, they lack the means of developing them, and if rain should fail them in one year they would return to the desert.

"Unfortunately, the failure of the harvest in 1936, due to the lack of rain, caused a severe setback of schemes for the encouragement of Bedouin cultivation. Many nomads had cultivated for the first time that year, and the loss of their crops discouraged them so much that they returned to the desert."‡

One should take into account that a constructive transformation from nomadism to settled agricultural life is a complicated process, both from its sociological and from its economic aspect. In addition to tools, implements, seeds, livestock, etc., these nomad settlers, lacking the tradition and efficiency of other cultivators, have to be supported and instructed during the transition period. This first of all means that the settlement of Bedouin needs organization and costs money. Now, Major Glubb tries to create the impression that the transformation of Transjordan economy could be achieved by Transjordan alone without outside capital.

The development of the other Middle Eastern countries was in almost every case made possible by foreign capital, by the return of natives from

* Quoted according to Mr. M. Avi-Yonah (Ass. Keeper of Records, Palestine Archæological Museum), *Palestine and Middle East Economic Magazine*, No. 6, 1938.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Annual Report for 1936, p. 349.

abroad or by the influx of Europeans. In Egypt, for instance, foreign capital investments were estimated at between 200 and 400 million pounds. In Lebanon and Syria returning emigrants brought with them both capital and experience. In Iraq and Iran oil royalties enable the execution of development programmes. A hundred million pounds of Jewish capital was invested in Palestine, and together with the immigration of experts and entrepreneurs, besides the new ways of organization and labour, brought about a very rapid development of the country.

It would indeed be surprising if a country like Transjordan could carry on without outside help, and, as a matter of fact, it cannot do so.

A considerable part of Transjordan revenue is paid by Great Britain, and other services are partly paid for by Palestine. Out of a budget of £419,000 in 1936-37, £131,000 was directly borne by Great Britain. If other expenditure by Great Britain and Palestine, not directly itemized in the budget, had been included, the expenditure of foreign Governments would probably have been larger than the local contributions. Still, these subventions and subsidies are just sufficient to support the administrative machinery, but not to develop Transjordan.

Many ways, however, are open for a development of Transjordan. Incidentally, Jewish immigration was repeatedly demanded, not so long ago, by those who need it mostly—namely, by leaders of important tribes, possessing extensive tracts of land without having the necessary means, capital and experience to develop them. Transfer of population, from more densely populated parts in Palestine, might be another effective stimulant, if such transfer is supported by sufficient means for settlement.

I would like to conclude with a few remarks on the social aspect of the problem. Major Glubb looks rather optimistically on the present state of affairs and tendencies. He speaks of "a simple, smiling people . . . advancing steadily in prosperity." In 1933 I was charged by the American University of Beirut to carry out a scientific research among some of the tribes in Syria, with the particular purpose to study their hygienic and social conditions. A summary of the statistical results of this research was published by Professor Stuart Carter Dodd in his book, *A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria*, Beirut, 1934, where he quotes* the figures resulting from my research. These clearly show that the hygienic standard of the tribes is steadily deteriorating; and the rate of deterioration increases with the rate of change-over from their nomadic to semi-nomadic or settled life in cases where the development is not supported and regulated. It would also be worth while to quote the Annual Report, which in 1935 emphasizes that among the Bedouin of Transjordan there is "a disturbing prevalence of tuberculosis."

One should always bear in mind that the nomad to-day, as in the past, despises and hates instinctively settled life and agricultural employment. The Bedouin, whom circumstances have forced into the hated mould of the agriculturist, and who cannot hope to keep up, either economically or socially, his nomadic, balanced and undisturbed way of life of the days

* P. 311.

before the war, will certainly not be able to build up a new healthy basis and form of life by the *laissez-faire* policy of those who are responsible for his fate.

THE ROUND-TABLE CONFERENCE

His Majesty's Government, after careful consideration of the unwelcome facts revealed in the findings of the Woodhead Commission Report, has decided that the difficulties involved in the proposal to create independent Arab and Jewish States in Palestine render a solution by means of Partition impracticable.

Instead, however, of formulating a definite and decisive policy based on the undeniable facts now officially placed at its disposal, the Government takes refuge in the sanctuary of sharing its responsibility with others, and invites Arabs and Jews to confer with it in the hopes of arriving at mutual understanding.

As regards the Jews, the situation is simple—they have leaders ready to hand, and qualified to speak as representatives of the Jewish people.

The Arabs, on the other hand, are as usual at a disadvantage. They, too, have their recognized leaders, who would be ready to speak as representatives of the Arabs of Palestine. But where are they? Some in the enforced exile of the Seychelles or Syria, others in voluntary exile fearing a like fate should they remain at home.

The essential preliminaries for satisfactory discussions appear to be, first and foremost, that the Arabs now absent should one and all be allowed to return to Palestine in order to reassemble the Higher Arab Committee without delay. Otherwise by what means will it be possible for them to respond to the Government's invitation to send "representatives" to discuss matters in London? Further, the word "representatives" used by the Government in its White Paper implies freedom for the Arabs to send delegates of their own choice. Is the Government sincere in the use of this word? If it is, by what sanction can it reserve the right to refuse to receive those whom the Arabs may wish to choose to represent them? And again—What is to be the basis of the proposed discussions? Are they to be based on a clean slate, or is the Government to be shackled and fettered by the articles of a Mandate which, during the last twenty years, had tied its hands with "dual obligations," each of "equal weight," the result of which has hitherto been to impose upon the officials in Palestine nothing less than a moral squint.

A ray of light appears in the words of the Colonial Secretary in his speech in the House of Commons on November 24: "His Majesty's Government will not seek to prevent either the Arab or the Jewish representatives from offering argument as to why the Mandate should be changed. The discussions will be full, frank and free." The Mandate is the foundation on which the Administration of Palestine is based. If the Government is really

honest and sincere and ready to investigate the terms of that document in the light of the welfare of Palestine *only*, the whole superstructure of such questions as National Government, Immigration and Land will fall into its proper place.

In other words, if the Government is really honest and ready to allow to the Arabs freedom of movement, freedom of choice and freedom of speech to press their claim to the inalienable right, already guaranteed to them, of having a voice in the Government in their own land, then, and then only, can we hope that a happy issue will be found out of our afflictions and peace be restored in the Holy Land.

FRANCES E. NEWTON.

SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING

A SPECIAL General Meeting was called for December 14, 1938, at 8, Clarges Street, W. 1, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., in the Chair.

In convening the meeting, Sir John said: "This meeting has been called in order to discuss and, if thought desirable, to pass an amendment to Rule 4. Rule 4 as it stands at present is:

The Annual Subscription of members shall be £1. There shall be an entrance fee of £1 for all members elected after October, 1937.

The Council proposes: The Annual Subscription for members elected *after January 1, 1939, shall be 25s.* and that the rule be amended accordingly."

The Chairman continued: "I wish to make it quite clear that this increase applies only to members elected after January 1, 1939, and does not apply to present members. If present members desire to raise their subscription to £1 5s., the Council will be very grateful to them for doing so."

SIR MICHAEL O'DWYER: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—As I am perhaps the oldest member present, it has fallen on me to propose this resolution. I do it with great pleasure. I can look back on the early days of 1921 when I first joined the Society and when it had only a couple of hundred members. Since then, thanks to the pioneer efforts of the Committee and the zeal of the staff, to the kindness of lecturers and of members who get others to join, it has gone from strength to strength, and since Sir Percy Sykes took over the post of Honorary Secretary five years ago its expansion has been phenomenal. There is no society I know of which gives better value for its humble subscription of £1 a year. As we know, the Society has wisely moved into these new and admirable quarters, owing to its growth. All this naturally makes for greater expense. We all realize the good value which the Society provides for its members, and I am sure those of us who did not pay an entrance fee when we joined would have no objection to coming into line with the new members. This would help build up a reserve fund, which is necessary, as it was only thanks to its great economy

that the Society was able to carry on with such a small margin. If this increased income is forthcoming, then the Society will be in a position to extend itself and be even more worthy of its title "Royal Central Asian Society." I have, therefore, very great pleasure in proposing that the resolution be adopted.

The Chairman then called upon Sir Percy Sykes to second the resolution.

Sir PERCY SYKES: We have had a very eloquent speech from Sir Michael O'Dwyer which I cannot attempt to equal. At the time of the great crisis we signed, with some misgivings, the lease of these premises, hoping for the best, and that was the big step. Our Honorary Treasurer has told us that we must have another £250 a year. Then there are all sorts of little things we want to do. We should like to have the Royal Geographical Society's hall for a lecturer whom we know would draw a large audience, but that is expensive. We should also like to pay reviewers who give us their time, and another thing is that Miss Wingate, who at present only works half-time, will have to work whole time while Miss Kennedy is away on holiday. It is unfair on the Council, on the staff, and on myself that we should have to work with no margin. I should like to say here that our Chairman has more than doubled his subscription, and several other members have increased theirs by 10s. The R.C.A.S. is at the cross-roads, I consider; but if two-thirds of the members increase their subscriptions, then the Society can carry on and prosper. The alternative is defeatism, and the Royal Central Asian Society knows no such word as defeat. I have much pleasure in seconding the amendment.

The Chairman then asked if any member wished to speak.

Mr. MELLOR: I hope you will not think me presumptuous, but I joined the Society in 1920, when there were only 160 members, and it has given me great pleasure to see the way in which it has advanced. I certainly think that we get more than value for our subscription. It is absolutely A 1 for information, as I know, because I worked in the Travel Bureau at Cook's for twenty-five years. Any enquiry dealing with the Punjab, Afghanistan, and, in fact, all parts of Asia, were sent up to Mellor. I had to be very discreet, and some travellers were obstinate, but I owed a good deal of information to the lectures arranged by the Royal Central Asian Society.

A MEMBER: I should like to ask the Chairman a question. If two-thirds of the present members contribute the extra 5s., can we be sure that this will cover any deficit. We do not want to have another

meeting in a year in order to pass yet another resolution asking for a further increase.

The CHAIRMAN : It will cover any deficit and make up a reserve fund. The resolution was then put to the meeting :

It has been proposed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer and seconded by Sir Percy Sykes that the Annual Subscription for members elected after January 1, 1939, be 25s. and that the rule be amended accordingly.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

* * * * *

The Council wishes to thank Mrs. Alec Tweedie for a cheque for furniture for the Members' Reading Room.

* * * * *

The following letter has been circulated to all members :

During the recent crisis the contract for the new premises was signed, and they are now occupied, but not fully furnished. They give sorely needed space for the staff, while one of the rooms is being arranged to serve as a reading room.

It is calculated by our Honorary Treasurer that the increased cost will be about £250 per annum. The Council has therefore decided to appeal to members to increase their annual subscription to 25s. If, as it is anticipated, this appeal is generously responded to, not only will the Society be provided with an adequate income, but it will be possible to build up a reserve fund which is essential to its welfare.

In these critical times, when authoritative information is more important than ever before, your liberality will secure the continued fulfilment of its purposes.

P. M. SYKES (Brig.-Gen.),
Honorary Secretary.

* * * * *

Members recently elected : B. G. Alexander, Esq., H. Brinton, Esq., M.A., Major C. R. Chadwick, O.B.E., R.A.V.C.T. (ret.), Henry Channon, Esq., M.P., Lady Cox, D.B.E., Sir Henry Craik, Bart., K.C.S.I., Governor of the Punjab, R. W. Dana, Esq., O.B.E., B. S. Downward, Esq., W. B. Eddowes, Esq., Mrs. Mortimer Fisher, Edmund Fuerholzer, Esq., Miss Ursula Graham Bower, Major J. H. Green, M.B.E., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I., Dip. Anth., Miss M. Hamblton, J. E. H. Hudson, Esq., Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Inglefield, K.B.E., R.N. (ret.), C. N. Johns, Esq., Major Iskandar Mirza, J. Marshall

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Williamson, Esq.

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



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NOTICES

THE Society will welcome its Chairman, Sir Philip Chetwode, when he is able to return home from his work in the exchange of prisoners between the two factions in Spain.

It is a truism to say that the East is changing—the first two lectures in this Journal tell of the speed at which these changes are taking place. It is therefore with special interest that the Society follows the work done by the American Institute for Art and Archæology in Iran. Mr. Nyman, a member of this Institute, is making colour films of the handicrafts of Iran; many of these crafts must, one would think, disappear before long. The Government has very wisely established a school in Tehran for the teaching and encouragement of carpet making, the most famous of Iranian crafts, and has allowed Mr. Nyman to film in colour not only the excellent work done by the school, but rug and carpet making all over the country. He showed this film to the Society on March 14 while on a very short visit to England, with Dr. Upham Pope to introduce it and Mr. A. C. Edwards in the Chair. It was exceptionally good, the colours were excellent and it is only regretted that it was shown on one of the first days of the last crisis and the attendance was not as large as usual. It is with the greater interest that members should see the next film, if Mr. Nyman is kind enough to show it on his return. It is hoped that there may be an opportunity to film the carpet and rug making of the nomad tribes before they become settled and lose their hereditary skill.

The Council regrets the loss of five much-valued members, Lord Brabourne, General M. E. Willoughby, Mr. Charles Crane, Dr. Gaster and Miss Ella Sykes. Of Lord Brabourne a member writes: "What a tragedy is his death and what a loss to India and the Empire! I would say that there can be no previous instance in the history of British India where a man has been so marked down as one to whom the Viceroyalty must come in due course. His claims on that high office have been recognized as much at home as proclaimed in India. Calcutta genuinely mourned the passing of this great man."

Dr. Moses Gaster was a scholar of profound learning, for very many years a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, keenly interested in Zionism; although he understood the difficulties in the present situation he held that these were not inherent and could have been handled if there had been compromise and patience and appreciation on both sides.

Members elected since January 1 are :

Miss M. Arbuthnot, H.E. 'Ali Jawdat al 'Ayubi, Commander Ian R. H. Black, R.N., W. H. Crawford Clarke, Esq., Miss M. G. H. Cleland, Wing-Commander S. D. Culley, D.S.O., R.A.F., A. H. Diack, Lieutenant, R.N., Mrs. J. M. Dreschfield, Mrs. E. Hampson Evans, Squadron-Leader N. C. Ogilvie Forbes, R.A.F., Miss E. French, Major-General E. D. Giles, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., J. Fergus Grant, Esq., A. S. Halford, Esq., W. H. T. Harris, Esq., Captain P. B. Hembrow, R.E., Dr. V. R. Idelson, J. T. Irvine, Esq., Captain J. H. Jeffers, Mrs. W. Johnson, P. Lefebvre-Arnold, Esq., E. D. McDermott, Esq., Lieut.-Colonel J. Seymour Mellor, John G. Murray, Esq., Edward A. Norman, Esq., the Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots, D.D., O.B.E., M.C., Captain R. A. Smart, R.A.M.C., J. E. J. Taylor, Esq.

Members are asked to send any change of address to the Society's office, 8, Clarges Street, W. 1.

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

Iran and Afghanistan

THE WILD ASSES

An account of a crossing, by a party of students, of Iran from the Russian border to Afghanistan. The famous shrine at Meshed was entered; the great salt desert in Southern Iran traversed. Economic and political penetration by Germany is illustrated, and the change from old ways to new in this part of the East described. "Reawoke in me a deep nostalgia for the land of my birth." — Harold Nicolson in the *Daily Telegraph*. Illustrated. 12s. 6d. net.

W. V. EMANUEL

JONATHAN CAPE · THIRTY BEDFORD SQUARE · LONDON

SOME IMPRESSIONS OF SWAT AND AFGHANISTAN*

By W. V. EMANUEL

IT is a great honour for me to address this learned assembly, and, apart from my nervousness of the experts who swarm in your midst, I feel a certain special diffidence in speaking when the person who should be addressing you is the leader of our expedition, Mr. Evert Barger, of the University of Bristol. It was his powers of leadership, and above all his indomitable pertinacity, coupled with the hard work of the other two members of the expedition, that were responsible for what I am going to describe. However, he is to speak to the Royal Geographical Society on the archæological side of our work, and, fascinating though that aspect is, I shall try to steer clear of it and confine myself to describing our personal experiences and the present state of the lands whose past we tried to explore.

But perhaps I should first explain what it was we were aiming at. For the first six or seven centuries of our era a great Greco-Buddhist civilization, employing the technique of Hellenistic art to depict the doings of Buddha, stretched from the north-west of India, across what is now Afghanistan, to the western borders of China. The fascinating hybrid monuments of this civilization were first discovered by Masson and others almost exactly a century ago, but its detailed story is still unknown, and the whole period, lamentably lacking in written evidence, bristles with unanswered questions.

It was with the object of tackling these problems afresh—a field in which British enterprise has been conspicuously lacking ever since the War—that our small expedition was formed, with the support of the India Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Geographical Society. When in February a despatch from H.M. Consul-General at Kashgar put an end to our eighteen months of plans for exploring the sand-buried cities of Chinese Turkestan, we turned to northern Afghanistan and Swat, two other gaps in our archæological map.

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 18, 1939, General Sir Sydney Muspratt, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated.

Our party consisted of Barger, Wright of the India Museum, Weatherhead, the photographer and surveyor, and myself, the nominal interpreter, who had charge of the equipment, commissariat, and medicines.

We left England at the end of May, and June found us at Malakand, a familiar name since the fierce fighting of 1895 and 1897, when Winston Churchill won his spurs as a war correspondent. From the Fort, which is closed every sunset, we looked northwards past Gibraltar Post to the beautiful valley of the Swat, far greener than the barren valleys of Waziristan and the Khyber, and studded, in between its numerous watercourses, with the pale emerald of young rice and maize. The Swat river, fed by the snows of the western Karakoram, joins the Kabul river not far from Peshawar, after cutting its way through the rocky hills that wall off the Peshawar plain on the north. Its waters now irrigate that plain by means of the great Swat canal, whose headworks at Amandarra were opened by the Viceroy last April. The canal pierces the famous Malakand ridge by a tunnel over two miles long. Several careless bathers have been swept through into India; a cow is the only creature that has come through alive. The power generated in this way will eventually supply with electricity not only Nowshera and Peshawar, but the Khyber, Kohat, and Abbotabad.

The Malakand ridge, some seventy-five miles north of Peshawar, is where one leaves British administered territory and enters tribal territory, officially known as the Political Agency of Dir, Swat, and Chitral. Ten miles up the valley from Malakand stands Chakdarra Fort, the scene of "Gunga Din's" exploit. Here the road to Chitral, which is the original reason for the presence of British troops in this region, branches off to the north-west to Kila Drosh through the State of Dir, while to the north-east the (unmetalled) road goes on across the borders of tribal territory and enters the State of Swat.

From the first to the eighth centuries A.D., up till the Mohammedan invasion, Swat was known as *Udyana*, a centre of Buddhist learning, one of the goals of the Chinese pilgrims who toiled across the deserts and mountains of Central Asia to visit the scenes of Buddha's life. Hsüan-tsang, who came this way about A.D. 630, when Buddhism was already on the decline, and whose records were useful to us in Afghanistan also, wrote: "On both sides of the Swat river there are some 1,400 old monasteries . . . there are four or five strong towns and many shrines." But Buddhists have now been replaced by the fanatical Akozai clan of the Yusufzai Pathans, who have a reputation,

طالع کشته و از صدمه لشکر مرگ آهنگ در هر زمان هزار خونین جگر بریدگراف
 دیزان ایران و تورانیان - بهم ریخته همچو باد خزان - ز باران آید بران شده
 نم خون چوسیلن بهاران شده - ز بس سرد تن شده جایگیر - چنگ کشته قید
 تیر - زره را کمانهای بخیر ره - بیدان بچکان کشته کرده - چو در کترش
 آمد زوال - عقابان کین را فرورخت بال - کمانها فلند و شمشیر - نهاده و بند
 هم ز روی سپهر - شد از چاک شمشیر کسکاف - چو پای شتر فرق مرد مصاف
 چکا خاک شمشیر بنده فرق - زمین را بدریای خون کرد غرق - غریب و ماوه برآمد
 چنان که افتاد از دست شیران سنان - بر آمد خروش خم هفت جوش - سپهر
 برده هوش از دماغ سر هوش - لب خون که از مارک اهل روس - بر آورد و پیکر
 تاج خورشید - ز بس مرد خفته بخون سپرد - شده روی صحرا پر از سیخ مرد



چنان برین کوبال برود جنگ که کوبی ابابیل میرنجیت سکن اماغیلا ز افق آید

NADIR SHAH DEFEATS THE ÖZBEGS

[This is one of the illustrations in the unique MS. history of Nadir's reign entitled the Kitab-i-Nadiri, by Muhammad Kazim of Merv. This MS. is in the possession of the Institut Vostokovedeniya, Leningrad.

in our experience quite unjustified, for treachery and cruelty. Indeed, among Pathans it is a common saying that "Swat is heaven, but the Swatis are hell fiends."

So, although in 1926 the ubiquitous Sir Aurel Stein was able to make a brief tour of Swat and Buner and identify Alexander's Aornos, this promising valley remained unvisited by an archæological expedition until the Ruler of Swat State, at the request of the Government of India, granted us permission to excavate in his territory.

This ruler, the *Badshah* or *Wali*, is the grandson of that holy man, the Akhund of Swat, whose death in 1870 was celebrated in certain English ballads too flippant for this learned assembly. The Wali of Swat is a remarkable Pathan chieftain who, about 1921, succeeded in establishing a kind of feudal force of tribesmen with which he drove out the Nawabs of Dir and Amb, who had overrun his country, and set up a kingdom of his own not only in the Swat valley proper but in Buner to the east and in Torwal to the north, where still dwell the mysterious Dards. And now he is strong enough to conquer each year another slice of anarchic tribal territory.

I shall not easily forget our first visit to the Wali. After Major Cobb, the Political Agent, who assisted us in every possible way, had conveyed to us an invitation to lunch at the palace of Saidu Sharif, Barger and I drove off in Malakand's solitary car. There was only a white stone to mark the end of British India, and then we noticed in the distance what looked like a Norman keep, a tall castellated affair with twin towers. This fort, built of dried mud and stones, reinforced by wooden struts, is one of about ninety which house the Wali's troops. The twin towers we were to meet again on the green flag which flew from the palace and from the royal cars. On the road we had a view far up the valley, seventy or eighty miles away, of the snow-clad mountains of Swat Kohistan, whose peaks rise to 18,000 feet.

At Saidu, a large village graced by a petrol pump, a hospital, and two palaces, we were greeted by the Waliahad, the Wali's son and heir. He is a man of about thirty-five, who was educated at Islamia College, Peshawar, and, with his perfect English, his fair skin, and his European clothes, would pass anywhere for an Englishman. His palace is furnished in rare good taste with sunk bathrooms, built-in cupboards, and all the latest modern devices. Its walls are lined with cases containing the portentous game birds of this huntsman's paradise, and with English books, including "*The Times*" *History of the War* in all its twenty-four volumes. He and the English-speaking sons of the Com-

mander-in-Chief gave us lunch in European fashion off Mappin and Webb silver. The sole concession which he made to native custom was the sensible practice of not tucking his shirt in.

His father, to visit whom we drove through Saidu in a high-powered Packard saloon, received us in oriental fashion in his much less westernized palace, but even in *his* Hall of Audience stood a gigantic radiogram. That interview had an Arabian Nights flavour, with the salaaming crowds in the streets, the heavily armed guard next to the driver, and the venerable old man who bowed to us on the steps of his palace. I had to do some quick thinking to grasp that this was the dictator-king himself. Our interview was little but an exchange of compliments, but we gained the impression of a man of extraordinary strength of character. This Augustus of the frontier can neither read nor write, and except for a little Persian knows no language but his native Pushtu, yet in less than twenty years he has created the nucleus of a modern state, as large as Yorkshire and as independent as any of the great native states of India.

This area he rules by means of a private telephone system. Each of the eight or nine *tahsils* or districts is connected with the Wali's palace by telephone, which means that he rules quite literally by word of mouth. The *tahsildars* hold court each morning, but have to send all important cases up to Saidu, where the Wali not only sits in justice like a biblical ruler, but grants all who seek justice free hospitality for three days. Although most men in Swat still go about armed, it is only by permission of the Wali, and vendettas are being sternly stamped out. If you kill a man, all your money goes to the Wali and you are banished. If you quarrel, you are fined, on a scale which varies according to the gravity of the offence. For example, our tonga driver had been confined to his village for quarrelsomeness; if caught outside it he was liable to a fine of 300 rupees, and he could not take a fare to the next village without special permission from the *tahsildar*.

Tongas are still the commonest form of transport for all those who can afford to go faster than a donkey, but lorries ply regularly up and down the valley. The Indian Post Office runs a regular bus service from Chakdarra to Saidu, and has sub-post-offices, but of course no postmen, inside the state territory. The postmaster at Saidu rejoices in the glorious title of "the Babu Sahib." That title is perhaps a sign of the rareness of educated people in a state almost entirely free of *babus*. Although the *tahsildars* are educated men, usually speaking and writing Persian (the language of official documents until super-

seded last spring by Pushtu), elementary education in Swat state was tried and found wanting a year or two ago, when twenty-seven schools were opened with a great flourish, only to fade away for lack of pupils.

To-day only three schools are left, two at Saidu and one at Barikot, and such Swatis as wish for a higher education go to Thana High School, in British territory. Settling a strike there was one of Major Cobb's many jobs last year. It is a sign of the times that the Waliahad's young son goes to Dehra Dun Public School and has an English governess, the only English resident in Swat.

As might be expected in the land of the Akhund, whose tomb at Saidu is still a place of pilgrimage, the mullahs exert much influence. Abueh, for example, a comparatively small village of about 400 houses—which means perhaps 3,000 inhabitants—holds no less than twelve mullahs. It also contains as many as twenty *bunnias* (moneylenders), mostly Sikhs and Hindus, which shows how poor the peasants are. Their poverty is increased by the Pathan custom of *wesh*, which means that all lands held by a tribal sub-section have to be redistributed every four or five years. Such a custom, though typical of the democratic spirit of the Pathan, does not encourage long-term farming, and the Wali is trying to stop it and restore to Swat the fertility which it clearly enjoyed in Buddhist times. At present almost its only crops are rice and maize, which are exported to the plains by the Hindu traders, who also satisfy the local demand for manufactured goods, ranging from sugar loaves to sickles. One seventh of these crops goes as tax to the Wali, who also calls upon every adult for two years' military service without any payment except in kind.

Five men and a *jemadar* of the Swat state forces were allotted to us as sentries; they were charming fellows who helped us dig trenches against the torrential rains and presented us with flowers when we left. They were sent up from the nearest fort in weekly shifts to our camp under Barikot Hill, which, under the name of Bazira, was one of the strongholds stormed by Alexander on his way to the Indus. Barikot is an important village some ten miles up the valley from Chakdarra. The main Swat valley is there joined by three side valleys; one carries the British-built road over the Karakar pass to Buner, a district of upland pastures and isolated villages. The same road leads to the ascent of Mount Ilam, a 9,000-foot mountain, which is visited by many Hindu pilgrims. It was here that Buddha, according to Hsüan-tsang, once in a former birth gave up his life to hear a half-stanza of doctrine. Its fir-clad peak dominated the view from our

camp. Although the Wali has made it a capital offence to cut down a tree, trees in Swat are still rare, and it was no easy matter to find a shady place for camping that was not a *ziarat* or a graveyard, which are as common in Swat as anywhere on the frontier.

Our camp site at Barikot was found and made comfortable for us through the kindness of the local *tahsildar*. His son, a charming youth who was studying agriculture at Islamia College, and who wrote us innumerable notes in flawless English, was our principal intermediary.

Our ten or twenty labourers were the local villagers, some of whom tramped several miles a day to the "dig" in their eagerness to earn the seven annas, which represented a good daily wage for them, with a sugary tea thrown in as a mid-morning refreshment. Once we had shown them the way they worked well and cheerfully, showing an energy which was astonishing in view of the heat and their meagre diet of rice and *chupatties*. Not even the snakes, which were many, frightened them.

I have mentioned the heat, and all of you who know India know what the plains are like in July. It is true that our Barikot camp was over 2,000 feet above sea level, but it was in a valley surrounded by growing rice and maize, and in spite of regular nightly thunderstorms, which often washed us out of bed, the temperature seldom sank below 80° at night or 106° at noon. To avoid the midday heat we used to rise at 4 a.m., and after a moonlight bathe in the Swat, which was far too swollen with Himalayan snows for us to swim in, at 5.30 we would leave in our tonga for the "dig." We would work till 10.30 or 11, return, bathe again before lunch, and then settle down to a short period of rest, the only spare time of the day. At 3.15 we sleepily set off again, and by the time that the three and a half hours' afternoon labours were over we were ready for supper and bed.

With our two Pathan servants, a water-carrier, and six guards, our camp soon became quite a social centre for the village. In the evening the guards would sit about on their string beds chatting with friends and puffing at their hookas. Each day we had a stream of callers; sometimes the Waliahad would look in as he drove down for his weekly game of polo with the Malakand garrison; a cultivator would bring in a Buddhist frieze or a Greek coin; a guard would ask us to cure his son's fever or his father's syphilitic sores; there would be a request for us to rid a village water supply of the leeches which were decimating the cattle; or a workman would bring us a report of some "Butkhana" (Place of Idols) far off the beaten track.

One such tale took us to the top of Amlook, an almost inaccessible mountain six hours' climb from Barikot. From our 6,000-foot eyrie we looked out through swirling clouds to the Peshawar or Yuzufzai plain on the south and to range upon range of snow mountains on the north. Here at Amlook, amidst semi-Alpine vegetation very different from that of the steamy rice-fields of Barikot, Weatherhead and I lived for several days in a huge cave. Its rough wall (made up partly by pieces of Buddhist masonry) gave us no protection from the cataclysmic thunders and lightning which each night lit up the valley for miles and drove our guards from their watch-fires. Our workmen here were shepherds who had never seen a white man, though they knew his aeroplanes. Pick and shovel were also strangers to them. They brought us water each day from a spring some half an hour's scramble down the mountain, and for food we relied on what we had taken up with us.

We were lucky to have unusual success in our excavations at Amlook, for the shepherds were like children, only too easily discouraged by failure to find any "idols" with the *backsheesh* that these implied. It was at Amlook that they unearthed, in a furore of excitement which nearly broke the precious object, a stone panel of Buddha in high relief, surrounded by adoring disciples, which is æsthetically perhaps our most striking find. It was at Amlook too that we dug up a three-foot seated Buddha, which was so heavy that I could not even *lift* it, though one of our workmen, once a P. and O. fireman, carried it all the way down along a path so steep that not even a mule could climb it.

Altogether, during our three months' work in Swat, we excavated some seven monasteries and an acropolis, a baffling domestic site near Charbagh higher up the valley, where Wright and Weatherhead camped after we had left for Afghanistan. We surveyed and mapped many more, for all the side valleys are starred with Buddhist ruins, both monasteries and forts. All show unmistakable signs of wilful destruction by the Islamic invaders, and almost everywhere local treasure seekers had been before us, searching what they might sell. Indeed, some years ago there used to be a regular trade in dead Pathans, sent down to India for burial. At last something roused the suspicions of the authorities, some coffins were opened, and the alleged deceased were found to be stone dead indeed—Buddhist sculptures disguised as Pathan corpses.

Of the scientific value of our Swat finds this is not the place to

speak. Thirty-five crates of them are now being unloaded, and only when they have arrived at the India Museum and have been compared with other collections, can we really say how important has been our contribution to the knowledge of that strange Greco-Buddhist civilization which once stretched from the Punjab to the Pamirs.

At the beginning of August, Barger and I set out for northern Afghanistan to explore another corner of the same field. Although our two spheres of operation were many hundreds of miles apart, in Buddhist times Badakhshan and Swat were part of the same civilization, and their historical problems, unlike their modern conditions, are in essentials similar.

After months of negotiations we secured Afghan visas and crossed the Khyber by the prosaic but cheap method of taking front seats in the Afghan Mail Lorry. Stretches of the 190-mile road from Peshawar to Kabul, Afghanistan's principal trade outlet, were surprisingly bad, and our heads often hit the roof, but we took only twenty-seven hours to the Kabul Customs House, and passed a cool night on string beds in a field at Gandamak.

The mention of Gandamak, which gave its name to the treaty that ended the Second Afghan War of 1879-80, provides an opportunity for a brief résumé of the present political state of Afghanistan, in case it is unfamiliar to some of you. In its geographical features, its resultant clan warfare, and the fierce bravery of its mountain peoples, Afghanistan is strongly reminiscent of the Highlands of Scotland. But it is six times the size of England and Wales, yet its population is only about eleven millions. About one-half are estimated to be nomads, who look askance at most attempts at westernization as encroachments on their centuries-old way of life.

The Afghans are perhaps the most fanatically religious people on earth, and the mullahs were the principal agents in the overthrow of Amanullah ten years ago. Since his flight and the execution of the brigand chief, Bacha-i-Saquo, who reigned for nine months in Kabul, Afghanistan has been under the wise and moderate rule of General Nadir Khan and his family. Though Nadir himself, the "martyr king," was assassinated in 1933, his young son, H.M. King Zahir Shah Mohamed Shah, succeeded him peacefully, and his brother, H.R.H. the Sardar Mohamed Hashim Khan, controls the country as his nephew's Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is a man of fifty-four, patriotic, energetic, and honest, who has overworked for years in order to secure a peaceful and prosperous country. He has much still to do,

for he has numerous enemies ; his huge and empty land is desperately poor, and economic restrictions lend fuel to tribal discontent. Afghanistan's chief exports are luxury articles of fluctuating value, such as karakul skins, rugs, and lapis lazuli, but attempts are being made to develop her fruit, cotton, and sugar. I remember in Baghlan, a district near Khanabad, finding a pile of Czech machinery dumped in the middle of an empty plain, and reading a somewhat premature notice which said "Baghlan Sugar Refinery." Soon the resources of that fertile district will be tapped and a new town will spring up in that empty space. Such a town has already been created from nothing at Pul-i-Khumri, whose bridge is supposed to have been built by Aurangzebe. There four German engineers (from whom, after six weeks without news of a supposedly placid Europe, we first heard of the Crisis—German radio version) are employing four thousand workmen on a great hydro-electric scheme which will harness the Surkhab. The power thus generated is to run a textile factory as yet unbuilt, which Platts are to construct with a British credit. The factories, the roads—Afghanistan has no railways—and the schools are transforming it out of all recognition, and I noticed the change even as compared with 1936.

Kabul itself is an attractive blend of ancient and modern, with many European buildings in what might be called the German provincial style and an unusual number of long walled avenues at the approaches. The bare rocky hills impinge right on the town, and act as its defences, and the snow mountains a few miles away give it a rare beauty. Its height of 6,000 feet is in itself an attraction, in summer at any rate. There is one cinema, one hotel, one daily newspaper, numerous traffic policemen, but no trams or buses, no alcohol, and a refreshing absence of advertisement hoardings.

We stayed in the British Legation, a miniature palace, externally reminiscent of New Delhi and internally indistinguishable from an English country house, with all that that implies in the way of comfort. It stands in solitary majesty, encircled by a large compound wall, some four miles outside the town. After a brief stay with Colonel and Mrs. Fraser-Tytler, who put us very deep in their debt by their hospitality and advice, we left for Badakhshan. As the first British archæologists to enter Afghanistan, we were in a somewhat uncertain position, complicated by the fact that since 1922 the French Government has held a concession for all archæological work there. Fortunately M. Hackin, the head of the French archæological mission for

many years, had with true generosity secured for us the support of the Quai d'Orsay, and this helped to smooth our path. The Afghan authorities, both in Kabul and the provinces, gave us a warm welcome, and the Foreign Minister in particular, H.E. Faiz Mohamed Khan, himself a scholar of distinction, took a keen personal interest in our plans and promised us all the necessary facilities.

Our task in north-eastern Afghanistan was different from that in Swat. There we had tried to make a detailed examination of a narrow area and had conducted excavations, in some cases on sites already indicated by Stein. In Afghanistan we could not excavate, but we could, and did, make a journey of archæological reconnaissance in one part of their huge field which the French had not touched. Our purpose was to make a thorough search for ancient remains, both ruins and objects, to see what sites existed for possible future excavation, and to solve a number of geographical problems. We had the additional interest of travelling along the southern branch of the great Silk Route and through the territory of those mysterious Greek kings, the successors of Alexander, who have left to history nothing but their coins and scattered references in the Greek and Chinese annals.

Before we left Kabul we had to discover how to cross the Hindu Kush, the great mountain barrier which divides Afghanistan. (Very roughly speaking, the people who live to the south of it speak Pushtu, those to the north Persian or Turki. But Pushtu is now the official language, and all Government servants have to take lessons in it.) It shows how little is known about Afghanistan that our exhaustive enquiries had failed to discover, until we reached Kabul itself, exactly which of the nineteen Hindu Kush passes carried the only motor road from north to south. On the most up-to-date maps the Shibar Pass route was not marked at all, and the telegraph line was shown as going over the Salang Pass further east.

In Kabul we hired a 1938 Chevrolet. With its lively Panjshiri driver, our bearer, and our French-speaking interpreter from the Afghan Academy, there were five of us to pack into it each day, plus camp-beds and baggage. We also had to sit on a 13-gallon petrol tin, for petrol supplies are rare in northern Afghanistan, where private cars still betoken governors or sub-governors.

From Jabl-us-Siraj, where one crosses the line of high-tension cables which carry electricity to Kabul, for nearly a hundred miles the road to the north follows the Ghorband river, climbing along a lovely Alpine

valley, unusually fertile for Afghanistan. Its green water meadows, sweet-scented fields of clover and bean, and orchards of apple and apricot seemed almost Tyrolese, until we passed a caravan of camels lurching by with a cargo of skins from the northern pastures. Gradually we noticed more and more nomad encampments, long black tents of goatskins, and at last the cylindrical *yurts* or *kibitkas*, those human beehives of hide-covered wickerwork, which proclaim the mongoloid nomads of the Central Asian steppe.

The valley ended in a gentle pass which led to a bare upland plateau. This rolling dun-coloured expanse, broken only by dry gullies, stretched away to snowy peaks higher than any in the Alps; and the pass itself, the Shibar, is 10,500 feet high. Here we left the Ghorband, whose waters flow down to the Indian Ocean, and began to follow another tiny stream, which eventually becomes the mighty river Sukhab or Kunduz and, joining the Oxus in Turkestan, reaches in the end the Sea of Aral.

From the Shibar we descended a little to the great Bulola gorge, whose towering cliffs are red as polished rubies. Then we took the turning to Bamyan, once a holy city of Buddhism, a halting-place on the pilgrims' way across the Hindu Kush. That gigantic cliff wall of rose-red rock, pockmarked by many hundreds of monks' caves and framing two giant Buddhas, the tallest statues in the world, has been described often enough. After a night at the Government Rest House there we turned back and crept along the foaming Surkhab through the heart of the Hindu Kush.

This great North Road of Afghanistan, finished only in 1933, is probably the highest motor road in the world except the Andes. It climbs 4,000 feet higher than the celebrated Georgian Military Highway across the Caucasus and, though not tarred, is far better built, with excellent gradients and cambering. King Nadir insisted on the plan in the teeth of all expert opinion. It is said that the workmen went on gouging a way through the mountains without any clear idea of where the road was coming out. Except for general supervision by a veteran Hungarian engineer, the whole immense achievement is the work of Afghan brains and labour, working in appalling extremes of heat and cold. Even in the heart of winter a snowplough keeps open this jugular artery of Afghan trade, which bears comparison with any of the much lower Alpine roads.

For thirty-four miles beyond Bulola the road follows the Shikari gorge past not a single village, crossing and recrossing the Surkhab

by fine iron bridges recently bought from Germany. At last we emerged into a gentle valley, which was dominated by a single vast buttress of rock shaped in so oddly regular a fashion that it might have been some castle built by Titans. Its strange layering, rusty red and green and white, is not uncommon in Afghanistan, whose richness in metals—as yet unexploited—often comes out in extraordinary geological formations. Here, at Doab, the petrol depôt stocked both Burmah Shell and, for the first time, the long 13-gallon tins of Russian petrol. We were on the economic, as well as the geographic, watershed of Afghanistan.

We slept that night, by invitation of the village headman, on the terrace of an unconsecrated mosque in a brand new bazaar still uninhabited. The next day we drove on into pastoral country. The fortified villages and Semitic-looking peoples of the south had disappeared. Here were the horsemen of the steppe, often with smooth faces and slit eyes, who wore knee-boots of polished leather and coats of heavily quilted Japanese cotton.

At Pul-i-Khumri, 257 miles from Kabul, the Hindu Kush ends and the road forks north-west to Mazar-i-Sherif and Afghan Turkestan, north-east to Khanabad and Badakhshan. In the Baghlan district we passed a row of mounds, grass grown but obviously not natural, reminiscent of the Long Barrows of Britain. When we began making enquiries at the nearest village we were told that forty-seven people had died there of cholera only the day before. The next village also seemed a place of the dead; in the open stalls we saw many prostrate figures; the only man on his feet rushed out and made gestures to us to go away, waving a paper but speaking not one word. Then he threw the scrap of paper into the car and went. And we went too. The paper had no intelligible writing on it, only a meaningless collection of scrawls in green ink. The man may have been dumb, the paper a charm against cholera.

It is a great tribute to the efficiency of the Afghan medical services that the cholera was never allowed to reach the great pilgrim centre of Mazar-i-Sherif, where it would have caused thousands of deaths. At Tashkurgan, thirty-six miles from Mazar, we found controls on the roads and the hotel, formerly a palace, converted into a quarantine station. Nobody was allowed to visit Mazar without a certificate of inoculation, and if he or she could not produce one, he or she was inoculated forthwith. The delightfully modest Afghan doctor in charge said that he and his eight or nine assistants, riding out over the whole large

district with the military, had injected over 24,000 people during the last four weeks, and had reduced the number of deaths to one or two a day.

This outbreak of cholera, which was unknown north of the Hindu Kush before 1935, is one result of the improvement in communications which is transforming Afghanistan. Before the Great North Road was built, an infected traveller from India, where all the cholera epidemics originate, could not have reached the north without breaking out with the disease en route; now a lorry can drive from the Indian to the Russian frontier in four days, and bring Indian epidemics with it.

After that we made no more enquiries but drove on. We passed numerous encampments of nomads, moving down with their flocks from their summer pastures in the mountains around the Upper Oxus. Their children, dressed without exception in deep red, and their dogs, who would run for miles beside us barking and snapping, always rushed out to stare at the car, for we were now on the plains of the Oxus, where the means of transport has since time immemorial been the camel, not the two-humped dromedary usually associated with Bactria, but a single-hump creature of fabulous endurance.

At last a dense belt of greenery, vivid against a dun-coloured range, revealed the oasis of Khanabad and the fertile strip that connects it with the Oxus. Khanabad is 326 miles from Kabul, but it lies only on the westernmost edge of the huge province of Kataghan-o-Badakhshan, of which it is the capital. We took care to call on the Governor and find out from that courteous and energetic Kabuli gentleman just how far towards the Pamirs and the Upper Oxus we should be allowed to go. We also drove across the fen-like rice-fields, marshy and malarial, to Kunduz, only twenty-five miles from the Oxus. Since Buddhist times this has been a great trading centre; now a new bazaar is being built, as in so many towns of Afghanistan and Iran. The old oval castle, with ramparts eighty feet high, has never been excavated, but might well reveal valuable remains of the Sassanid or earlier periods.

For hours we sat in a Kunduz *chaiḡhana* following our usual technique of making enquiries over innumerable bowls of tea, green tea made in Japan like so much else in the Afghan bazaars. The throng of curious onlookers, which represented every facial type from the purely mongoloid Usbeg to the fair-haired, grey-eyed Kafir or Chitrali, brought us Greek and Kushan coins and much that was of less interest. At last an old man led us to his *serai* where, as he said, he had some old stones that might interest us. They turned out to

be the carved bases of two classical columns, and in a trench, where men had been digging earth for making bricks, he showed us a third, just uncovered at a depth of ten feet. These three pieces are the first ancient stonework ever discovered north of the Hindu Kush. They overthrow all previous theories about the nature of Bactrian buildings. From M. Foucher's failure to find any substantial remains at Balkh it had been supposed that the buildings of ancient Bactria, like their successors of to-day, were built entirely of sun-dried mud, which has returned to the dust of which it was composed. The stonework that we came upon possibly marks an *agora* or a temple, of what period excavation alone can show.

At Kunduz the Governor insisted on our seeing the new cotton factory, for cotton is the great new industry of the Oxus plains, and the crop is being ginned at three big, and several smaller, factories in the neighbourhood. At Kunduz the machinery is Russian, but the Russian engineers were not to be photographed. These four, and a handful of compatriots in the other factories, are, I believe, the only Russian residents in the whole country outside the Kabul Legation, and form the sum total of that "Russian bogey" of which certain alarmists still make so much.

From Khanabad to Faizabad, 135 miles away, we took the new road opened only the previous year. It represents a superb feat of engineering carried across very difficult country, often in rocky gorges where the workmen had to be suspended in cradles in order to blast and hack away the cliff face. The Governor of Kataghan-o-Badakhshan was justifiably proud of the number of roads built during his governorship. Northern Afghanistan is perhaps the only country in the world where motorable roads cross completely unmapped territory. The Kokcha, the great tawny Oxus tributary which we crossed so many times, follows a course entirely different from that marked on any existing map. Nor is this surprising, for parts of the country through which we were travelling have been visited by only a handful of Europeans, mostly German, since Lt. Wood made his historic journey to the sources of the Oxus in 1838. When we rode on horseback from Faizabad to Jurm we were, I believe, the first Englishmen to pass that way this century.

It was on this stretch of our journey that we discovered, at Baharok, near a village called Khairabad, less important but marked on the maps, a ruined city which is without doubt the ancient capital of Badakhshan. We thus solved a problem which generations of critics

have argued about over the records of the Chinese pilgrims. These ruins, called by the local Tajiks *Pa-i-Shahr* (Foot of the City), lie on the edge of a little plain where the Kokcha valley broadens out on receiving two affluents. On geographical grounds alone it is the obvious site for an important town. The present capital of the region, the little market town of Faizabad, is hemmed in between high hills, and even to-day there is talk of transferring the seat of government to Baharok, which now is only a small village, a wonderful oasis of corn and apples and grapes, set in a wild hill country. We camped there two nights, by a ruined pleasure pavilion in a garden thicker with apples than any Kentish orchard. No wonder that the original father of all apple trees is supposed to have come from this region. From Baharok, which is over 4,000 feet high, we could see the distant Hindu Kush snowpeaks in Chitral territory, which was only three days' ride from Jurm across the Dorah Pass. What we saw was perhaps the nearest edge of the great Tirichmir massif, no less than 25,000 feet high. South-west soared the Khoja Mohamed range, whose peaks, as high as the Alps, have never been mapped, and eastwards, on a clear morning, were visible the Pamirs themselves, some thirty or forty miles away beyond the Oxus gorges.

In this remote corner of Badakhshan we might have been at the end of the world, for the track by which we had come leads nowhere in particular now that the Wakhan, or Upper Oxus valley, has been closed to caravans from Sinkiang. There is no longer any traffic on the old route which brought the silks of China to Rome and took the missionaries of Buddhism to China. We were allowed no further than Jurm, but beyond it a valley leads to the celebrated lapis lazuli mines, which supplied Darius and the mediæval painters. The sale of lapis is a Government monopoly, and most of the forty tons formerly stored in the Kabul treasury have now been sold to Berlin.

Our ride through Badakhshan was the most interesting part of our journey. We slept always in the open and lived entirely on the country. The villagers, once convinced that we were not some strange form of tax collector, treated us with natural courtesy and hospitality. Usually they were Tajiks, but sometimes Usbegs, occasionally "Arabi"—who may have been nomads from the south-west—and once or twice so-called "Afghani." Such a name meant that we had struck one of those colonies of southerners planted by the great Amir Abdurrahman, when he conquered these trans-Hindu Kush regions from their petty khans or Mirs in the eighties. But the ethnology of Afghanistan,

that melting-pot of racial types, is a subject which I dare not pursue further.

From Jurm we dropped back to Khanabad and then across Afghan Turkestan to Tashkurgan, an oasis in the desert that stretches for many miles south of the Oxus. That historic river, and the mountains of *Russian* Turkestan beyond, we saw in the magical light of a desert sunset, complete with gazelles and camel bells to lend just the right Matthew Arnold touch.

Our Pathan bearer was much impressed to hear that if you crossed that river and travelled in a train for eight days and eight nights you would reach England. His ideas of geography were, of course, quaint. For him, a Khalil from near Bara Fort, Kabul had seemed the end of the earth, and Russia or China were words with no meaning for him. But as we travelled onwards, he began to show a keenness to make the pilgrimage to Mazar-i-Sherif, of which he had previously heard no more than vague reports. And in due course his wish was fulfilled.

At Mazar-i-Sherif, the chief town of Afghan Turkestan, the great turquoise domes of the Hazrat Ali act as a beacon to pilgrims from many lands, and in Mazar's numerous barbers' shops and *chaikhans* notices in English reveal a considerable pilgrim traffic from India.

Few other signs of England or India are to be seen in the cities of the north, or indeed anywhere in Afghanistan. The bazaars, though stacked with Japanese and Russian goods, display only three British products in any quantity—cigarettes, inks, and sewing machines. At the moment there are, outside the Legation, precisely three Englishmen and two Englishwomen resident in all Afghanistan. Contrast with that the presence in the country of 125 Germans, many of them engineers and schoolmasters, and the existence of a twice-weekly Lufthansa air service, which takes you to Berlin in thirty-six hours.

Twelve miles across the desert from Mazar-i-Sherif stands Balkh, which was an ancient city when Babylon was young. The ruins of four-and-twenty successive cities and walls eight miles long give the place an air of desolation and decay, more impressive even than Troy. Though we were offered Greek coins in the tiny bazaar, there are no visible remains of the Greek city that stood here. In a newly planned public garden stands all that is left of a fifteenth-century Mohammedan building, the Shrine of Khoja Abu Nasr Parsa, which reminded me of Gohar Shad's superb mausoleum at Herat. The shrine and a ruined Madresseh nearby are worthy of their place on the national postage stamps.

Our next objective was the little town of Sar-i-pul, about 130 miles to the south-west in the heart of Afghan Turkestan. In 1845, Ferrier recorded some wonderful Sassanid reliefs carved on a rock one day's march south of the town. No one has ever been able to locate them since, so we thought that we would try. Unfortunately, circumstances prevented us from solving the mystery.

So we turned sorrowfully back to Kabul—and home. I do not know whether there is a future for further British archæological work in Afghanistan or on the frontier. That is on the knees of the politicians and the rich men. But I do know that once one has travelled 2,000 miles in the tracks of Alexander and Marco Polo, and has handled there the dry bones of history, one cannot resist the temptation to return to that severe but hospitable country, whose interest to-day is as great as ever it has been in the rich and storied past.

Mr. EVERT BARGER: I am sure that you will not wish to hear many words from me, for the lecturer has already said more about me than I would have wished, and much more than was my due. As I listened to the account that he has just given you of our travels, I was back again beside the fast-flowing Swat river among the bleak hills of the North-West Frontier, I crawled over ancient mounds on the empty plain of Bactria under the hot sun, and I rode once again through the upland valley of Badakhshan close under the Roof of the World. As my companion spoke, I sketched in some of the details of our work in that stern but fascinating part of the world—the difficulties, delays, and disappointments inseparable from travel in Central Asia. As my mind went back over those scenes and the daily life that Emanuel and I lived together, I realized, as I had perhaps never quite done before, what this expedition owed to a colleague whose own part of the work he passed over with his accustomed modesty in his lecture. And whilst my thoughts still linger in those lands between the Oxus and High Pamir, I wish to pay a very warm tribute to my colleague Wright, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, who stayed on in Swat, excavating with great tenacity for the rest of the summer, in exceptional heat and discomfort, with a success which you have seen illustrated on the screen.

I cannot let this occasion pass without saying something of our debt to a man whose absence in America has unfortunately prevented him from being here to-day: Mr. Codrington, the Keeper of the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum. As the members of the expedition are all on view in this hall, you will have been able to judge

of our youth and inexperience. It was through the training which we had from Mr. Codrington, his unending patience, his great knowledge of India, and his unconquerable enthusiasm, that this expedition was able to set out.

The lecturer has said that the future of archæological exploration in India and Central Asia is on the knees of the statesmen and financiers; chiefly, I think, on the knees of the statesmen. I hope that British archæological work, of which there has been very little since the war beyond the administered frontiers of India itself, will take on a long-term programme. For that we do not lack money so much as a base, a museum, and institute for teaching and research, where the material brought back by expeditions could be studied, and with the backing of which expeditions could go out into the field. As you are aware, proposals were recently made which aimed at dispersing the Indian collections of the Victoria and Albert Museum and liquidating the institution generally known as the India Museum. That is hardly an encouraging prospect for future expeditions. Unless public opinion in this country is more alive to our cultural responsibilities towards India, and to the need for a permanent home for Indian studies in London, the centre of gravity of work of this kind may shift to the other side of the Atlantic, where it will be able to draw on the enthusiasm of American scholars. That the torch has been kept burning at all in England is chiefly due to the genius of one man—namely, Mr. Codrington.

You have heard in this lecture a great deal about the activities of the representatives of other European countries in Afghanistan, and not much about British enterprise. The same story could be told about Iran and the other States of the Middle East. It may have struck you as strange that we should have so little interest in a country with which India has a common frontier over six hundred miles long. Trade and industry are no concerns of mine, but if you will allow me to plead the cause of archæology and of historical research, I believe the truth is that the absence of British enterprise has not been due to lack of money, so much as to the lack of any proper organization for Indian and Central Asian studies in this country, such as exists in France, Germany, Holland, and elsewhere. That is the more regrettable because, under a progressive and capable Government, Afghanistan is rapidly becoming a modern country which sets much store on intellectual co-operation; and, further, the French Government, which enjoys a concession for archæological work in that country, supported our modest enterprise

this summer in a most generous spirit of international collaboration. As my colleague Emanuel has told you, we found the Afghans a friendly and hospitable people, and it will have been clear to you that the authorities in Kabul did everything possible to further our plans and help us with our task. I hope that the opportunity of further work will not be lost, and that the small beginning of which you have heard a description to-day may yet lead to a series of expeditions on the Indian frontier and beyond.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you would like me to thank the lecturer for a most interesting and, if I may say so, a very modest account of the enterprising trip these two young men carried out in Afghanistan. This part of their journey I found particularly interesting, as they traversed in part ground not covered for very many years by any British subject.

We hope they will find opportunities of following up the trail now begun; they have many years ahead of them in which to repeat and supplement this earlier journey.

Up to the present the French archæologists have had a complete monopoly in Afghanistan. We can be grateful to them for their support and permission given on this occasion, and it is very pleasing to learn of the help and sympathy the members of this expedition received from French colleagues.

I may perhaps be allowed to endorse what Mr. Emanuel says about the help given by the Wali of Swat and his son the Waliahad. I knew them both very well and received much hospitality from them. It is the hold that the Wali of Swat has on the country that enabled them to move freely and with safety about that so inaccessible an area.

I will ask you to join me in thanking Mr. Emanuel for a very interesting and illuminating lecture. (Applause.)

PROSPECTS IN CHINA

By MISS FREDA UTLEY

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on January 26, 1939, Sir JOHN PRATT in the Chair.

In introducing the lecturer the CHAIRMAN said: It is my great pleasure to-night to introduce to you the speaker, Miss Freda Utley, whom I dare say we all of us know quite well already.

I will not try to tell you how many qualifications she has to speak to us to-night, for that would involve a rather long speech from me, for she knows a good deal about the Far East. She has been through Asia and has lately spent three and a half months at Hankow; and, as I think we all know, she is the author of two books on the Far East, *Japan's Feet of Clay* and *Japan's Gamble in China*, both of them very interesting books.

She will give us a very stimulating lecture. Whether we shall agree with all that she says is another matter. But it is not sound policy to listen only to what you agree with. We have been having a little argument about things in the Far East before we came in. It was an extremely satisfactory argument, because it left each of us firmly persuaded of the soundness of his original position. But if any of us feel like questioning anything the lecturer has to say to-night, she will, I am sure, feel equal to coping with it at the end of the lecture.

SPEAKING to-night on the prospects in China it seems to me that we can consider that there are three possible alternative outcomes of the war now going on in the Far East.

The first, and the most desirable outcome, is that Chinese unity will be able to hold long enough for Japan to collapse.

The second alternative, to my mind, is that Chinese unity will not hold completely, and that there may be renewed civil war in China and a break-up into something resembling the old Provincial or War Lord régimes of the past.

And the third alternative—to my mind far the most unlikely alternative of the three—is that Japan will be able to consolidate her present conquests by winning the support of the rural gentry and of certain banking and merchant interests in China, or by being able to obtain a certain amount of credit from the United States or Britain. To that third alternative and the possibilities or non-possibilities of that third alternative I will turn later in my lecture.

What I want to consider first is the question of whether Chinese unity can hold or not; a most important question, because, if it can hold, then it seems to me that Japan has no hope of conquering China.

I want at the outset to make it clear that from the Japanese point

of view the second alternative, which I will call briefly chaos in China, is the second-best alternative. The Japanese have made no secret of the fact that if they cannot hope to conquer they can hope and do hope to recreate disunity, anarchy, powerlessness, and hopeless disunity in China.

When the war started in the summer of 1937, that organ of so-called moderate opinion in Japan, the *Oriental Economist*, wrote as follows: "It is certain that before the stage of guerilla warfare developed, the whole issue would be decided if Japan should throw her weight into the balance. In any event, before Japan would fall in the struggle, China's movement to mould herself into a modern State and her whole programme of economic reconstruction would both go crashing down, leaving little of such Central Government as there is at present."

That is quite clear, quite unmistakable. It is the view of those so-called moderate elements in Japan, who know that she cannot conquer China, and realized it at the beginning. They said to themselves, "Perhaps we cannot conquer China, but we shall in any case succeed in preventing the modernization of China." To those who followed the reports in the Japanese Press in the years preceding the outbreak of this war, the position became clearer still; Japan was alarmed more and more at the growing political unity of China and at the reconstruction movement in China, and, above all, at the fact that Britain and the United States, and other Western countries, were beginning to recognize the Chinese Government as sufficiently stable, and the country as sufficiently united, to give ordinary commercial credits to China for the development of the country.

Various developments showed Japan conclusively that her old hopes of dominating China because of the disunity of China, her old belief that China could not modernize herself, were doomed to disappointment unless she attacked China. Year by year China had been progressing towards political unity as one province after another came under the control of the Central Government.

The final blow to Japanese hopes of continuing civil war in China, and the most conclusive proof of Chinese unity and the strength of Chiang Kai-shek's Government, came at Sian in December, 1936. I refer to the famous "Sian incident." The north-eastern (ex-Manchurian) troops which had been sent by Chiang Kai-shek to fight the Communist army in the north-west had made a virtual truce with the latter. When the Generalissimo came to Sian to insist upon their

fighting he was taken and held prisoner by these north-eastern troops, who demanded that the civil war should cease and that China should prepare to fight Japan instead. Here, at Sian, whilst thus held prisoner by his own officers, Chiang Kai-shek met some of the Chinese Communist leaders, and it was largely due to them that he was not only released unharmed but sent back without having to sign anything, without having to give way openly on anything. At Sian, Chiang Kai-shek was firmly convinced, I believe for the first time, that the Chinese Communists were sincere in their previous offer to give up the class war, to cease liquidating landowners (in other words, wiping out landowners), and to place their army under his command for the sake of a united front against Japan. They had offered it some time before. The Sian incident proved their sincerity, and after that one saw for the first time a real political unity in China and the end of a decade of civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communists.

Japan saw that China was at last united. Similarly, the nations of the West, in particular this country, began to recognize that Chiang Kai-shek ruled over a united country. True that he did not yet completely control all the outlying provinces, but the strength of the movement towards complete political unity was obvious. The forces making for that unity were becoming stronger and stronger, and there was no more civil war.

That meant that Britain in particular, but also other European countries and the United States, began to feel it was possible to lend money to China: not on the terms which China had had to accept in the nineteenth century—*i.e.*, to give up various valuable concessions—but ordinary commercial credits; she was able to buy machinery and other capital goods and did not have to pay for them for a few years. That meant that within a certain period of time China could look forward to developing her own raw material resources for her own benefit, could industrialize and modernize the country.

From the Japanese point of view this was fatal. Japan had neither the financial nor the industrial strength to take part in that modernization of China. There is a general idea that Japan is the Germany of the East, that Japan has a great industry and is comparable to England, France, or Germany. But in actual fact Japan has not got a heavy industry comparable to that of Germany or England—*i.e.*, she cannot supply machinery in large quantities for export. Similarly, her financial position is very weak. Therefore she could not compete in the methods of economic imperialism; for Japan's ruling class it was

necessary to conquer China, to dominate her politically, and close the door on the trade of other nations.

As Japan herself could not compete, she did not want anyone else to modernize China. She was determined to prevent it at all costs. I have not time to-night to go into the whole of the reasons for the weakness of Japanese heavy industry and her financial weakness. I believe it arises from Japan's failure ever to emerge completely from the mediæval stage. Japan is a country in which half the population are peasants paying rent in kind for the land they cultivate. This has prevented the all-round industrialization of the country. It has also meant politically that a feudal landowning class has a very strong, if ^{not} not a predominant, political influence in the country. To sum it up in one word, Japanese imperialism is military, not economic.

From the Japanese point of view the profits of imperialism can only be obtained by going into the foreign country, sitting down there and squeezing the inhabitants. Japan does not aim at developing China. All she wants is to get the coal and iron of the north for her own armament industry, to develop cotton plantations, also in the north, and at the same time to get what profit she can through the opium traffic, through usury and taxation. That is to say, her methods resemble the primitive methods of conquest and exploitation of the great empires of a past age.

I do not pretend that in these few words I can give an adequate picture of Japan, but those are the essential facts; and it is a failure to realize the primitive, predatory nature of Japanese imperialism which seems to me responsible for the belief held in this country that there were a large number of people in Japan who only wanted to co-operate with China. This belief even now lingers on in the minds of many people in England, the belief that if only the "extremists" in Japan could be curbed the "moderates" would respect British interests and settle down to "co-operate" with the Chinese. There is actually no possibility of this in the very nature of Japanese economy and Japan's present social structure.

There was no question of the possibility of co-operation with the Chinese. There was no possibility of the kind of co-operation which Britain and the United States have shown themselves of recent years prepared to offer to China. Japan, until she changes her own internal structure, cannot co-operate with the Chinese people. She can only hinder and obstruct.

This is a war, then, from the Japanese point of view, to prevent

the modernization of China, if possible to conquer and hold China, but at all costs to prevent the Chinese people coming out of that long past of poverty, misery, and weakness.

Now I come to the great question of the future, as to whether China's unity can and will hold. Chiang Kai-shek, it seemed to me in China, was the keystone of the political arch. All parties, from Left to Right, from Right to Left, considered him the only possible national leader. They might be at daggers drawn with each other, and sometimes were, but they nevertheless supported the same leader, Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek's strength, although it has also to some extent been a source of weakness, is that he has balanced himself upon all the political parties and factions in China. When, for instance, one asked last summer, "Why does the Generalissimo retain Mr. Wang Ching-wei in high office, although it is known to everyone that Wang Ching-wei is secretly negotiating with the Japanese, or the Germans and Italians, and that he represents a peace group which favours surrender?" the answer I always got from the adherents of the Generalissimo was, "The Generalissimo considers that Wang Ching-wei can do less harm inside the Government than outside." Try to keep everybody in. Everybody supports you then even if they are against the war. Better to have a united country at any cost.

Chiang Kai-shek, who is perhaps one of the greatest politicians the world has ever seen, was able in this way, without ever committing himself definitely to this or that party, to keep the country united.

Nevertheless, people who were suspicious would murmur, "Oh, he may be keeping Wang Ching-wei because after all he may not really have decided to go on fighting to the bitter end, and if he does want to make peace with Japan, it is useful to have Wang on the spot to do the negotiating." It is for that reason that I consider the expulsion of Wang Ching-wei from the party was of such great significance.

In the first place, it is a clear statement to the Japanese that the Chinese Government has no thought of surrender. In the second place, it is an assurance to the Chinese people themselves that the Generalissimo has no such intention. And the greatest significance of all perhaps lies in the fact that no one of any importance has followed Wang Ching-wei into the wilderness.

The curious thing was that in the summer and autumn when I was in China, it was clear that there was a certain amount of co-operation

between Wang's peace group and the so-called C.C. Clique on the extreme Right. The C.C. Clique heads the group inside the Government in China which was determined to carry on the war, but which nevertheless still mistrusted and disliked the Communists and all the forces of the Left. For instance, one of their number is supposed to have said in Sian last August that although the main enemy on the external front was Japan, the main enemy on the internal front was the Communists.

The C.C. Clique was supposed to have a very strong grip on the party machine—that is, the Kuomintang Party. I do not know whether that is true or not. If it is, it is of extreme significance that when Wang at the end of December openly proclaimed himself in favour of accepting Japan's peace terms, he was not supported even by the extreme Right wing of the Kuomintang; even those elements who are most favourable to social changes inside China, who have lost most, are not for peace, else there would have been other elements following Wang's lead. I feel that is a real sign of strength in China and a real proof of the political unity of China, and is therefore of the greatest significance.

I wanted to say a few words on the other elements in China. I have mentioned the so-called C.C. Clique of reactionaries on the extreme Right and the Communists on the extreme Left. In between these one can distinguish the military officers, in particular the officers trained in Chiang Kai-shek's own military academies, who are personally loyal to him and would probably follow him whatever social policy he adopted.

Then you had the group from Kwangsi Province, led by the two great Generals, Pai Chung-si and Li Tsung-jen. Some people used to call the Kwangsi people the National Socialists of China. Probably this was always a misnomer. The point is that they have reorganized their province, reduced rents, set up schools for magistrates; reformed it on semi-authoritarian lines. They have got a cleaner and better administration in Kwangsi than in most parts of China, and the people there are very patriotic and well organized.

Pai Chung-si and Li Tsung-jen were till 1936 bitter enemies of Chiang Kai-shek. Their troops last summer were the best troops defending Hankow. That is one of the transformations which has come about in China, the element which was once bitterly anti-Chiang Kai-shek fighting for him under his command to defend the capital of China. The Kwangsi people, although not politically on

the Left, have carried out much the same type of agrarian reform as the Left now demands be carried out all over China.

The Left in China now includes not only the Communists but the National Salvationists, the Social Democrats, all the various amorphous liberal forces in China.

It is important to realize what the change in Communist policy has meant and what it is. Their programme now is one of agrarian reform, not revolution ; of administrative reform, not revolution. They are to-day among the most loyal supporters of Chiang Kai-shek in the country, because they consider him the best and only possible leader against Japan.

I have heard people say that, of course, the Communists are not sincere ; that when the war is over they will go back to the old policy of a few years ago. It seems to me, both from talking to some of their leaders and from talking to many of those who have either joined recently or who now support them, that whatever the Communist party leaders in China may or may not have meant to do, whether or not they thought they could put the class war up on the shelf and take it down at the end of the war, the fact is that they could not do it to-day because the whole basis of their party has changed. The Chinese Communists to-day should not really be called Communists at all. The best name you could give them would be Radicals in the English nineteenth-century sense of the word. They have taken the lead among the social reforming elements in China.

This has been a most important factor in this war, because in the north, where the Japanese claim to have occupied the whole of China, all the northern provinces, it is the 8th Route Army—*i.e.*, the ex-Communist Army—and the Partisans or Guerillas under their leadership which play the most important rôle.

The change in their policy has prevented Japan bringing the land-owning class in China over to her side. Two factors—one her own responsibility and the other the responsibility of the Communists—have prevented her doing this. In the first place, the looting, rape, massacre, which have marked the entry of the Japanese army into every village and town in China, have made even the rural gentry (the landowners) feel that none of their own countrymen could possibly be such a menace to life and property and to their women—a very important thing in China—as the Imperial Army of Japan.

On the other hand, the Chinese Communists and their allies have

convinced them that in order to remain patriots they do not need to lose everything. In other words, they are asked, or forced, to take a reduction of rent, to take only 40 or 45 per cent. of the harvest from the peasant instead of 60 or 70 per cent. as in the past, but they are not expropriated or killed. This seems to them a much lesser evil than a Japanese conquest.

That means that the Japanese, although they have been able to set up puppet régimes in the occupied towns, have not been able up to now to control the countryside. Both the excesses of their own troops and the wisdom of the Communist policy, the two together, have prevented their being able to do that. It seems to me that is the most important factor operating against the Japanese.

Some of the landowners have fled before the Japanese advance. In general, anybody who can afford to get out when the Japanese come does get out. Some have fled to the interior, and the peasants are probably not paying them any rent meantime and may refuse to pay any in the future. But it is extremely important that the sacrifices demanded of the landowners have not been so great as to drive them into the arms of the Japanese.

I want to come back for a moment to the question of the significance of Mr. Wang's departure, because it is one of the most important things that has happened in China. That departure followed on a report sent out by the Associated Press in the middle of December, published in the American papers but I do not think published in the English papers, a report to the effect that General Chiang Kai-shek had announced at a military conference held at the end of November that he was about to purge the Chinese Government of defeatist elements preparatory to entering on the second stage of the war.

The same Press report said that Chiang Kai-shek had announced that the rousing of the people was more important than the winning of battles.

Immediately when I read that report, I remembered all the discussions and arguments I had heard in China about mobilization of the people. The forces of the Left and the Kwangsi people had been demanding before the fall of Hankow that the people should be mobilized—rather a vague expression. What it means is that the people shall be given a better understanding of what the war is about; that they shall be trained and armed and encouraged to co-operate with the army and help the soldiers; that the people should be made to realize that this is their war, and that they should co-operate with

the armies in every possible respect. It also means that all classes in China should be mobilized for some kind of war service.

So long as the war in China was mainly a war of massed armies, this so-called mobilization of the people was not so vitally important as now. Now that Canton and Hankow have fallen, and China can only import arms with the greatest of difficulty, it has become of supreme importance.

Also there is the fact that China's financial resources are dwindling, and it is more and more difficult to pay for the import of arms, but, above all, because it is so much more difficult actually to import them since the fall of Canton.

This means that capital must be more strictly controlled. Those who own industrial equipment must be forced, if necessary, to use it for the Government. New arsenals must be set up, China must mobilize the moral and material forces of the country.

The moral force is as important as the material. It is true that even without that full mobilization of the people, the reports of what happens when the Japanese come have made even the poorest, most ignorant and oppressed of China's millions aware that Japan is an enemy that must be resisted. But more than that is needed to get the willing and enthusiastic co-operation of the whole people with the troops.

Guerilla warfare means that instead of sitting down and defending certain points, your army is split up into small units which attack the Japanese communications and the Japanese at various points unexpectedly. The 8th Route Army in the north has shown what can be done. It means you must get the people to hide and guide the troops, to report Japanese troop movements to them, to care for their wounded. But if you are going to rouse the people of China to such strong national consciousness as this requires, it seems to me arguable that you have given them something in the way of agrarian and administrative reform. That is why the Right has been against such a mobilization of the people. That is why it is so significant that Chiang Kai-shek should have made this announcement.

Of course, it is only based on one Associated Press report, but the whole development of events in China is driving Chiang Kai-shek towards a point at which he must sooner or later face the issue, the issue whether he is going to submit to Japan or to undertake a certain amount of agrarian reform.

It also means he will have to give a little more rope, at least a little

more hope, to the forces of the Left which alone can mobilize the people.

This issue may be avoided longer if China can get credits from the West. It seems to me, also, the fact that the American credit of 25,000,000 dollars and our own small credit announced in December, had a very important effect politically in China. It may have been the announcing of those credits that prevented other vacillating elements from following the lead of Wang Ching-wei. Certainly those credits were of extreme importance, and even though they were small, they may have helped to preserve the unity of China at a critical juncture. A little encouragement from the West may make an enormous difference in China. It is even possible that with more substantial credits the Generalissimo could avoid stepping to the Left.

One must recognize from the point of view of Chiang Kai-shek that it is not an easy decision to come to. The risks are incalculable. One can see clearly that if China has to undertake mobile warfare on a large scale, there is a certain danger of the break-up of China into provincial régimes; even some danger of the deterioration of Guerillas into bandits.

I think the experience of the North of China has shown us that the national consciousness is strong enough now to hold China together, but no one would be so rash as to be quite sure.

Again, Chiang Kai-shek has been accused of having kept some of his best divisions in the rear and not put them in defence of Hankow. He kept them in the rear to guard against the danger on the Right from the forces of separatism and of reaction, and the danger on the Left from the forces which might make a social revolution.

It seems to me that if he decides to throw his weight on the side of the social reform elements the danger on the Left will disappear. As regards the danger on the Right from the forces of reaction and separatism, he will no doubt continue to keep the flower of his own personal army, his own most loyal troops, to cope with such an emergency.

I think myself there are indications that the second stage of the war is being reached. The great question may be whether Chiang Kai-Shek dares to trust himself more than in the past to the social reforming elements in China. Again, he may be able to avoid the issue longer if he gets more substantial help from the United States or Britain.

In general our attitude is one of immense importance in this war. When we show a certain firmness towards Japan and give a certain

amount of help to China, that gives a new heart to those faint-hearted or vacillating elements in China who feel that the position is hopeless.

The question is not whether China will go on fighting, as I think she will, but what kind of China will emerge from it. If it is a China which we have helped, then you may see a democratic China, full of respect, even of affection, for the Western democracies. But if she is left entirely to her own resources, it may take ten or even twenty years before China has remade her army and comes back to drive out the Japanese. It is always possible that that might mean a China taught to be a completely militarized State, and that is what our children might have to face.

But if the war does not last too long, it seems to me that those essential qualities of the Chinese, that extraordinary reasonable and pacific spirit, may survive, and at the same time also the forces making for democracy in China may survive. It is all a question of how long the war goes on and what attitude we adopt.

Now I come to the third alternative. Can Japan win? It is clear that she can only win if she can hold the so-called occupied territories by something more than force of arms. Obviously Japan has neither the military strength, the man-power, nor the financial strength to hold down four hundred millions of Chinese by force.

She must get such an important element as the landowning class to come over to her side. She must, in other words, get some Chinese who will run China for her. As I have said, there are two factors operating against her, and she has up to now failed to do so.

Again, can Japan make a profit out of her conquest, even if the Chinese refuse to accept her rule? Can she get the cost of maintaining her armies out of the Chinese population?

In the first year of the conquest she could get something out of China. For instance, Japan has been able to get last year's cotton crop out of North China by seizing the stocks of cotton in China. But she cannot do it a second time. After she has confiscated or bought for worthless notes such movable goods and property as there was there, she cannot get it a second time, because unless she can give the producer something in exchange, he will not produce. I think there we have an instructive lesson in what happened in Russia in the years after the revolution. The Russian Bolsheviki in 1920 had to give up the attempt to force the peasants to grow grain when they had no goods to give them in exchange. I think in the same way the Japanese cannot get the Chinese people to produce for their profit unless they can give them

something in exchange and unless they can get them to "co-operate." For Chinese economy is so primitive that the people can live without buying imported goods.

There is no time to discuss to-night the whole complicated question of Japanese finances and currency in the occupied territories of China. But the main facts are of importance to know. The Japanese puppet Government in Peking set up a Federal Reserve Bank for the northern provinces, which issued new notes intended to take the place of the Chinese Government currency. But Japan's own finances are so weak that there was no proper backing for these notes, which, even though exchangeable for yen, were not wanted even by the Japanese merchants, who naturally preferred to receive convertible notes. Since the Chinese national currency, although depreciated, is still convertible into foreign currency, it remained the standard of value even in Japanese-occupied territory. The Japanese yen, for which the new currency notes of North China were exchanged, were not allowed to be "repatriated" into Japan! So there are plenty of "orphaned" Japanese yen in Shanghai and elsewhere which may not be taken into Japan.

Since Japanese industrialists and merchants naturally prefer to sell their goods abroad in exchange for foreign currency, they sell little in North China, and so prices there have risen. Moreover, when the Japanese tried to get over part of the difficulty by saying that ninety of their Federal Reserve banknotes were worth one hundred Chinese Government notes, prices rose to make up for this false depreciation of the Chinese national currency.

You have now the anomalous position that prices have risen so much in China that the Japanese industrialist in Japan finds it cheaper to buy American cotton than Chinese. There are certain economic laws which the Japanese army cannot break. You can loot and rob, but you cannot get a population that you have conquered—if it does not want to co-operate with you—in a primitive country like China to produce for you and sell to you for worthless notes. Actually the Guerillas have real control of the countryside, and they have told the peasants: "Do not grow cotton. It is only for the Japanese. Grow food as you used to do ten years ago." And the peasants have started to do it. That is, I think, one of the most important points, the economic aspect.

In Central China the Japanese have not pretended to issue banknotes. They have issued military notes—*i.e.*, the army itself has issued its own currency. It pays the Japanese soldiers and the population in these notes. Neither side can buy anything with them. The Japanese

merchants do not want these notes. They cannot exchange them. So there again you see the kind of economic difficulties that the army is up against.

It is true it can get over these difficulties to a slight extent through the drug pedlar. If you can get the public into the habit of buying drugs, then you can get out of them their last penny. Some of you will have read reports of how in Peking the Japanese opened hundreds of little booths with the Red Cross sign outside, saying people could have medical attention inside. When people go in they are given only drugs, and so some of them form the drug habit.

But it seems unlikely that Japan can get any large profit out of the country after the first year of looting and forced sale for worthless notes.

Now I want to say a few words further about the Guerillas. You will have read various accounts in the British papers and in certain American publications of the way in which the Chinese Guerillas really control North China. There are villages, towns, whole districts that have never seen a Japanese soldier, which are completely controlled by the local administration, where the Guerillas are teaching the Chinese to resist Japanese troops when they come there.

I met a certain Captain Carlson, of the United States Marines, who had just spent five months with the Guerillas. He had marched two thousand miles with them. He had been through five provinces, marching with them and living as they did. He gave me proof after proof that you could march for miles and for days through Japanese-occupied territory without ever seeing or hearing the Japanese. He had crossed the railway lines, which were supposed to be Japanese, without the least difficulty with large bodies of troops.

He made one remark to me which has remained in my mind about the 8th Route Army in the north. His view was that the Chinese Communists and the various elements that operated with them were the most progressive democratic force in China. He made this statement: "Give the Chinese soldier a spiritual urge and enough to eat, and there is no hardship he will not cheerfully undergo, whilst his courage is unsurpassed."

This was not only the opinion of Captain Carlson. I met a number of American military observers in China, and they one and all said that there is no finer soldier in the world than the Chinese soldier. That is not to say that they do not consider Chinese staff work very poor, but as regards the courage and stoicism of the soldiers themselves there is a unanimous opinion.

One of the things that surprised me in China was to find that the Americans were all over the place, and the British never seemed to be there at all. The American military attachés are dotted all over the landscape. At the front one is always finding traces of an American military observer, but never any British.

The same thing applies to newspaper reporters. I was in my last month at Hankow the only English special correspondent. Not even *The Times* had a correspondent in the war zone, whereas every American paper of importance had somebody there cabling every day. That explains partly why I quote Americans.

I would like also to say a few words about my personal experience and views of the Chinese soldiers themselves. I went to the front twice from Hankow, and the memory I have and shall always have is of the amazing stoicism of the soldiers. What horrified me was the lack of care of the wounded, lack of transport for the wounded, lack of supplies, lack of everything; men who walked four, five, sometimes six or seven days down from the battle line before they reached a hospital. I once travelled for a short while by daylight near the front on the tail end of a truck in which there were a few of the heavily wounded who had been able to secure transport, and they were bumped up and down on the bare floor of a truck, a truck going at full speed, because the Chinese Red Cross had exactly three trucks for the evacuation of all the wounded.

Soldiers going up to the fighting line, and military supplies, travelled at night, when the Japanese planes could not bomb them, but because of the lack of transport wounded soldiers had to be evacuated day and night. You can imagine what it means for badly wounded men to be bumped up and down on the bare floors of a truck going at full speed over a road full of enormous shell-holes. Travelling to and from the front we used to hide in ditches when the planes came over. But wounded men cannot run and flop into a ditch; they are just massacred.

I also on another occasion accompanied Dr. Lin, chief of the Chinese Red Cross Medical Commission, on his inspection of the receiving stations for the wounded. I shall never forget the sight of the men lying there, roughly bandaged, otherwise unattended, waiting for an empty truck. The doctors went round doing what they could. There was hardly ever a groan. The most anyone would ever say was: "Doctor, my wound is too bad. There is no hope for me. I must die." It is a kind of stoicism, of patience, which is difficult to describe.

It is not a lack of sensitiveness. Anybody who sees the faces, the hands, the bodies of the Chinese cannot say they are not a sensitive people; it is the amazing courage of the ordinary common people.

That is true of the soldiers and of the victims of the air raids. I think one can criticize to a certain extent the educated classes in China for not pulling their weight in this war. It is taking a certain amount of time for everybody to understand that war is an affair not only of the army, but of the whole population. Dr. Robert Lin has managed to get young boys of middle or higher school education to come to be trained as first-aid volunteers. They have already made a tremendous difference to the wounded. They have had a few weeks' training and know how to put on a bandage and clean up a wound. When you do give a lead to the educated youth, you can get them to go into the most dangerous places. On my second visit to the front I saw these boys attending to the wounded by the roadside near Yangsin with the Japanese planes going over every half-hour.

I mentioned the C.C. Clique on the Right. The Minister of Education is the leader of that Clique, and it has been his policy to say to the students: "Go into the interior and preserve yourselves for the period of reconstruction." There will not be any reconstruction if the educated do not play a similar part to the uneducated. Mobilization of the people means that the educated man should at least perform some form of military service, even if he does not fight. China should cease to regard the soldier as the lowest element in the population, and the educated should play their part equally with the uneducated and the poor. This is all part of what is meant by mobilization of the people.

One may consider it a tragedy that it should be necessary for the whole Chinese people to militarize themselves, a tragedy that China should have to change her nature in order to prevent herself being extinguished. If only victory can come soon enough, then China, perhaps, does not need to lose her soul. When I say victory, of course, what I mean is that Japan should collapse and that China should be able to hold on until Japan does collapse. Obviously this depends very largely on us.

I have avoided riding to-night what some of you have called my pet hobby-horse, that of economic sanctions. I am going to allow myself two minutes on that hobby-horse. That is to say, that I am one of those who believe that we could stop Japan's war in China without the least danger of being involved in war ourselves. I do not believe we can stop Germany or Italy, but I do believe that we could stop Japan,

for the simple reason that Japan's trade is so highly concentrated with us—with England and America.

Some people would say that you cannot get American co-operation; just as when I was speaking in America, I was told it was hopeless because the British would never co-operate with us against Japan.

The facts are that if England and America could bring themselves to a brief period of economic collaboration—that is to say, if they would sever their trading relations with Japan, abrogate their commercial treaties—that then Japan would not have the means to buy from anyone the war materials with which to carry on this war. About 70 per cent. of Japan's trade is done with Great Britain and the United States combined. Japan sells almost the whole of her silk to the United States. She sells most of her cheap textiles to the great colonial markets of Africa and Asia. No other markets could compensate her for the loss of these markets. Italy and Germany cannot buy those goods from Japan instead of us, and Italy and Germany cannot give credits to Japan. And if we did not buy from Japan she could not buy from us or from anyone else the iron, steel, and non-ferrous metals. Japan is not a Germany; Japan has not got great iron and steel and machine industries like Germany, and is therefore vulnerable to economic pressure, which Germany is not. It seems to me that because of the belief that Japan is another Germany we are letting her massacre the Chinese people and throw us out of Asia, and if we would only waken up to the facts we could stop it.

I want to quote one remark that was made to me in Canton by a Chinese doctor. In Canton in July I saw my first air raid. I saw those first terrible sights, the sight of mangled children, wounded mothers and homeless children, the air raids that are going on constantly in China, but which are no longer reported because they are so frequent. He said: "Would it not be possible for the British and American peoples, who are so generously collecting money for the relief of the wounded, to hand that money over instead to the oil interests, asking them to take it instead of the money they take from Japan?" Japan has set up this miasma, this fog of belief in her might, in her strength.

One last point. Sometimes when one asks about this economic pressure of Japan, one gets the answer: "Yes, but if we were to stop the war, Germany and her allies would launch a war in Europe."

Last year I was speaking in Boston together with Sir Alfred Zimmern and a Nazi speaker. A member of the audience asked me whether Germany might not launch a war in Europe if we should

apply economic pressure on Japan. I turned to the Nazi and said, as far as I could see, Germany was not too happy to see Japan smashing China to bits, and, moreover, would be unlikely to launch a European war just at the time when Britain and the United States were cooperating in the East. The Nazi said: "No, Germany definitely would not launch a European war in favour of Japan."

This is my last word. I have only tried to give the outstanding points which I feel we should realize in this country. Let us not forget that the misery which is being inflicted on the Chinese population is much greater than any other of the terrible things which are happening in the world to-day, and that we could, if we wished, stop Japan without any danger of being involved in war ourselves. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: We have heard a most delightful and stimulating address. I think it is, perhaps, the best lecture that I have heard on this subject, and I can assure Miss Utley that I see nothing myself I would disagree with. I only hope she has succeeded in stirring up a little public opinion and public sympathy in this country with what is happening in the Far East.

A MEMBER: Have you any idea of the resources in hand in Japan—of oil, for instance?

Miss UTLEY: I cannot give any late figures, but the facts which are known are that Japan passed a law before the war began that the foreign oil companies must keep six months' supply in Japan. They objected, and at the end it was fixed at three months. Three months' peacetime supply is, of course, a very small supply for wartime.

There is no large middle class in Japan using motor-cars, so there is very little civilian consumption to cut down on. The figure I saw once quoted in the *Petroleum Times* was that Japan had at the most two months' supply. That was, however, early last year. We do know that she has not got the storage facilities to keep large supplies in Japan.

I have not had time to go into any detail about this question of economic pressure. I do not think it is exactly a question of how long Japan's reserves would last. One has to take into consideration that there are two wings of the Japanese ruling class: the big business wing and the military wing. They are usually called the "moderates" and the "extremists," but in actual fact they are both out to conquer China, and are united so long as aggression is not too difficult and dangerous. It is rather like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde; the "moderates'" function is to apologize for the excesses of the "extremists." But if you made war

unprofitable for the big business interests in Japan, they would withdraw their support from the military. Such a division in the ranks of the ruling class would give the Japanese people a chance to win political liberty and stop the war.

A MEMBER: I have heard it said that Japan intends to make an empire in the East, including even Australia. Did you hear much talk about it?

Miss UTLEY: Japanese extremists have announced it for many years. I think, even if you discount the announcements of the extremists, there is the fact that if Japan wants to have all her raw materials in her own territory, she would have to go south as well as conquer China. I think myself those statements have to be taken seriously.

The CHAIRMAN: I wonder if Miss Utley could give us any idea of how the Chinese currency—that is, the currency consisting of Government notes—how it has been able to maintain its value, and whether she considers that it will continue to maintain its value for any considerable time longer; and if it does not continue to maintain its value, what would be the effect of that on the Chinese will and power to resist?

The LECTURER: That is a most vital question. It seems to me that in respect of the maintenance of Chinese currency England and the United States have played a quite considerable part.

China's currency reform in 1935-6, which was greatly assisted by Sir Leith Ross, meant that she was able, to the amazement of her enemies, to institute a managed currency and to export a large quantity of silver to form the basis for credits abroad. If the United States had not bought Chinese silver, China would not have been able to carry through this reform.

Last December we got the further announcement that America would continue to buy Chinese silver for gold and give credits. Where the United States and England have helped China is in the maintenance of her currency.

As regards the question of Chinese resistance being linked up with her currency, there is the fact that the Guerillas in the north would be in a very weakened position if Chinese currency could not buy for them in those so-called occupied territories. I think the resistance of the Guerillas would be weakened if the Chinese currency were to fall seriously.

This question also opens up the whole attitude of the bankers and the wealthier classes to the war—what they would lose by a rapid

deterioration of China's currency. It is a sign of the continued confidence of the West that China can maintain the value of her currency and that her financial position is now considered stronger than Japan's.

The CHAIRMAN: You suggest that America had bought the silver reserves of China. How near are those reserves coming to exhaustion? Has China any more silver to sell, and, if not, what will happen?

Miss UTLEY: That is a very difficult question to answer. I do not think anybody knows. It is the view of experts friendly to China that China must try to maintain her currency reserves and not touch them; hence the vital importance of foreign credits. There has been some dipping into the reserves, but not too much yet. British and American credits will naturally become more and more necessary to China.

A MEMBER: Might I ask the speaker whether she thinks the foreign concessions in Shanghai will be able to maintain themselves?

Miss UTLEY: Is it a question whether they will be able to maintain themselves against Japan? It seems to me quite obvious that they will not be able to maintain themselves if Japan wins. Japan is only waiting to clear us out of China completely, and she would do that by announcing that extra-territoriality was abolished. That would be the end of the foreign concessions. I do not think one can meet anybody in Shanghai to-day who does not believe that a Japanese victory means the end of the concessions. The Japanese could, by continuing their present policy, and by developing the previously Chinese part of Shanghai, just leave the International Settlement high and dry and refuse to let the foreigner have any access to the interior.

The CHAIRMAN: I would like to say one word referring to Miss Utley's remarks at the end of her lecture when she was riding her hobby-horse. I hope she will be able to stir up opinion in that direction, because the only way in which Japanese aggression in China can be stopped is by England and America, or the British Empire and America, ceasing to buy Japanese goods. I think it is agreed by experts that that is the only effective form of economic sanction.

As you know, at the beginning of this affair there was a Conference at Brussels. I am not saying anything that was not made public at the time, but people forget these things. It was made perfectly clear to the United States at the Brussels Conference that in any action that the United States saw itself able to take Great Britain would be alongside and would do exactly the same. It was made clear to the United States that Great Britain was not in a position to take isolated action, but anything America did England would be there. I think that ought to

be remembered, because otherwise one might be pushing at an open door.

We have listened to Miss Utley with the greatest pleasure to-night in a most remarkable lecture. Every word of it comes from first-hand information, and I think every word of it is what we all agree with or what we should all like to see done.

On behalf of you all I thank Miss Utley very much. (Applause.)

These notes are made from the verbatim report of Miss Utley's lecture. No attempt has been made to give them a less colloquial form.

TIBET AND THE 1936 LHASA MISSION*

By MAJOR-GENERAL P. NEAME, V.C., C.B., D.S.O.

THE political representative of the Indian Government, called the Political Officer, in Sikkim, who lives at Gangtok in the Sikkim Hills some seventy miles from Darjiling, deals with all questions concerning Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet. From time to time he has been invited by the Tibetans to Lhasa. Our first entry to Lhasa was when the Tibet Expedition of 1904 forced its way there. In 1910 the Dalai Lama fled to India from Chinese oppression, but returned in 1911. He and his entourage made a number of friends in Darjiling, and after the War Sir Charles Bell paid several visits to Lhasa about 1919-1923.

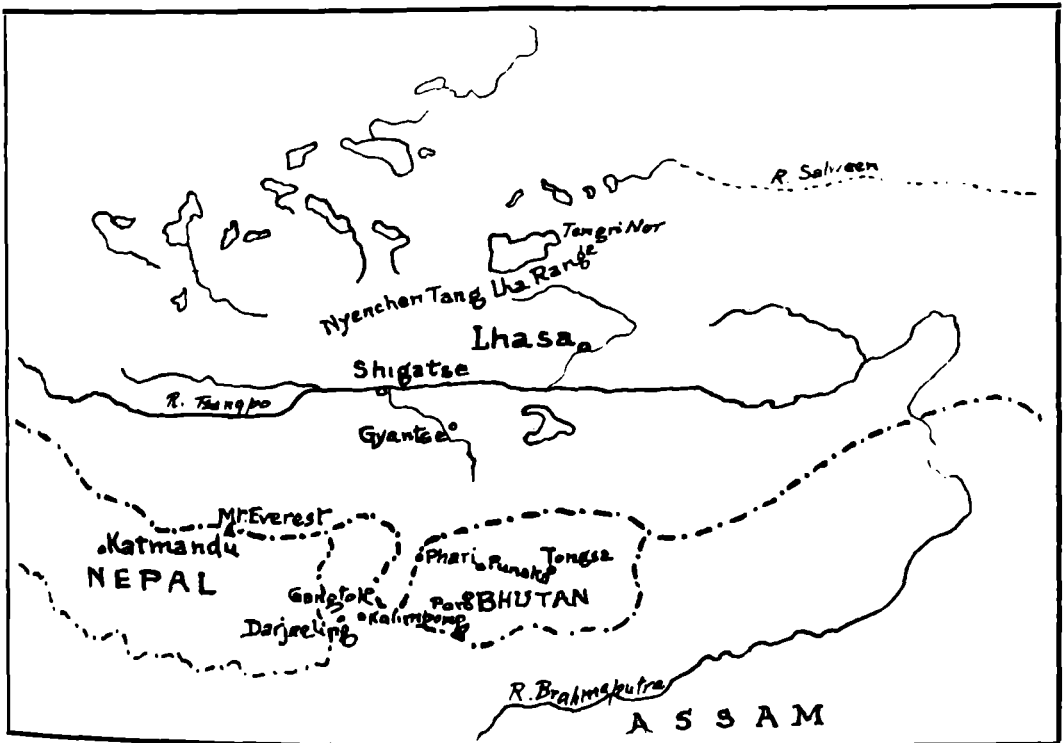
I will tell you a story about the Dalai Lama's flight from Lhasa, as it has a bearing on the rise to power of a remarkable man, Tsarong Dzasa, whom I got to know well in Lhasa. Tsarong is the strong man of Tibet, and is the power behind the throne, although to-day he holds no official post in the Government. His rise was remarkable, as he was of humble birth; his father was one of the Dalai Lama's bowmen, an archer, and usually the only road to high position for the lower classes is to become a Lama. Tsarong is a layman, but he seized his chance. The Dalai Lama was nearly caught by Chinese soldiers at the Tsangpo River, but just got across in yak-skin boats. Tsarong, a youth then, armed with a rifle, held the river passage in face of the Chinese soldiery and gave the Ruler of Tibet time to get clear away.

Thereafter his friendship with the Dalai Lama and his own great abilities enabled him to rise to the highest positions—*i.e.*, Commander-in-Chief of the Tibetan Army and Shapé or Cabinet Minister. His patron also arranged for him to marry a Tibetan heiress owning a broad estate near Shigatze. He is now a very wealthy man, and does much trade with India. But a year or two before the Dalai Lama's death, Tsarong fell into disfavour through the fear of him becoming too powerful. He was in Darjiling when he received a letter from the Dalai Lama couched in such threatening tones that he wrote back

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 15, 1939, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair.

at once and resigned all his offices. The alternative would have been incarceration in the Potala and having his eyes put out. The Tibetans, being Buddhists, do not normally enforce the death penalty, but have this pleasant alternative. Now the Dalai Lama is dead, Tsarong has been begged by his old colleagues to return to power, but once bitten twice shy, and he won't. But he wields great power in the National Assembly and by his advice behind the scenes.

The last Dalai Lama died about five years ago and his successor has not yet been found. Usually the successor is found in a babe of two or three years old. There is an old prophecy current in Tibet that



there will only be thirteen Dalai Lamas, and possibly the succession will now cease. Meantime a regent is ruling.

There is a curious procedure for discovering a new Dalai Lama. The state oracle of Tibet, known as a Ta Lama—*i.e.*, a High Lama—usually has a vision indicating the area or direction where the incarnation has occurred. Search parties of Lamas are then sent out into that district and usually succeed in finding three or four babes whose age is about right and who fulfil various predictions made by the High Lama.

These babes are brought together and a final selection is made by showing them relics such as clothes, furniture, etc., belonging to the late Dalai Lama, and the infant showing the greatest interest in these

articles is presumed to be the incarnate Buddha—*i.e.*, a new Dalai Lama. I believe the selection was usually made in the presence of the regent, the Tashi Lama, and, in the old days, the two Chinese Ambans. In some cases the final choice was made by drawing lots, and I believe this lot-drawing was often in the hands of the Chinese Ambans or Viceroys. It is to be noted that to-day the Ambans have been turned out of Tibet, which is now entirely independent of China, and there is no Tashi Lama, for the late Tashi Lama died about a year ago after being in exile for many years. The last Dalai Lama was discovered some sixty years ago, when Tibet was completely under Chinese domination, and I strongly suspect that they had a good deal to do with the opportune selection of each new Dalai Lama.

Tibet has in the past always been an unknown land and Lhasa has always been a forbidden city. Although in the last twenty years a few British and American travellers have been allowed into Tibet, it is still the most secluded and closely guarded country in the world, and it is, I believe, quite impossible for anyone to reach Lhasa unless they are invited to go there by the Tibetan Government.

On three or four occasions a political mission from the Government of India has been invited to Lhasa. The last one went there in 1936, of which I had the good fortune to be a member.

In 1935, the Political Officer Sikkim, Mr. Williamson, died while in Lhasa and before he had completed any official business. So the Tibetans invited the next Political Officer, Mr. B. J. Gould, to go in 1936. They wanted help and advice in regard to several matters, and, as military matters were under review, I was fortunate enough to be selected to join the Mission. We left Gangtok on July 31, 1936; there were five Europeans—Mr. B. J. Gould, the Political Officer, in charge, Spencer Chapman his private secretary, two Signal Officers to work the wireless, and myself.

The organization and despatch of the transport was a formidable task. There were twenty-five pony loads of wireless equipment alone, including accumulators, charging engine, loud-speakers, tents, baggage, food stores for half a dozen Europeans for several months, and last, but not least, presents for Tibetan officials, including rifles, silver tea and coffee services, radio telephones, and three cocker spaniels. In all we had 145 pack animals, generally ponies, but on some stages the very slow-moving yak; also some coolies for awkward loads.

We took thirteen days to reach Gyantse, where there is an important Dzong, or district headquarters. The early marches took place in a

steady downpour of rain, although the local Lepcha of Sikkim calls anything less than an inch of rain an hour fine weather. The leeches are a dreadful pest in Sikkim. They penetrate puttees and boots through the eyelet holes and gorge themselves on one's blood. One has to soak one's socks in a special chemical solution. We crossed the Nathu La, 14,600 feet, into the Chumbi Valley. The hillside jungles of Sikkim and Chumbi are a blaze of wild flowers, and in the spring there are acres and acres, in fact, whole hillsides, covered with rhododendrons and azaleas in bloom. The Chumbi Valley is one of the very few fertile and forested valleys in Tibet. The Shou, or Sikkim stag, now nearly extinct, inhabited this valley in 1904.

At Kargyu we had a reception by the Abbot and Lamas of Kargyu Gompa, and soon after reached Yatung, the British Trade Agents' post, where there is a small garrison or escort of Indian soldiers.

The old Abbot of Kargyu, on being asked about the weather, predicted three days' rain for the abstruse reason that "the holy pig was just due to rise out of Mansorawar Lake (near the holy mountain of Kailas) and that three days' rain usually fell on it to consecrate the pig."

Near the plain of Lingma Thang, a haunt of Shou in old days, we passed the Government Mint, where Tibetan paper money used to be printed on hand-made willow-bark paper by power developed by a "Heath Robinson" water-wheel.

Up above this we came to the real Tibetan plateau round Phari Dzong, a plain at 14,000 to 15,000 feet flanked by rounded downs at 17,000 feet and with the giant peak of Chomolhari, 23,800 feet, close by. There are curious Tibetan names; Phari Dzong means "Pig Hill Fort" and the year 1936 is the "Fire Mouse" year. Approaching Phari Dzong we saw what looked like a blue lake shimmering in the distance. When near, we saw acres and acres of blue forget-me-not in the barley-fields, so thick that there was a flat wash of blue over the whole country.

Two marches short of Gyantse we met another great Tibetan character, Rai Bahadur Norbhu Dhondup, British Trade Agent Yatung, and a Dzasa of Tibet, who has risen by his abilities and character from a junior transport clerk with Sir Francis Younghusband in 1904 to be a senior political official under the Government of India and trusted confidant of the Tibetan Cabinet. Norbhu is a great man, and is one of the few Oriental officials I know who will tell one his real opinion, palatable or not, and strong and decisive opinions too.

At Gyantse, halfway to Lhasa, we had great official receptions—a race meeting, including a cow and yak race; a visit to the formidable Dzong, which was stormed by Indian troops in 1904; and a feast at Rajah Tering's country house.

On leaving Gyantse our party was increased by the British Trade Agent Gyantse, Mr. Richardson, I.C.S., and the Medical Officer, Captain Morgan, and our transport went up to 400 loads or 200 pack animals.

The magnificent peak of Nojin-Kang-Sang towers over the Karo La, a pass of 16,600 feet. Below the pass are the remains of Tibetan fortifications, a loopholed stone wall right across the valley from one precipice to the other, where the Tibetans stood to fight in 1904.

Near Nang Kartse Dzong, on the shores of the great lake Yamdrok Tso, lies Sumding Gompa, in charge of an Abbess, the only female incarnation in Tibet. About 200 years ago there was an invasion of Tibet by Tartars of Dzungaria, north of Turkestan, and after sacking the Potala they came on as far as Sumding. There is a legend that the Abbess turned herself and all the nuns into pigs to prevent them falling into the hands of the Dzungars, who were so disgusted that they left the monastery alone and went back home.

From Pe-de-Dzong we crossed the Nyapso La, 16,000 feet, and then we had our first view of the mighty Tsangpo River, a turgid, yellow flood a mile or more wide at this time of year. The Tsangpo valley is very fertile with terraced and irrigated fields, crops, hedges, and trees. The hills on each side rise to between 4,000 and 6,000 feet above the river. At the actual ferry the river narrows to 200 yards into a tearing current. The passage of the Tsangpo in flood by means of yak-skin boats or coracles was of considerable interest. Each coracle is about eight feet long and made of six yak skins stretched on willow or poplar poles; they are very light and very buoyant. Two are lashed together to form a ferry raft. Three or four ponies are towed alongside, while baggage and men go in the coracles. Great excitement on the part of the ferrymen and much splashing was needed to urge the ponies in. Several ponies broke loose and swam by themselves; unfortunately some broke back and swam back to the near shore. One of these died from its efforts after safely landing.

On the far bank we were entertained to "chang" (beer) and Tibetan tea by the local headmen, and given presents of whole sheep dried, eggs, etc.

We next passed the beautiful Chukoryantse Gompa and Chaksam Gompa, where there is an iron chain suspension bridge several hundred years old. Owing to the Tsangpo River having widened its bed the bridge now only reaches an island halfway across in the flood season.

We then left the Tsangpo and entered the Kyi Chu valley, the River of Lhasa, and had some tricky riding along flooded tracks only a few feet wide and with no visible boundary to show the drop into the swirling flood. The views of the cliffs of the Kyi Chu and the mountains encircling Lhasa were most impressive.

August 24 was a most notable day, as the British Mission made its first entry into Lhasa. Lhasa has been in the past and is still to a great extent one of the secrets of Tibet and of Central Asia so far as Europeans are concerned, and very few are allowed ever to reach Lhasa. The most phlegmatic person could hardly avoid a thrill when, rounding a cliff on the banks of the Kyi Chu, we had the first sight of the Potala, the palace of the Dalai Lama, with its gilded roofs glittering in the bright sunshine of these high altitudes. We had an escort of brightly clad attendants numbering some forty or more, including clerks, chaprassis, saises, guides, and Tibetan officials. A mile or two beyond Drepung Gompa we were met by representatives of the Tibetan Government, accompanied by many officials and Lamas, and were conducted into a pretty little park where, under the shade of a picturesque summer-house, we were presented with ceremonial scarves from the Government, the Regent, and the Kashag (Cabinet). The costumes worn by the Tibetans were magnificent and appropriate in every way to the surroundings. The Lama officials wore comparatively dull, claret-coloured robes, but with brightly coloured red-lacquered hats. The lay officials wore brightly coloured and beautifully embroidered Chinese silks. The servants had most marvellous red-feathered and lacquered and fringed hats like great lampshades. All were riding smartly caparisoned mules or ponies with gay saddle-cloths. The whole setting in the bright sun, the oriental costumes, the oriental gardens with lacquered chairs for us and cushions on the ground for the Tibetans was most remarkable. The old-world courtesy, politeness, and compliments of the Tibetans are charming. After drinking tea we remounted and advanced towards Lhasa, with the road dominated by the imposing Potala on its hill.

We rode to our future residence and camp at Deki ling-ka, a garden and summer residence lent to us by the Abbot of one of the Gompas.

We there sat down to what we were told was to be a light lunch. There were thirteen solid dishes of *hors d'œuvres* of meat and vegetables, followed in rapid succession by three or four *entrées* of hot spiced meats, mushrooms, sharks' fins, sea slugs, etc. Finally, in came the main course of Tibetan spaghetti in soup. There were Tibetan buttered tea and chang, or Tibetan beer, to drink. We had to eat everything with chop-sticks. Deki ling-ka was a very pleasant camping-place, except for a faint smell of rancid butter pervading everything, no doubt from the large presents received of butter sewn up in goatskin sacks.

For our first ten days or so in Lhasa we spent nearly all day receiving visitors. Almost every Government official in Lhasa made a ceremonious call; each visitor is allowed a time to arrive and each is entertained to tea, sweet biscuits, cake, and liqueurs. As it is considered polite to drink tea and eat a little with each visitor, these continuous snacks are rather trying to the digestion. The most magnificent sight was the arrival of three Shapés (Cabinet Ministers) of the Kashag. They and the Prime Minister and the Regent are the only people allowed to wear the imperial Chinese yellow silk robes with coloured brocade hats with red silk fringes and a jewelled knob on top. The three of them sat cross-legged on a divan in our reception-room and we all sat round while Norbhu, dressed with almost equal splendence in accordance with his rank of Dzasa, interpreted for us. The Shapés gravely bowed, nodded, or smiled in unison at each turn of the conversation.

The grading of officials in Tibet is interesting. The Shapés are of Cabinet rank; there are four in all Tibet, of whom one is a Lama. They are known as second-rank officials. The first rank is the Lonchen, or Prime Minister; Mr. B. J. Gould, the head of our Mission, was granted the same precedence as a Lonchen. There are six third-rank officials, Dzasas, in all Tibet, and Norbhu Dhondup is an honorary Dzasa. It is a notable fact that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army, of whom there are two, one Lama and one lay, are fourth-rank officials only; that is, comparatively low in grade. The religious organization of Tibet takes a far higher place than the army, for quite apart from the supreme Dalai and Tashi Lamas, there is a Lama Shapé, and below him an official who is in charge of all the religious organizations of the country, known as Chekyab Khempo. He has four Grand Secretaries under him, each of whom is equal in rank to the Commander-in-Chief. As a matter of fact, at the time we were there one

of the religious Grand Secretaries was officiating Commander-in-Chief in addition to his religious duties.

The ranks in the Tibetan Army are as follows :

The highest formation is a regiment of between 500 and 1,000 men commanded by a Depon, which Norbhu translated as General. Below him is the Rupon commanding 250 men, below him Gyakpon commanding 125 men, then Dingpon commanding 25 men, then Chupon in charge of 10 men, and finally the rank and file are known as Makme. There is no higher military rank than Depon, but there is some attempt at higher control on the eastern frontier, where the Commissioner of Kham, who is of Dzasa rank, in emergency issues operation orders to the nine regular and eleven militia Depons in Kham. As far as I could make out, in normal times orders are issued direct from Lhasa to these twenty military subordinates in Kham, and despatch riders take about a month on the journey between Lhasa and Kham.

Our visits to the Potala were most intensely interesting. We first went in all our best uniform to call on the Regent and the Prime Minister. The Potala is one of the most impressive buildings I have ever seen ; in fact, I should think there is hardly a building in the world more impressive in its architecture and more striking in its situation. The present building is some 300 years old and its design and architecture must be purely Tibetan. The inside of the Potala is dark and dirty, with low passages and doorways, except for the golden shrines, or Chortens, in which the Dalai Lamas are buried. The most magnificent shrine is that of the last, the thirteenth Dalai Lama. It comprises a Chorten some forty feet high, the whole of it covered not with the usual gold leaf but with sheets of thin beaten gold in which are embedded all manner of precious stones, turquoise predominating. In front of it there were rows of gold butter-lamps, Chinese vases, and one vessel entirely covered with pearls. The flat roof of the Potala is broken by the marvellous gold-leaf turrets which cover these burial Chortens of the Dalai Lamas. The walls surrounding these shrines are hung with thankas or religious paintings depicting the life history of the Dalai Lamas. We saw Tibetan artists busy on the paintings for the thirteenth Dalai Lama.

On another occasion we visited the Norbhu Ling Ka—jewel garden—which is the summer palace of the Dalai Lamas. It is a large enclosed park, perhaps half a mile square, with several hundred acres planted with trees and laid out with flower-beds and small lakes and pavilions. There are three separate small palaces, one very ancient and two more

recently built by the late Dalai Lama. There is also an exquisite little water garden with a summer-house with lacquer-decorated walls, in which the late Dalai Lama used to sit and meditate, on an island surrounded by water. There is an enclosure in which the Dalai Lama used to have a zoo; birds and tame animals from monkeys to tigers were kept here. In the palace are the most beautiful private rooms decorated with lacquer, silk and brocade cushions and hangings, and jewelled images, and there were even set out the Dalai Lama's golden and jade tea-cups encrusted with turquoise.

We heard fabulous tales of the vaults and dungeons in the Potala supposed to be filled with gold and treasures, the collections of generations of Dalai Lamas. There were also gruesome stories of political prisoners languishing in the dark dungeons. The late Dalai Lama's favourite is supposed to be incarcerated there now with both his eyes put out, by order of the Kashag, who, although benevolent-looking old men, think nothing of such treatment to a previous political rival.

At one time and another we visited the other marvellous sights of Lhasa. First, the Tsuk Lha Kang, which means the Head House of God. It is in effect the chief cathedral of Lhasa and Tibet. It is in the centre of the city and, although a fine building, it is hard to get a proper view of it except from the top of a neighbouring roof, where I took some photographs of its golden-turreted roofs. Inside it is very dark, and round the main court are innumerable chapels or temples lit only by dim guttering butter-lamps, which give off an indescribable rancid odour and make the atmosphere hot, stuffy, and most oppressive. Most of these temples have chain-mail curtains which can be locked across the open archways, for in many of them are gold idols set with jewels and numerous solid gold butter-lamps. In fact, there is an incredible treasure shut up in the Tsuk Lha Kang. In one of these temples are two figures representing incarnations of Queen Victoria; one with her face when she is angry and one when she is peaceful and happy. Queen Victoria's worldwide reputation had even penetrated to Lhasa.

There are three chief Gompas of Tibet in or near Lhasa; they are Drepung, Sera, and Ganding. I only had time to visit Drepung, which is really more like a university than a monastery, for it contains 7,000 Lamas organized in six colleges, each under a Khempo (Abbot). Apart from these religious organizations, the administration and discipline of the whole Gompa is in the hands of two Shen-ngos. The Shen-ngos showed us all round the Gompa, and they

were invariably preceded by two mace-bearers, like Roman lictors, carrying great metal staves, with the Shen-ngos' yellow hats of ceremony perched on top of the staves. The staff-bearers called out in stentorian tones at frequent intervals a Tibetan command to clear the way. Actually, during our visit all the Lamas were confined to their cells in order that the very narrow alley-ways should be clear for us to move along. The smell in the main assembly hall was quite indescribable, a mixture of heavy incense and rancid butter, and the floor was thick with black grease, which is due to the sloppings of the Lamas' buttered tea which they drink there. We saw a statue of the founder of the Gomba, who is said to have lived 2,000 years ago.

Near Drepung we went to see the Nechung Temple of the great oracle of Tibet, who is known as the Ta Lama or Great Lama. This, again is a very beautiful and striking building, with the inevitable gold-leaf turreted roof and many gold idols. The Ta Lama was a very astute official and a thorough man of affairs, and although we had a very prolonged official talk with him he was pretty careful not to commit himself to any definite statements on policy. He is supposed to be able to go into a trance and give advice and prophecies for the benefit of the Tibetan Government.

Another important official we saw was Nagachen Rimpoche, an incarnate Buddha. The title of Rimpoche always refers to an incarnate Buddha. This man was the agent in Lhasa of the Tashi Lama, then in exile in Mongolia.

Probably the most striking man and strongest personality in Tibet at the present day is Tsarong Dzasa, whom I have already referred to. We paid several visits to his house and had at different times lunch, tea, and dinner there. Tsarong has a cook whom he got trained in Darjiling, and we were astonished at the beautiful home-made English cakes, including perfectly genuine "penny buns." Tsarong's farewell dinner to me, given the night before I left Lhasa, was a most portentous feast and very nearly finished me off, because when I had eaten all I could Tsarong thought I was not doing justice to his food and proceeded to help me with his own chop-sticks from nearly every one of the twenty or thirty different dishes on the table. Tsarong has a very fine house, recently built, on the outskirts of Lhasa. It is of purely Tibetan architecture and furnishings, but it is so far up to date that it is lit with electric light and he has his own cinema projector, on which he showed us most interesting films taken by himself on life in Tibet. In Tibet, once a Shapé always a Shapé, and so in theory he

is still a Shapé and of Cabinet rank, but he prefers to be called Tsarong Dzasa and only handles politics behind the scenes as the power behind the throne. He is a very wealthy man, a great trader, and is in charge of the Tibetan Government Arsenal and Mint, where we saw the hand-operated pressing machine stamping out silver and copper coins, of which I was presented with samples. We also saw Tibetan stamps and paper money being printed on a hand-made printing press.

I was given the opportunity of inspecting the Tibetan Army, or such of it as was left in Lhasa, as most of the troops were on the Tibetan eastern frontier bickering with the Chinese and with communists and bandits. I saw target practice with rifles, Lewis and machine-guns, and with mountain-guns. The shooting with the 10-pounder mountain-gun was really very good at a stationary target, entirely due to Yutok Depon, who had been trained at Quetta with an Indian Mountain Battery some years ago. The marksmanship with the other weapons was poor. The Tibetans are very careful of their ammunition and the issue of ammunition from the Arsenal is a portentous affair. The lay Commander-in-Chief told me that it is all sealed into rooms and that no room could be opened and no ammunition issued without the attendance of the Prime Minister, the whole of the Kashag, and both Commanders-in-Chief. The whole of the population of Lhasa turned out to watch my field-day, and it was really made the occasion for a great picnic.

On September 15 I had to return to India by forced march in order to get back to my own job. I had to do double and treble marches across the high plateau and the high passes back to the Chumbi Valley and Sikkim. So early as the middle of September wintry conditions had already started at these high altitudes. There was snow on the passes and a biting cold gale blowing all day long as I trotted or cantered across the 15,000-foot plateau. I found this quite trying and exhausting and was not sorry to get down to the warmer climate of Sikkim.

Before the lecturer commenced the Chairman, Sir FRANCIS YOUNG-HUSBAND, said: I should like to say a word on how it comes about that a general officer should be going to Lhasa just as a matter of course. Thirty-five years ago it was not at all taken for granted that an Englishman should be received in Tibet with all friendliness. Lord Curzon, having reviewed the whole situation in Tibet, realized the great danger that was growing up on that frontier. The Tibetans had been destroying

boundary pillars, showing great truculence in their manners, refusing to receive any trade agents, even Indians, and returning letters that were sent them from the Government of India. On the other hand, they were sending emissaries to the Czar; and a conviction seemed to be growing up in Tibet that the country was under the protection of the Czar.

To deal with the situation I was sent to Tibet in charge of a mission. We first tried to make an agreement on the frontier, and it was only when that proved impossible that we were given permission to advance into Tibet itself, and even to Lhasa. The escort with the mission was sufficient to break down any opposition to our advance. I had to make a treaty specifying places at which we could carry on trade with the Tibetans; but there was no intention of dominating the country in any way. Lord Curzon only wished to establish reasonable trade relations with Tibet.

Now it is not the slightest good having a treaty between two Powers unless that treaty has the goodwill of the people behind it. If you leave a raw feeling behind no treaty is of any good. So I set myself to get the goodwill of the Tibetans. It is now thirty-five years since we camped on those plains of Tuna, 15,000 feet above sea-level, with a Tibetan force of 3,000 men just opposite us. Unfortunately, some fighting ensued, in spite of our efforts to secure a peaceful settlement. And eventually we had to advance to Lhasa. But in spite of the fighting we were able to bring the Tibetans completely round to our side. The good behaviour and courtesy of our troops so impressed them that they decided we were a people with whom it was worth while to be friendly. So from that day till now they have maintained their goodwill towards us; and it was due to that Mission of 1904 and the good relations it established between ourselves and Tibet that our lecturer of this evening was able to go up with Mr. Gould on the mission to Lhasa of 1936.

After the lecture the CHAIRMAN called on Colonel Bailey, the discoverer of the *Meconopsis baileyi*, to open the discussion.

Colonel F. M. BAILEY: I will tell you one thing that perhaps I should not. General Neame has told you how Tsarong held up the Chinese troops almost single-handed when the late Dalai Lama escaped from Tibet. The Chinese followed so close on him that they were in Chumbi before Tsarong got away. He escaped in the disguise of a postman, carrying the British mailbag. He stayed with me on two occasions.

You saw pictures of the Dalai Lama's garden. In 1921, when I first went to Sikkim, the Dalai Lama wrote to ask me to teach his gardeners. We were, he wrote, more successful as gardeners than the Tibetans. I replied: "If you can send me some boys of twelve to thirteen years old, and let me have them for a year, so that they can follow the seasons round working in my garden, then I will train them for you." So he sent me two boys, and my wife took great pains to train them, and they went back to Lhasa. But one of the things which rather hampered them was that in the Dalai Lama's garden they were practically bound to grow yellow flowers—the royal colour—and when I visited Lhasa some years later I found that they had taken the easiest way and planted the garden almost entirely with yellow marigolds.

The lecturer spoke of stags. I know there were stags in the Chumbi Valley in 1904. They used to come down occasionally from the forest on the Bhutan border. I saw three on the hills in 1921, but I am afraid that now they are exterminated, both in the Chumbi Valley and also in Bhutan. But in the Tsari Valley, because no life might be taken there, there are still some to be found, and I am convinced that the stag will not be altogether extinct as long as that valley is considered holy.

Sir Francis Younghusband told us how we got the goodwill of the Tibetans, which the Chinese altogether failed to do, because when their troops came into the country they ill-treated and massacred the people, whereas we confined ourselves to insisting on an equitable treaty to establish trade relations, and there was not the least breach of discipline among the troops, who were withdrawn as soon as the treaty had been made. As a result of these two methods of warfare the Tibetans like us and dislike the Chinese.

The CHAIRMAN: I should just like to say a word about the courtesy of the Tibetans. They are a people of great goodwill, and a very happy people. Also they have great appreciation of beautiful things. I was glad to see that General Neame gave his advice against their copying our hideous khaki uniforms, but keeping their own, which are not only more becoming, but also much more suitable to their climate.

We must thank the lecturer for his correct and beautifully illustrated description of Tibet, and especially of the Potala at Lhasa.

THE DATE CULTIVATION AND DATE CULTIVATORS OF BASRAH*

By V. H. W. DOWSON

THIS evening I propose to confine my lecture to a very small area, the land bordering the Shatt al-'Arab, whose only town is Basrah. Of the 'Iraq as a whole, which has been described by many members of this Society, including our Chairman here, I shall say nothing.

The 'Iraq stretches from the southern slopes of the mountains of Anatolia to the head of the Persian Gulf, and consists, for the most part, of the basins of the Tigris and the Euphrates. These two rivers unite, a hundred miles from the sea, to form the Shatt al-'Arab, both banks of which are lined with date groves, extending inland about half a mile. The last forty-six miles of the left bank of the Shatt al-'Arab, down to the sea, are Iranian territory, and have not been included in the figures which follow.

The area of freehold land in the Basrah district is something like 100,000 acres, that planted with palms about 75,000 acres, and the number of bearing palms is probably about 6,000,000. Their total annual yield is probably about 130,000 tons, of which about 100,000 tons are exported. Fifty thousand tons, probably, come from up-river for export, making a total export of about 150,000 tons, valued at about £1,000,000.

The date cultivator's house is a hut of mats, made of woven, dried, and split reeds, supported on two pillars and a ridge-pole of date-palm trunks. The rafters are of stripped and dried palm fronds. Smoke makes its escape through the roof. The floor is the bare ground. Such huts are a poor sort of dwelling. They are smaller than those of some of the Marsh Arabs, and much inferior to the great guest houses of the 'Amarah sheikhs.

The language of the cultivators on the Shatt al-'Arab is Arabic; it is not as good as that of Najd, that is to say it is not as near the classical, but it is nearer classical Arabic than the Arabic commonly spoken in Egypt and Syria. A few Turkish words are used, rather less than are found in Baghdad; and, owing to the proximity of Iran, some Iranian words have also been borrowed. However, the Arabic of Basrah is still sufficiently near the classical to make it difficult to learn.

* Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 22, 1939, Major-General H. Rowan Robinson, C.B., in the Chair.

As an illustration of the difficulty of translating Arabic, perhaps it may be permitted to repeat a distinguished scholar's remark that every Arabic word has five meanings—namely, (1) the original meaning, (2) the opposite, (3) something poetical and nothing to do with either of the first two, (4) something connected with a camel, and (5) something too obscene to be translated. One day, hoping for encouragement, I asked Dr. Van Ess how much longer I should have to go on learning Arabic before I could say I knew it. He replied: "It's no good asking me, for I've been learning it for only thirty years." I find this difficulty in learning the language humiliating. I started trying to learn it before my office boy was born, yet I have constantly to ask him this sort of question, "O Nu'ayyim, with which 't' does one spell 'table'?"

Perhaps one of the reasons why the Englishman gets on well with the Arab is because the former finds the latter's language so difficult that trying to master it knocks some of the conceit out of him; for, of course, it is only when one is reasonably humble that one can make friends.

The date cultivator is a Shi'a Muhammadan, devout, fairly regular in his religious observances, and tolerant of other faiths. It would appear that religion means more to the poor cultivator than it does to most English people. The reason is, perhaps, partly the difference between the temperaments of the Arabs and of the English: the Arab, the quite poor and uneducated Arab, will spend happy, leisurely hours discussing theological niceties, but most Englishmen prefer cricket. The reason is also, perhaps, partly because the Arab has fewer anodynes or distractions than the Englishman. The Arab's religious readings, especially those of Ramadan and Muharram, and the religious plays of the latter month largely take the place of the theatre, the cinema, the wireless, newspapers, books, church, and football matches with the English.

It must be a matter of opinion as to how much of the Arab's stoicism under pain and privation, his resignation in bereavement and calamity, and his cheerfulness in adversity is the result of his temperament and how much the result of his religious training, but the latter, without doubt, has great influence. Throughout the long days of Ramadan, though working, he fasts punctiliously and uncomplainingly, to the salvation of his soul and the ruin of his stomach.

The date cultivators of the Shatt al-'Arab may be divided into the poor, the very poor, and the desperately poor. Some people have enough plain food, some are sometimes hungry, and many are often

hungry. It might have been expected that the cultivators of the most profitable crop in the country would have been wealthy, or, at least, wealthier than the wheat, barley, and rice cultivators further north. Possibly it is the mobility of the cultivators of the 'Iraq which tends to equalize their earnings as between one district and another. If it were objected that, nevertheless, the northern tribesmen were better fed, it is possible that the answer is to be found in the greater oppression of the tribesman by the sheikhs and the greater freedom (often, it must be admitted, freedom to starve) of the Basrah squatter; for the 'Iraqi is not sufficiently in love with totalitarianism to make him ignore the value of freedom.

The highest class of cultivator in Basrah is the share-system tenant who does all the work in the garden and takes a share of the crop in return. If his share were valued in money, and the money value added to the money value of the extras he receives, such as rent-free site for his house, the opportunity to collect firewood and fodder for his cow, and to grow vegetables, and the whole were divided by the number of days in the year, less Fridays and holidays, then the result, his average daily earnings, might amount to about one shilling and sixpence.

The next class of cultivator is the share-system tenant who performs only those operations directly connected with the palm—that is to say, pruning, pollination, separation of the bunches, thinning, lowering the bunches, and harvesting—and who, unlike the tenant of the previous class, is not responsible for tillage, manuring, or the maintenance of the irrigation system. For what he does he receives a smaller share than that of the first class of tenant and this, including extras, may amount to about two-thirds of the remuneration of the other.

The last class of cultivator is the squatter, who has no rights in any land and who works for others for daily, or weekly, pay. This daily pay is about sevenpence or eightpence.

It is not surprising, considering how important is every farthing, that money matters occupy much of the date cultivator's attention, and that nearly every conversation overheard seems, sooner or later, to deal with the cost of things. The old yarn about the elephant might be extended to include the Basrawi, as follows. The original story is this: Persons of various nationalities had a year in which to prepare for a prize an essay on the elephant. At the end of the year, the German, who had spent the whole time travelling from one library to another in the capitals of Europe, had produced eight massive

volumes, entitled *Preliminary Materials for the Study of the Elephant*. The Englishman, who had spent most of his time in India and Africa shooting elephants, produced a book, illustrated with photos of the author standing, gun in hand, over his prostrate victims, and entitled *The Elephant and How to Kill it*. Time is too short to tell the whole story, with its mention of half a dozen other nationalities; but, if we include the Basrawi, it is probable that the title of his essay would be *The Elephant and How Much it Costs*.

As soon as he gets up in the morning the date cultivator has sweet, unskimmed tea and a flap-jack of nearly unleavened bread. At nine, after two or three hours' work, his small daughter brings him a bowl of buttermilk, with a lump of butter floating in it, and another flap-jack, or perhaps, instead, a handful of pressed dates. For lunch he has a couple of flap-jacks and young onions or celery tops or young leeks; and, for supper, more bread and boiled rice, with either clarified butter or stew. Sometimes, either in the evening or at his midday meal, he will have fish. Meat is not eaten on an average more often than two or three times a week, although there is naturally a range of living from that of the poorest squatters, who eat little but bread, to that of the richest of the share-croppers, who may have meat twice daily.

The cultivator of the Shatt al-'Arab date groves drinks the unboiled water of his irrigation ditches, although his habits make it unsuitable. As a consequence, he harbours intestinal parasites of a wide range of types, which parasites produce their characteristic diseases. Hook-, round-, tape-, and thread-worms are exceedingly common. Bilharzia is common, but local in its distribution. Most Basrawis have, or have had, amœbic dysentery, and the bacillary form is not uncommon. It may be recalled that Mr. Bernard Shaw was annoyed when his oculist assured him that his sight was normal, and was not appeased until the oculist went on to tell him that only about one-tenth of the population of Great Britain has normal sight. If this is true for this country, the proportion of the population of the Shatt al-'Arab which has normal sight must be very small indeed, for obvious eye defects, visible to the casual glance of the layman, are to be found in something like half the people. Tuberculosis is common, rapid, and terrible in its effects. If the people had more to eat they might be better able to withstand it. Venereal diseases, common in the towns, are rare in the more distant villages.

The worst of all their diseases is malaria. Tuberculosis and dysentery may slay their thousands, but malaria slays its tens of

thousands. Every man, woman, and child in the date belt has malaria at some time in his life, and generally several times a year. The young children are often chubby and pretty, but handsome men and women are uncommon; the climate, hook-worm, dysentery, but especially malaria, make their mark, and the good-looking boy and the pretty girl develop into drawn and haggard man and woman. A hundred and twenty-five miles north of Basrah is 'Amarah, where there is no malaria. Here, the people are so much more handsome that they seem to be almost of a different race.

The anopheline vector of malaria on the Shatt al-'Arab is *A. stephensi*, which breeds in the tertiary, tidal irrigation channels in the date groves. These channels could probably be kept clean, and hence made unsuitable as breeding-places, by an annual expenditure of perhaps less than £25,000; a small amount when it is considered how immense is the inefficiency, loss, ill-health, and misery caused by malaria.

It is, however, a cause of satisfaction that smallpox, which before the war attacked and killed large numbers of people, now, thanks to the rapid increase in the amount of vaccination practised, is not common. Whereas pock-marked adults are to be seen everywhere, one now sees few pock-marked children. Cholera and bubonic plague sometimes come up the Gulf from India and Iran, but here also preventive inoculation has largely robbed these diseases of their terrors.

The men wear a long shirt of cotton cloth down to the ankles over loose trousers of the same material. Under the shirt they usually wear a sixpenny vest and over it a white cotton jacket. On the head is a white cotton skull-cap beneath a dark blue, patterned kerchief, held in place by a woollen coil. Over the shoulders is a brown or black light woollen cloak, woven in a Baghdad factory, and on the feet sandals. The whole dress, when new, costs about sixteen shillings.

When working, the cultivator discards cloak, jacket, head-coil, and sandals, and kilts his shirt to the knee, while, when digging or channeling, he usually discards kerchief and trousers also.

Women wear a black cotton cloak, which is hung on the head, and which, when held closed in front, conceals them completely, and, underneath, a black net to bind their hair and throat, a coloured muslin outer dress, wide and flowing, a tighter inner dress of contrasting colour and stouter material, and below this, long cotton trousers.

A lady recently returned from Riyad tells how the people of that

puritanical capital are not uninterested in the doings of the ungodly 'Iraq. At a tea-party there the ladies of the house asked her if it was really true that in the 'Iraq fashion was making its influence felt in shortening the length of the trouser, in some cases to such an extent that it now came to an end above the knee. She replied that she believed something of the sort was happening amongst the more progressive ladies in the larger towns. Whereupon the whole party broke out with: "May God consume with fire all such abandoned wretches!" It is pleasant to be able to record that this profligate fashion has not yet found its way into the date-growing villages.

For the women, heavy silver anklets are as much necessary articles of equipment as are handbags in England. The faint tic-tac as one anklet clicks against the other and bare feet pattering along the verandah is a sound the memory of which probably will not easily fade when increasing infirmities condemn the date farmer to an old age of retirement in the lands of high heels and curious hats.

The men often, and the women usually, henna the soles of their feet, the palms of their hands, and the tips of their fingers. An American lady, travelling recently by Imperial Airways, which calls at Basrah, noticed the women so adorned. "Oh!" she exclaimed, "how ever can they make such frights of themselves!" Her own lips and finger-nails and toe-nails were vermilion.

This remark illustrates the common attitude of one race to another. It is generally the differences which strike travellers, and apparently anthropologists also, rather than the similarities, although the latter are usually fundamental and the former, by comparison, unimportant. It is more significant that both the English and the Basrawis use saws than that the teeth of the English saw point forwards, while those of the Basrawi saw point backwards; it is more significant that both the English and the Basrawis face their churches in a particular direction, than that the English face theirs to Jerusalem while the Basrawis face theirs to Mecca; and it is more significant that both the Englishman and the Basrawi believe in heaven, than that the Englishman's heaven is furnished with golden thrones whereas in the Basrawi's one sits on the ground.

Travellers seem to think it queer that the Basrah women should give themselves indigo eyebrows, but it is really no more queer than that in England the women should pluck their eyebrows. What really is queer is that both races should have the common urge to improve on nature.

Perhaps as a consequence of his regarding the differences which

separate races as, generally, of less importance than the bonds which bind them together, the present speaker has not been able to bring himself to regard the date cultivators of the Shatt al-'Arab as mysterious, although writers on the East, and those not always the frivolous ones, seem to consider the Arab lives enfolded in a veil of inscrutability, through which the Western mind cannot penetrate. There is, of course, the barrier of religion and that of language, but fundamentally Muhammad bin Jasim and Mr. Smith of Surbiton are much alike; they both have the same sort of bother with the tax collector; they are both more troubled by financial worries than by anything else; they are both oppressed by the necessity of having to get up each morning to go to work; and there are the same domestic strains when the standard of cooking falls too low. As Mr. Huxley has pointed out, anthropology should begin at home.

Of school education there is almost none. The bigger villages support mullahs' schools, but the proportion of boys who attend is small, for most boys must help their fathers as soon as they are able and cannot afford to spend their time in school. At the mullahs' schools the boys are taught to read and are then, more or less uncomprehendingly, led through the Quran. They then leave school, paying the mullah a lump sum of a pound or two for the whole schooling. School leaving occurs usually when the boy is about ten years old. He returns home, reads no more, and, in a few years, forgets how to. Girls do not go to school.

There are a few Government elementary schools through the palm belt, but they also fail to reach more than a small part of the peasants; and here, too, the boys usually attend too short a time for much book education to sink in.

The real education of the children is what they learn from their mothers and fathers and from the village meeting-place. Boys and girls early pasture the cattle and sheep on the wretched forage which fringes the gardens on the desert side; and both early learn to cut the succulent rush, which grows at the river's edge for the cattle's supper. The matrons and the maidens, as they file to where grass and alfalfa may be cut, are followed by a tail, lower and lower as its end approaches, of tiny tots, each armed with a toothed sickle, and before noon and again before sunset the line may be seen returning, each head bearing its bundle of grass suitable to the size of its owner. Boys begin to dig when they can handle a spade, and to cut the fronds of the palms when they have the strength.

The small child is usually given everything it shouts for; its parents are as patient as Montessori educationists; and yet the spoiled little brat, all of a sudden it seems, becomes the quiet and courteous host, the responsible orderer of affairs, and the possessor of an unabused right to be heard in the council. Perhaps the success of education on the Shatt al-'Arab is due to the custom of treating children early as responsible individuals. They are not told to be quiet because the matter is something they cannot understand, no boy is told to "run along and play now because Daddy wants to talk business." Is it rape, death, flood, fire, or pestilence, conscription, eviction, the children are all part of the family; all must bear their share of the calamity and all have a right to express an opinion about it.

The year-long, indiscriminate hospitality of the big men of the district who kept open house for all persons is almost a thing of the past, but the little man still overspends on food for guests, and although the tradition is not so strong under the palms as on the grazing plains of the north, the guest is still sure of a welcome at the mat hut. If the family is too poor for coffee, there is tea, or, if there is no tea, there is a cup of water gracefully offered with a kind word.

The old men regretfully speak of the past, when the great landowners of the Abu al-Khasib, the centre of the date-growing district, dispensed their wide hospitality; now, the sons of those landowners spend their money otherwise—on radios, Paris fashions for their wives, automobiles, summers in Syria or Europe—and have left neither the means nor the time to dispense hospitality to the poor.

To prevent the possibility of misunderstanding, it must be added that the present landlords are still exceedingly hospitable to their personal friends and to those of their own class, and I, personally, have for years past received the utmost courtesy, hospitality, and friendliness from them. What it is that is passing is the old-time, semi-tribal hospitality of the open tent, though even to-day there are still a few who feed a multitude of the hungry, notably at sunset during the month of fasting.

The date cultivator is polite—he can afford to be, for he has not discarded his nightshirt. He still wears the clothes of his ancestors and of the prophet Muhammad; he is not seeking strange gods nor following the West. Having been brought up as a good Muhammadan he knows himself to be of the elect; he has no sense of inferiority; and it is a sense of inferiority which usually makes people rude.

The date cultivator's charming manners and his readiness to say

what will please rather than what will hurt, although they introduce an element of inaccuracy into common speech, make living with him pleasant and help to bridge over the difficulties which beset social life. One of my employees wished to emphasize that he owed everything, firstly, to God and, secondly, to me, as his employer. He had been recently married, so I asked him one day if he had not yet got a son. Sayyid Musa replied: "Not yet, but, thanks to God and to Your Honour, there's one on the way."

If, in conclusion, a personal note be permitted, I should like to avail myself of this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the peasants of the Shatt al-'Arab. Living amongst them has been an education. It is true, of course, that living amongst any people, especially peasants, is, or should be, an education; but many races of peasants are apt to be dull, and one doesn't learn dull lessons readily. The Basrawi is never dull. If I were asked to particularize and to state what it was which was to be learnt from the Basrah peasant, I should reply that one could learn from him much about agriculture, but more about how to live, how to be courteous, patient, cheerful, kindly, charitable, and long-suffering.

Finally, I must crave your indulgence for having taken up much of your time with this small district and with this humble people.

* * * * *

The slides showed the method of planting, of tillage, of irrigation, pruning, pollination and harvesting of the date palm, some of its uses and also the pests which attack it.

The date palm, being a monocotyledon, has no woody roots, so the whole operation of uprooting can be performed with a spade; and there is no necessity for an axe. A long chisel is, however, useful. When a new garden has to be dug, three men dig together, using small-bladed triangular spades, and each spadeful is raised by the united efforts of the three men. In this way they can dig more deeply and more thoroughly than three men working separately.

There are a large number of tidal creeks, which take off more or less at right angles to the Shatt al-'Arab every few miles on either bank. Most were probably formed naturally during the laying down of the delta by the wearing down of the alluvium by the returning flood water at the ebb of the tide. From these main channels secondary channels take off, and from these tertiary ones, so that water is led, broadly speaking, to every palm in the date belt. One of the larger creeks, Abu il-Khasil, was at one time celebrated as a haunt of the Zanj rebels,

who terrorized Lower 'Iraq for fifteen years in the ninth century. The Caliph's uncle had bottled them up in the creek by guarding its mouth, but they escaped through side channels and made their way to the 'Ashar Creek, ten miles north, where they fell upon the unsuspecting guards and overcame them.

Nowadays a few landlords in the higher gardens have installed pumps to supplement tidal irrigation, which remains adequate only a certain distance from the sea and in the lower gardens. Two causes operate to make an increasing necessity for artificial means of irrigation: one, the natural rising of the land as the delta marches further into the sea, and the other, which made its influence felt more particularly soon after the war, when garden owners had plenty of money—the encroachment on the foreshore. The landlords dammed the low foreshore and filled it in behind their dams, thus reducing the width of the river. Consequently the flood tide is now slower than it used to be, and gardens at the tails of the creeks are often dry. Trees are pruned with a toothed sickle. This operation is usually carried out yearly. The best time is considered just before harvest, when the fronds are thoroughly dry. It is possible that the reason why cutting incompletely dry fronds is not customary is because it has been found by experience that fungal spores can enter a palm through a wet cut.

The date palm is dioecious—that is to say, the male flowers and the female flowers are borne on separate palms. If palms were grown from seed, half would be male and half female; and, in this case, it is probable that the wind would carry the pollen satisfactorily from the males to the females. The date cultivator, however, does not want half his land to be wasted by carrying males and be, therefore, unproductive, so he plants three or four males to every hundred females; and then, as the wind in that case would not be a sufficient agent for the distribution of the pollen, he has to carry it by hand from the male palms to the females. The inflorescences are removed from the male spathes and are divided into small bunches consisting of about half a dozen spikes. Each small bunch of spikes will be inserted into a female inflorescence. If pollen is scarce, instead of male flowers being inserted in each female inflorescence, the pollen can be economized by drying the male inflorescences and shaking out their pollen, and then tying it up in muslin bags. These bags are then tied to a stick and shaken over each female inflorescence.

There are a great many different kinds of dates, just as there are a great many different kinds of plums, and the varieties of one district

are usually different from those of another. They can be differentiated by the arrangement of the spines and leaflets and in the proportions occupied by the spinous and foliar areas. By these and similar differences it is possible to distinguish between the varieties of palms, even when they are not fruiting, as here we can distinguish our Cox's Orange Pippins and our Bramleys, even in the winter.

Dates, when harvested, are usually put straight into boxes if they are of good quality and hence subsequently to be packed for export in boxes, and if they are of inferior quality are heaped on mats on the ground and therefore to be packed in baskets. Not only do the different varieties have to be kept separate, but also the dates of one tenant have to be separated from those of another until all are harvested and weighed. The date palm, like the coconut palm, has a variety of uses in addition to its primary one of producing dates. It provides mats, baskets, fodder, furniture, coffee strainers, a vegetable, houses, spirit, sugar, and so forth. The wood of the trunk is too fibrous to be of use for making planks, but some varieties are better than others in this respect, and their trunks can be cut into two, three, or four pieces to serve as beams.

Several pests attack dates and date palms. One is a bug (the word is used in its narrow entomological sense), *Ommatissus binotatus*, Fieb. var. *libycus*, Berg., which in some years does great damage; so we have portable pumping sets which throw jets strong enough to knock the bugs off the palms and to beat them into the muddy ground and kill them. A boy will climb up to the fronds and attack at close quarters while his companion works the pump at the foot of the palm. A mite, or small spider, named by Banks *Oligonychus simplex* (this name may have to be revised), does much damage also by spinning webs over the bunches of unripe dates. It can be controlled by sulphur. There is also the larva of a beetle, *Oryctes desertorum*, Arr., which eats decaying palm logs; but the adult beetle eats into the stems of living fronds and fruit bunches, causing them to break. No method of control has yet been found, though the removal of dead wood has been suggested.

When the dates are packed they are carried to the steamers by local craft of fifty tons burden or so, called *muhayyil*. This stream is one and a half miles wide at its mouth and six hundred yards opposite Basrah, which is sixty-seven miles from the sea. The tide may be felt up as far as 'Uzayr, or Ezra's Tomb, 142 miles by water from the sea. At the Basrah wharves they are loaded on to a mail steamer of the British India fleet and are taken from there to England or to India.

The meeting was thrown open for questions or discussion.

Colonel ST. C. SMALLWOOD : For a while during the last war I served in the Basrah area, and I remember there was an Army order that none of the troops should eat fresh dates. Can the lecturer tell us why this order was issued? Are fresh dates unhealthy to eat?

Could he answer two further questions also? Is sandfly fever the same as malaria? I recollect we had sandfly fever on the Tigris.

Lastly, is it possible to get rid of mosquitoes when you have the irrigation ditches, as we saw in the photographs, between the rows of palms everywhere?

Mr. DOWSON : With regard to the first question, I do not know at what stage a date becomes sterile. When it is quite ripe it is quite safe, because it contains so much sugar that any germ which may have got on to it is sterilized by the osmotic pressure of the date syrup being considerably greater than that of the cell contents of the germ; but, in the case of the fresh date, which, I presume, means the date in its yellow or red stage, I do not know how far it would be a carrier of germs. Generally speaking, when cured, it cannot be a carrier of germs; but, possibly, in the fresh stage, it may furnish the weak syrupy medium in which germs will flourish. I do not really know.

Sandfly fever is quite a different disease from malaria, and we do not get very much of it under the palms.

As to the possibility of cleaning the water channels, it is correct to suppose that it is in these small channels that the mosquito breeds. They would have to be cleaned once in ten days during the summer, and about once in twenty days during the winter, to keep them free of larvæ. Labour is very cheap indeed in the delta, and gangs could be organized in each district to do this work, which would more than justify its expense, I believe. All these waterways are tidal, as I explained; and when stagnant water, in which the mosquito breeds, occurs in a canal, it is because somewhere in its length there is an obstruction, so that the water does not drain back to the river, as it should do. The mosquito larvæ cannot breed if the channels are always in suitable condition with the water moving freely.

Captain HUNT : Will the lecturer kindly tell us how the Government revenue is assessed on these date gardens, and how the price of dates is fixed to-day? I believe the revenue used to be assessed on the date gardens by area.

Mr. DOWSON : The Government at present does not collect its revenue on the area under cultivation, as in Captain Hunt's day, but

takes one-tenth at its point of consumption or export—that is, at the railway station, or the port, or in the market-place. There has been a good deal of ill-feeling lately amongst the merchants about the assessment. The exporter buys dates from the grower and deducts one-tenth from the sum he pays to the grower. Then, when the exporter exports the dates, he has to pay Government one-tenth of their value; but Government usually sets this value higher than the price at which the exporter has bought the dates, so that the exporter actually pays more tax than he has collected from the grower. If one liked to eat all one grew and sent none of it to market, there would not be anything to pay in taxes. All crops grown under the palms pay a tax of one-tenth when they are taken to market.

The method of fixing the price is a matter that is arranged between the principal growers and the principal merchants. They meet annually at the beginning of the date season, and the President of the Date Board, or, in his absence, the Governor of Basrah, is the chairman of the meeting. The growers, of course, say that they will not sell at less than a certain price, and the merchants that they will not buy if more than their price is demanded; but, in fact, for the last year or so the merchants have had it pretty well their own way. Last year there was an officially settled price, but I think none of the merchants paid it. The growers took less because the market was reported to be overstocked, and they were afraid lest they should be left with stocks of dates that they could not sell.

ANOTHER MEMBER: Can the lecturer tell us what the attitude of date growers would be to the establishment of a Government monopoly?

Mr. DOWSON: You will appreciate that my remarks this evening have been entirely confined to the actual peasant who cultivates the date. The mechanism of trade and the disposal of his produce is beyond him. On the owners of the gardens that are cultivated by these peasants I have hardly touched; but I think the owner of date gardens is much in favour of a Government monopoly. As he understands it it is something that would be too good to be true.

As far as I have understood it, the general idea underlying the large number of schemes which have been proposed in recent years is that the Government, or Government nominee, should take up the monopoly of selling all the dates grown in the Shatt al-'Arab, paying a fixed price for all dates over a period of twenty years. So far, all prices suggested have been very good, and hence the date growers have always

favoured the project of a Government monopoly. Whether the monopolists, when everything was in their hands, would live up to these suggestions is another thing. I do not think, however, that the actual peasant cultivators understand enough to have any views on the matter one way or the other.

Major-General H. ROWAN ROBINSON: I would like, if I may, to ask a question: In my youth the eating of dates was marred by the fact that one always found a maggot in one's date. But in recent years that is very rarely so, and I would like the lecturer to tell us where that maggot has gone.

Mr. DOWSON: We have our American cousins to thank for that. In California they also grow dates, and the growers there are, therefore, anxious to exclude the 'Iraqi product; but they do not grow enough to meet the whole American demand. The Government of the U.S.A. was, however, prepared to say that dates should be refused admittance to America if good cause could be shown, such as that they were unfit for human consumption. Hence the inspectors at the ports have been becoming increasingly observant, and hence the Basrah packer has had to be more careful. This American policy has had a good influence all through the trade. The question of pests is being tackled more and more seriously, as you saw. People some years ago had more primitive ideas about what they ate, but that is not so now. The question of the fumigation of the dates in Basrah is assuming considerable importance.

The CHAIRMAN: I think I am voicing the feeling of the audience in offering the lecturer our hearty thanks for the most interesting and instructive lecture he has given us. One always fixes in one's mind what affects oneself personally. It particularly caught my attention when the lecturer said that the better-paid cultivators got 1s. 6d. a day, because I have tried to be a writer on military matters, and I met the other day perhaps the most distinguished military writer in Europe, and he told me that he is engaged on a book which is to contain 500,000 words, and which he expects will take him two and a half years to complete; and during that time he will have been working for a sum that works out at 2s. a day. So you see the most brilliant military writer is not so much better off for remuneration for his work than the date cultivator. Now I will ask you to thank Mr. Dowson for a very interesting and valuable lecture. (Applause.)

(For map, see inside cover.)

THE B.B.C. ARABIC BROADCASTS

By S. HILLELSON

“Ecce sonat in aperto
Vox clamantis in deserto.”

ON January 3 the B.B.C. celebrated the anniversary of the day on which the words “Huná London” were heard over the ether for the first time. When the Government, strongly supported by public opinion, invited the B.B.C. to broadcast news bulletins in Arabic for reception in the Near and Middle East, the Corporation found itself faced with a new and unfamiliar kind of task. Even a short news bulletin could not be improvised without careful organization, but it was felt that in order to attract the attention and maintain the interest of listeners it was essential to have a programme of entertainment as well. The carrying-out of the scheme thus presented a number of interesting problems. There was the question of securing a competent staff, capable of handling the news material and of translating rapidly and accurately from English into Arabic; and the planning of programmes presupposed not only experience of broadcasting but also an expert knowledge of the Arab world. Even the minor problem of finding Arabic typewriters at short notice caused moments of perturbation. Then an organization had to be set up for the purpose of making the broadcasts known in the countries for which they were intended, of corresponding with listeners, and of ascertaining the reaction of the Arab public. On the technical side, ways and means had to be found to fit the service into existing schedules without detriment to other commitments. Next, consideration had to be given to the linguistic problem arising from the variety of Arabic dialects. It was clear that any colloquial dialect had to be ruled out, since the broadcasts were addressed to the whole of the Arabic-speaking world and not to any particular country, and the educated Arab’s solicitude for the correct use of his difficult language had also to be taken into account. Here the advantage of speaking direct to the illiterate masses had to be forgone in favour of other considerations of undeniable force. Egyptian State Broadcasting had already had experience of the linguistic problem, and they also helped to solve the staff problem by seconding some of their experienced announcers and translators.

When the service began, most of the initial difficulties had been successfully overcome, but much remained to be done, and during the ensuing months the service went through a steady process of development. In many quarters there was a great demand for Arab music, and though it was practically impossible in England to secure "live" performances by artists of sufficient merit, the excellent records obtainable from a variety of sources provided an obvious solution. A large library of gramophone discs was formed, catering not only for the sophisticated taste of those who admire only the fashionable Cairene performers, but also providing suitable variety by including the local talent of different regions. Recordings were also obtained of exclusive items not available in a commercial form, and on very special occasions there have been "live" performances sent from the Cairo studios of Egyptian State Broadcasting by beam telephone and then rebroadcast to the Arab world at large.

Gradually a comprehensive programme of talks and lectures was designed with a view to furthering the Arab's interest in his own history and literature, and to reflecting many phases of English life. Those invited to contribute have included Royal and distinguished personages of the East, eminent men of letters, English orientalists, travellers, and administrators, as well as Arab residents or visitors in this country. The scope of the talks has been wide and various, ranging from complimentary messages of goodwill to scholarly disquisitions on Arab literature and history, the impressions of Eastern travellers in England, and of English travellers in the East. Recently a series was begun of talks on world affairs given by acknowledged authorities, and specially written for Arab listeners. Then there were outside broadcasts of a type familiar to English listeners but representing a quite new departure in Arabic broadcasting, and B.B.C. commentators have told Arab listeners of the Boat Race and the Derby, the launching of battleships, Royal visits and functions, trade fairs and exhibitions, and similar scenes. There is no relaxing of effort not only to secure a high standard but also to afford the greatest possible variety both in subject-matter and in treatment. Even the feature programme, a comparatively recent invention of broadcasting technique, has found its way into the Arabic transmission.

The broadcasts are given daily from 5.17 p.m. to approximately 6.15 p.m. (G.M.T.), and the news bulletin, which is introduced by the chimes of Big Ben, is always heard at the end of the programme.

The question will naturally be asked what does it all mean to the

Arab, and how does he respond? Let it be said at the outset that the B.B.C. has every reason to be satisfied with the result, but it would be an over-simplification of the issue to leave it at that. The point need not be laboured that the Arab world is as complex as any other large national group, and that the "typical" or "average" Arab is as difficult to define as the "man in the street." Listeners, actual or potential, include men of every stage of social evolution, from the tribesmen of Hadhramaut to the westernized graduates of modern universities; from the illiterate peasant to the scholar deeply versed in the traditional studies of Islam. There can, thus, be no common measure to the response which the programmes, either in part or as a whole, may evoke in the audience. The ultimate test of success in broadcasting is the extent of regular listening, and the broadcaster, lacking the guidance of box-office receipts or circulation figures, has to draw his inferences from listener research.

Radio-mindedness in the East is still in its first beginnings. Private ownership of sets is possible only for the well-to-do, and the development of communal listening by the provision of public listening facilities has not yet progressed on a large scale. The audience thus limited by economic and social factors is served by a variety of stations and has a wide choice of programmes. The competition of broadcasting organizations for the ear of the public is not comparable to commercial competition, for it is clearly recognized that broadcasting services can be complementary and need not be mutually exclusive. The excellent Arabic programmes of Cairo and Jerusalem, and the newer stations of Tunis, Baghdad, and Beyrout are in the first place designed for regional reception, and there is room side by side with them for world broadcasts on the short wave, issuing from a metropolitan centre. It is natural that for most listeners the local programme of their own station should be of primary importance, and it is equally natural that well-equipped stations like Cairo and Jerusalem should also be popular in the neighbouring countries which they can reach. The aim of the B.B.C., therefore, is not to compete in the field in which the local stations are found satisfying, but to use its larger resources and its great broadcasting experience for the purpose of giving something in which it alone can excel. There is moreover a large listening public in countries out of reach of local medium-wave stations, whose wireless facilities are limited to the short-wave transmissions of European countries.

While the press and the public have been thinking largely in terms

of politics and propaganda, the B.B.C. has been thinking in terms of good broadcasting, and the reports received from competent observers in the East, as well as the listener correspondence, indicate that satisfactory results have been achieved. The news service may be lacking in sensational features, but it is generally accepted as authentic, and whenever it is important to check up on rumours or tendentious statements, it is to the B.B.C. that the Arab listener turns. For a large section of the public, the news bulletin is the essential part of the transmission, and this is in accordance with the purpose for which the service was designed, but the value of the entertainment programme should not be underrated. Music, perhaps, is of secondary importance, as in many countries an ample supply is available from local sources, but even in this field the B.B.C. has scored notable successes by securing exclusive performances of popular favourites. But a large and ever-increasing public now turns to the B.B.C. for instruction, and lectures and talks have proved their value by showing to the Arabs that Britain is not unmindful of their cultural interests, and that their own civilization is respected in the West; the discourses of eminent scholars like Taha Husayn and Ahmad Amín on Arabic literature, broadcasts of the Koran, and religious lectures by men whose names are honoured in Islam, not only have their intrinsic interest but are received as evidence that the cultural values of Moslem civilization are appreciated in this country; such gestures foster mutual understanding and create goodwill.

The Arabic mailbag of the B.B.C. includes letters from every country in which Arabic is spoken, and even exiles living in the Americas, in Australia, and in South Africa have written of their delight at hearing Daventry broadcasting in Arabic. In response to many requests, a second transmitter has recently been brought into use in order to give good reception not only in the East but also in the Maghrib, and it is evident that broadcasting plays a not inconsiderable part in furthering the aspirations of the Arab peoples towards a greater measure of cultural unity. It is in the nature of things that the results of the labour and the money expended on the Arabic broadcast cannot be assessed in terms of a balance-sheet, but it may be claimed without undue complacency that the effort has not been wasted.

NOTE.—The Arabic transmission is broadcast on two transmitters, one beamed to North Africa and the other beamed to the Near and Middle East, both operating on the same wavelength of 19·60 metres (15·31 megacycles) under the call-sign GSP.

NADIR SHAH

By LAURENCE LOCKHART, PH.D.

Annual "Persia" Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on March 22, 1939, Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—Before I begin to speak about Nadir Shah, I must express to the Society my keen appreciation of the great honour which it has paid me in inviting me to deliver the Persia Lecture.

Nadir's father, Imam Quli Beg by name, was a humble member of the Qiriqlu branch of the Afshars, a powerful and warlike Turkish tribe that had for centuries been settled in Iran. Imam Quli, whose name has a Shi'a ring about it, has been variously described as a shepherd, a camel-driver, a skinner, and a farmer. Whatever he may have been, he was a person of no consequence. In the summer, Imam Quli lived in the small village of Kubkan, in northern Khurasan, eighty miles north-west of Meshed. Sir Percy Sykes was the first European to visit Kubkan and he took an excellent photograph of it. When winter approached, Imam Quli and his fellow-villagers were wont to migrate with their flocks to their *qishlaq* or winter grazing-grounds in the district of Darragaz. It was while this annual trek was in progress, in November, 1688, that Nadir was born near the village of Dastgird. I have dealt in some detail with Nadir's origin, because, when he first became known in Europe, the most fantastic stories about him became current, and many nations sought to claim him as one of their subjects. For example, he was later known for a time by the title of Tahmasp Quli Khan, which became distorted by Europeans into Thomas Kouli Kan. Some Irishman, hearing the name Thomas Kouli, was convinced that it was really Thomas O'Kelly, and claimed the conqueror as a worthy son of Erin.

As a boy, Nadir (who was originally called Nadr Quli Beg after his paternal grandfather) assisted his father, but his ambitious nature soon led him to join the bodyguard of Baba 'Ali Beg, the governor of the town of Abivard and chief of the local Afshars. Nadir's intelligence and prowess procured him rapid advancement, and he soon became not only head of the guards but also his Chief's son-in-law. In 1719 his eldest son, Riza Quli, was born. The fact that he gave

a Shi'a name to his son leads me to suppose that, up to that time at any rate, he belonged to that sect. Baba 'Ali Beg died in 1723, and Nadir sought to succeed to his position, but opposition proved too strong. He thereupon went to Meshed and entered the service of Malik Mahmud Sistani, the independent ruler of that place. He became involved in a plot against Malik Mahmud, but it miscarried, and he was compelled to fly for his life. Gathering together a number of his former associates, he formed a band of well-mounted robbers, and, at their head, pillaged far and wide in Khurasan.

Iran was, at that time, in a lamentable state. Some years previously, the Ghalzai Afghans, under their leader Mir Wais, had revolted, had seized Qandahar, and had successfully resisted all attempts to subdue them. The Abdali Afghans of Herat had followed the Ghalzais' example. In 1722 Mahmud, Mir Wais's son and successor, had invaded Iran, defeated the royal forces, besieged and captured Isfahan, and deposed the feeble Shah Sultan Husain. Mahmud had then mounted the throne of Iran. In the summer of that year Peter the Great had invaded Daghistan and Shirvan, and he later established his authority in Gilan. In 1723 the Turks were beginning to overrun the north-western and western provinces. In the chaotic conditions prevailing, Malik Mahmud had set himself up in Meshed.

After spending a year or two as a robber leader, Nadir began to co-operate with the forces which Tahmasp Mirza, the third son of the ex-Shah, had dispatched against Malik Mahmud, and in 1726, when Tahmasp came in person to Khurasan, Nadir entered his service at the head of 2,000 men. We do not know what Nadir's true motives were on this occasion. Mirza Mahdi, his official biographer, asserts that Nadir had, from early times, wished to deliver his country from its invaders and oppressors. He may indeed have harboured such a desire, but, from what we know of his character in later days, it is probable that he considered the liberation of his country mainly as a means of procuring his own advancement.

At first sight, the expulsion of the Afghans, Russians and Turks from Iranian soil must have seemed a hopeless task, when so small a portion of the country remained independent of foreign control. But there was no love lost between the various invaders. The Ghalzais, though supreme in the capital and in a large part of Iran, were relatively few in number and were detested by the Iranians. Nadir was no student of history, but he was a shrewd judge of character, and he may have been aware of the extraordinary capacity which the Iranians

possess of regenerating themselves and of either assimilating or expelling their conquerors. He knew that they were intensely monarchical in sentiment, and he doubtless felt that, with Tahmasp Mirza as their nominal head and himself as their military leader, much could be accomplished.

The ex-bandit's vigorous personality and his powers of leadership impressed Tahmasp, and he soon acquired much influence over the weak prince. But his way to complete control was barred not only by the courtiers, but also by Fath 'Ali Khan, an Ashaqbash Qajar chief and ancestor of the later Qajar dynasty. By more than questionable methods Nadir procured the death of Fath 'Ali Khan, and so became Tahmasp's chief adviser.

After a short siege, Meshed fell to Tahmasp and Nadir, and the latter was rewarded for his services with the title of Tahmasp Quli Khan.

Nadir's plan of action was to attack his foes in detail, beginning with the least formidable. The Abdali Afghans of Herat were next on the list, and they were vastly more powerful than Malik Mahmud and his adherents had been. Before attacking these Afghans, Nadir set himself to the task of reorganizing the Iranian army. Many years of neglect and the almost entire absence of discipline, coupled with a long series of defeats, had reduced the royal forces to a terrible state of inefficiency and dispiritedness. With tremendous energy, Nadir trained and disciplined the troops and instilled them with confidence not only in themselves but also in him. In his first encounters with the Abdalis, he took care not to put his men's newly regained courage and endurance to any very severe test, and in due course he led them to victory over their redoubtable foes. The Ghalzai Afghans constituted a still more formidable obstacle, but Nadir defeated them in a series of hard-fought engagements, drove them headlong from Isfahan and placed Tahmasp on the throne of his fathers. Poor Tahmasp soon realized, however, that he was Shah merely in name and that the real power was in the hands of his general.

When the Afghans had been finally routed and dispersed, Nadir marched against the Turks in Adharbaijan, expelled them from Tabriz, and recovered most of the province. Before he could complete his task, however, a revolt of the Abdalis caused him to hasten to Herat. In his general's absence, Tahmasp, spurred on by his courtiers' foolish advice and by his still more foolish ambition, attacked the Turks in Adharbaijan, but sustained a crushing defeat and lost most of the

territory which Nadir had regained. When Nadir heard of these events he affected great indignation, but actually he must have blessed Providence for giving him such an opening to oust Tahmasp. In August, 1732, after making the Shah drunk and showing him to the notables of the kingdom in that condition, Nadir declared him unworthy of the throne and had him deposed in favour of his infant son 'Abbas. Nadir himself became Regent. In the following year, Nadir led his army against Baghdad and was on the verge of taking it when a relieving force under the command of Topal 'Osman Pasha appeared from the north. Nadir, confident of victory, marched against him, but sustained the most serious defeat of his career. Baghdad was relieved, and Nadir had to withdraw with the shattered remnants of his army into Iran. In two months, however, he had made good his losses and invaded Mesopotamia again. This time he turned the tables on Topal 'Osman in a fiercely contested battle to the north-east of Kirkuk, in which the Turkish leader and a large number of his officers and men perished. Nadir thus wiped out the stigma of defeat, and it seemed that Baghdad would now inevitably fall to him. However, a revolt in the province of Fars caused him to hasten there. He put down the rebellion, but the escape of the rebel leader to an island in the Persian Gulf brought home to Nadir for the first time the importance of sea power. In order to effect the capture of the rebel leader, he had to borrow ships from the English and Dutch East India Companies. Subsequently, when further requests for naval assistance were received, the agents of these companies in Iran nearly always prevaricated or sought to be excused, saying with some justice that compliance would be detrimental to their trade, and that, if the operations were to be directed against the Turks or against the Arabs of Muscat, their interests in the lands of those peoples might suffer. In order to be independent of foreign aid, Nadir proceeded to buy ships from the English and Dutch and set up a naval base at Bushire. By degrees he built up quite a formidable fleet which not only wrested the control of the Gulf from the Muscat Arabs but also, by acting in conjunction with an expeditionary force, enabled him to add 'Oman to his dominions. Not content with the purchase of ships, Nadir sought to build his own vessels at Bushire with timber brought all the way from the Mazandaran forests, but this scheme ended in complete failure.

After Nadir had quelled the revolt in Fars, he marched his troops northwards to Shirvan, where he attacked and defeated the fierce Lazgi tribesmen, some of whom had allied themselves with

Turkey. He then threatened Russia with war unless she restored the Iranian territory which she still held. Russia, conscious of the newly restored strength of Iran and anxious to obtain her aid against Turkey, was conciliatory, and Nadir attacked the Turks instead. He closely invested the fortresses of Erivan, Ganja, and Tiflis, and in June, 1735, at Murad Täppä, near Erivan, he inflicted an overwhelming defeat on a powerful Turkish army which had advanced to their relief. While he was conducting the siege of Ganja, he concluded a treaty with Russia whereby she agreed to withdraw her troops immediately from Baku and Darband on condition that these towns were never handed over to any foreign power (for a number of years past Russia had been desirous at all costs of preventing Turkey from gaining access to the shores of the Caspian Sea). Nadir undertook not to conclude peace with Turkey without the knowledge and consent of Russia.

As a result of his great victory over the Turks, the fortresses of Ganja and Tiflis surrendered almost immediately, and Erivan followed suit later. In consequence, Turkey no longer had a footing on Iranian soil, while Russia had voluntarily handed over the territories which she had seized. Depressed by her disasters in Adharbaijan and Georgia, and alarmed by a Russian attack on the Crimea, Turkey offered peace terms to Iran. Realizing that his financial resources and his reserves of man-power were insufficient to enable him to march to Constantinople with much hope of success, Nadir negotiated a truce, but not a permanent peace, with Turkey; he thus violated the spirit, but preserved the letter, of his undertaking to Russia, which power had in the meanwhile openly declared war on Turkey.

Shortly before the conclusion of the Turkish truce, Nadir put an end to the farce of governing the country as Regent for the infant Shah. In the early spring of 1736 he convened a vast assembly of the notables of the country on the Mughan plain, where, after much feigned hesitation, he accepted the crown of Iran and took the title of Nadir Shah. The hollowness of this pretence was shown when the Chief Mulla, in an unguarded moment, expressed himself in favour of the ancient royal line. He was overheard, and was instantly put to death. Remarkable features of the proceedings at Mughan were Nadir's open espousal of the Sunni doctrine and his measures to ensure that his subjects followed suit; in so doing, he was, apparently, actuated entirely by political considerations. It is possible that he may have looked upon himself as the future Caliph of the Islamic world.

Nadir now resolved to regain Qandahar, the last remaining part of Iran under hostile control. Here the Ghalzai Afghans, under Mahmud's brother Husain, were strongly ensconced. It is very probable that Nadir was at this time also envisaging the invasion of India. From Afghanistan he could obtain large numbers of fighting men for his army and from India he could, by despoiling the Mughal Empire, secure the financial sinews of war. He could then turn his attention once more to conquest in the west.

Having no fear of an attack by Turkey for some time to come, Nadir marched against the Ghalzais of Qandahar. Husain, however, had had ample warning, and had laid in plenty of provisions in his strongly fortified capital. Marching via Bam, Gurg, Farah and Girishk, Nadir invested Qandahar in April, 1737, after defeating the troops whom Husain had sent to oppose him. Nadir, as usual, was weak in heavy siege artillery, and the siege became a protracted one. Frontal assaults were made in vain, and the artillery pounded equally fruitlessly against the enormously thick walls of the citadel. Nevertheless, the outlying defences were taken one by one, and the Iranians at length gained a footing on the lofty Qaitul ridge immediately overlooking Qandahar. From here, cannon were brought to bear on the defenders below, but breaches in the walls were repaired almost as soon as made. It was when Nadir learnt, through a spy, that the defenders were wont to leave the main walls but thinly manned on Fridays, in order that the majority could worship in the mosques, that he was at last able to force his way through by attacking in great force on a Friday.

Thus fell Qandahar, after its garrison had held out stubbornly for nearly a year. Part of the massive walls of the citadel are still standing, despite Nadir's orders that they should be razed to the ground, and much of the site of the town is now cultivated land; the Afghans have turned their swords into ploughshares. Husain Sultan was, at the intercession of his sister, spared, and he, together with large numbers of his followers, was exiled to Khurasan. Many young Ghalzais were enrolled in the Iranian army, and some people were settled in the nearby city of Nadirabad which the conqueror had established during the siege.

On the pretext that the Mughal authorities had done nothing to prevent the influx of Afghan refugees into Indian territory, notwithstanding repeated Iranian requests that they should do so, Nadir and his men soon set out for Kabul. After crossing the frontier, they occupied Ghazna without opposition and pressed on towards Kabul.

Many Indian and other writers have alleged that Nadir was invited to invade the Mughal domains by certain disaffected nobles such as the Nizamul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Deccan, and Sa'adat Khan, the Iranian-born Subadar of Oudh, but these charges have never been proved, and it seems unlikely that Nadir's ambition needed any such whetting.

Nasir Khan, the Subadar of the provinces of Kabul and Peshawar, had repeatedly urged the authorities at Delhi to send him money to raise troops to repel the Iranians. According to an Indian writer,* Nasir Khan wrote to Delhi that he himself was—

“but a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a faded pageant, ill-provided and without spirit; he begged that, of the five years' salary due to him, one year's salary might be paid, that he might satisfy his creditors and have some little money at his command.”

Even this moving appeal remained unanswered; the Delhi court, torn by party factions, did nothing, and apparently did not realize the danger till it was too late.

Kabul fell after a brief attempt at defence, and Nadir's army moved on towards the mountain barrier between him and the plains. Nasir Khan had done the best he could, and had assembled a strong force in the Khaibar Pass. Finding his way blocked, Nadir, by a characteristic manœuvre, short-circuited the Indian position by leading a strong mounted force over the unguarded Tsatsobi Pass to the south of the Khaibar, worked his way round to the eastern end of the latter, and attacked and routed the Indians from their rear. Jamrud and Peshawar then fell, and, as soon as a bridge of boats over the Indus had been completed, the Iranians marched into the Panjab. Zakariya Khan, the Subadar of Lahore, offered resistance, but his men were defeated, and he, in order to spare his city the horrors of a sack, submitted. Meanwhile, the lethargic Emperor, Muhammad Shah, and his ministers, had at last left Delhi at the head of a large force and had advanced by easy stages to Karnal, seventy-five miles north-north-west of the capital, where they made a fortified camp. Nadir and his army marched steadily onwards via Ambala and Shahabad. When he found that the Indian position at Karnal was protected by a thick belt of jungle to the north, he swung round to the south-east, with the object

* Anand Ram Mukhlis, in his *Tadhkira*; this passage is from Sir H. Elliot's English translation in his *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. VIII., p. 71.

of passing to the east of the Mughal army. If the latter came out to attack him, as he hoped would be the case, he would give battle; if, on the other hand, the Indians stayed behind their fortifications, he would press on to Delhi. As he and his men were living on the country, the fact that the Indians would be astride his line of communications did not worry him in the least.

On the evening of February 23 the Iranians took up a position close to the Jumna river, near the village of Kunjpura, some two and a half miles east of the Indian camp. That night the Iranian-born Sa'adat Khan, who had been hurrying northwards from Oudh, managed to reach the Emperor's lines with his men, although Nadir had sent a force to intercept him. Early the next morning the Iranians fell upon and plundered Sa'adat Khan's baggage, which led that impetuous commander rashly to emerge from the Indian camp and attack some Iranian patrols; the latter succeeded in luring him and his men into an ambush, with the result that they were overwhelmed and the Khan was captured. Khan Dauran, the Indian commander-in-chief, advanced to his relief with the Indian centre and right, but his men were likewise defeated, while he was mortally wounded. Meanwhile, the wily Nizamu'l-Mulk, who was jealous of both Sa'adat Khan and Khan Dauran, remained inactive with the whole of the Mughal left wing. Although only a small proportion of both armies had been engaged, the result of the battle was decisively in favour of the Iranians. The Indians became dispirited and demoralized, and soon found themselves surrounded. When famine began to make itself felt, the Nizamu'l-Mulk made terms with Nadir, and the Emperor himself went to the Iranian camp, the understanding being that Nadir and his men would, on receipt of an indemnity, return whence they had come. Sa'adat Khan, furious at the behaviour of the Nizamu'l-Mulk, who had become Mir-Bakhshi or Paymaster-General, a post which he himself had coveted, urged Nadir to stiffen his terms, which he was nothing loath to do. In consequence he made the Emperor a virtual prisoner, and soon after marched with him to Delhi. An unprovoked attack by some unruly elements in the city on Nadir's forces led him to decree a general massacre there in which some 20,000 perished. To this day, as Sir Percy Sykes has informed me, a disturbance in the Delhi bazaars is known as a *Nadir-Shahi*. Enormous sums were extorted from Muhammad Shah and his nobles and subjects, and he was forced to cede to Iran all the territories west of the Indus.

After spending two months at Delhi, Nadir began his homeward

march, taking with him the spoils of India, amongst which were the famous Peacock Throne and the Koh-i-Nur diamond. The army followed the same route as on the outward march for the first part of the way, but later struck further north in order to escape from the great heat of the plains and also to traverse country that had not been denuded of supplies. Many men were lost when the bridge of boats over the Chenab broke in two, and the crossing of the river took a long while to accomplish. When nearing the Indus, Nadir was opposed by the warlike Yusufzais, whom he had to buy off; he reached Kabul at the beginning of December, 1739, but left almost immediately for the south in order to subdue Khudayar Khan, the Governor of Sind, who had ignored the conqueror's summons to do homage to him at Kabul. Nadir marched his men over the mountains into the grim Kurram valley. It is said that he lost a quarter of his spoils in the Kurram river, which his army and baggage train had to ford repeatedly. There are still memories in the Bannu district of the passage of Nadir and his host. Sir Edward Maclagan heard a story there to the effect that a Bannuchi, on the approach of the Iranian army, climbed a tree and hid in the branches. To his horror, the tents of the royal harem were pitched right underneath him. The poor wretch was so terrified that he fell to the ground, and was seized and brought before Nadir. The Shah, instead of punishing the man, said to him with princely contempt that, as the harem was now of no value, he might take it all. The Bannuchi found himself, to his embarrassment, possessed of an emperor's harem and all its retainers. He was, however, only too pleased to accept a small sum from the ladies and let them proceed to Khurasan.

In due course, the Iranian forces descended the Indus and, after a trying march across the desert, surrounded Khudayar Khan in his castle of 'Umarkot (where Akbar had been born in 1542) and forced him to yield. From 'Umarkot, Nadir retraced his steps to the Indus, and thence proceeded to Nadirabad via the Bolan Pass and Shal (Quetta).

Two years had elapsed since Nadir had left Nadirabad en route for Delhi. In that time he had humbled the Mughal Empire and had greatly sapped its power; he had emptied its treasuries and shorn it of much of its territory. By so doing, he greatly accelerated the process of decline which had set in with Aurangzib's death in 1707.

From Nadirabad, he went to Herat, where he showed to his people the Peacock Throne and other treasures from India. He did

not halt there for long, because the lust for further conquests impelled him on. Proceeding via Balkh, Kilif and Charjui, he invaded the kingdom of Bukhara, whose weak ruler Abu'l-Faiz submitted after making only a show of resistance. From Bukhara, Nadir marched against Ilbars, the predatory and treacherous Khan of Khwarizm, who had made incursions into Iran during his absence in India. One by one Ilbars's fortresses fell, and he himself was captured and put to death. Many thousands of Iranian slaves at Khiva and elsewhere in Khwarizm were liberated; for once in a way, Nadir's conquering sword did some good to his countrymen.

On the completion of this campaign Nadir spent two months at Meshed, now the capital of his vast empire. He did not linger there for long, because he keenly desired to revenge himself on the Lazgis of Shirvan and Daghistan, who had killed his brother Ibrahim in 1738. On his way to the west he was shot at and wounded by a marksman in ambush. Had the wound proved mortal it would have been far better not only for his own reputation, but also for his people. He was then at the apogee of his career. In the years that followed he met with reverse after reverse, he suffered tortures of remorse after blinding his eldest son for his alleged complicity in this attempt on his life, his health became impaired, and his splenetic outbursts of rage, which grew more and more frequent as time went on, caused large numbers of his subjects to lose their lives.

The campaign against the Lazgis succeeded only in the low country. In the thickly wooded hills and mountains further inland the bold mountaineers waged a successful guerilla war against the soldiers who had conquered India and Turkistan. During the Lazgi campaign, Nadir used a ship belonging to members of the Russia Company to convey cargoes of rice from Enzeli to Darband. This ship had been built by an enterprising Englishman, Captain John Elton. He evidently made an impression on Nadir, for the latter engaged him to build ships for his Caspian navy. These activities had disastrous effects on the Russia Company's recently established transit trade with Iran via Russia, for the Russian Government, becoming alarmed at the creation of Nadir's Caspian flotilla and annoyed at Elton's work for the Shah, cancelled the transit privileges which it had accorded to the Company. If I had more time I should like to say something of Elton's romantic career, but I must now return to Nadir. After his army had lost many thousands of men from enemy action and from disease, Nadir withdrew from Daghistan and once more attacked

Turkey. His forces swept across northern Mesopotamia, but failed to take Mosul, despite desperate attacks. Revolts in his own country made him raise the siege and withdraw his troops to the Iranian frontier. The Shah did not follow them, but paid visits to the Shi'a shrines at Kazimain, Karbala, and Najaf. Costly presents were exchanged between him and Ahmad Pasha, the astute Governor of Mesopotamia, for whom he had a high regard. At Najaf, Nadir convened a great meeting of the 'Ulama of Iran, Balkh, Afghanistan, and Bukhara, at which the divines signed a document deploring the religious policy of the Safavis, declaring the legitimacy of the first three Caliphs, and recognizing the Iranians as belonging to the Ja'fari sect. This sect, which was a pet project of Nadir, was intended to be a fifth division of the Sunnis, but its existence was never recognized by the Turks. In the meanwhile, Nadir and Ahmad Pasha had agreed on provisional terms of peace, and these were dispatched to Constantinople for approval at the beginning of December, 1743. As these terms contained a number of points, such as the recognition of the Ja'fari sect, which the Turks were almost certain to reject, one can only suppose that Nadir was seeking to gain time until he had suppressed a rising in north-western Iran. Other risings took place in various parts of the country, but they were unconnected with each other, and Nadir was able, with his Afghan and Turkoman troops, to put them down one after the other. Most serious of these disturbances was the rebellion of Taqi Khan Shirazi, the Governor-General of Fars. Nadir's forces, however, defeated the Khan's followers and besieged Shiraz, which he had made his headquarters. Taqi Khan, who had formerly been in high favour with Nadir, was captured and most terribly mutilated. There is a quaint picture in Muhammad Kazim's MS. history of Nadir's reign of the unfortunate Taqi Khan and his son being derisively greeted with a mock *istiqbal* on their entry into Isfahan after their capture.

Having quelled all the revolts, Nadir, in the spring of 1744, encamped near Hamadan preparatory to marching once more against Turkey. We have a first-hand account of this camp from Jonas Hanway, an Englishman in the employ of the Russia Company who, after being involved in a revolt in Astarabad (in which he narrowly escaped being seized by Turkomans and taken off as a slave), had come to seek redress from the Shah for the seizure by the rebels of his goods. Cartoonists of Mr. Neville Chamberlain ought to be grateful to Hanway, for he was the first Londoner to carry an umbrella.

When it became clear that the Porte would not ratify the treaty, Nadir set out for the Turkish frontier, which he crossed, and then laid siege to Qars, but he was unable to make any impression on the defences and the approach of winter forced him to raise the siege. Then followed a successful winter raid into the Lazgi country. In the following summer the Turks were rash enough to invade Iranian territory, but suffered a terrible defeat at Murad Täppä, on the very field where they had been so decisively routed ten years earlier. Nadir showed great moderation after this victory, probably because he realized that his country was becoming too exhausted to continue the long struggle. Fresh peace negotiations were initiated, which resulted, in the following year, in the signature of the treaty of Kurdan. Under this treaty, the frontier laid down in the treaty of Zuhab of 1639 was recognized, all prisoners on both sides were to be exchanged, and no mention was made by Nadir of the Ja'fari sect.

Scarcely had this treaty been concluded when disturbing news of a revolt in Sistan reached Nadir. He hastened from Kurdan to Isfahan, where he remained for seven weeks. During his stay in the former capital he gave signs of increasing mental derangement and was guilty of appalling cruelties. He behaved even more severely on reaching Kerman, and at Meshed got into such a frenzied state that no one, not even his own relatives, felt safe. His nephew, 'Ali Quli Khan, and even Tahmasp Khan Jalayir, one of his earliest and most faithful supporters, joined the rebels in Sistan. The unruly Kurds of Khabushan rose in sympathy and raided the royal stud farm at Radkan. Enraged at this action of the Kurds, Nadir marched in person against them. Feeling in his disordered mind that he would not be safe so long as any Iranian officers remained alive, he gave orders to his Afghan followers to put them to death. The news leaked out, and the Iranians determined to breakfast off Nadir before he could sup off them. On the night of June 19-20 he was murdered in his tent at Fathabad, a few miles from Khabushan. Thus perished ignominiously the last of the great Asiatic conquerors.

Having given an outline of Nadir's career, I shall now try to appraise him as a soldier, a statesman, and a man.

He was, first and foremost, a soldier, and there can be no doubt that he was a military genius. His youth having been spent in the frequently raided border districts of Khurasan, he was accustomed from his early days to the atmosphere of war and indeed, at times, to actual fighting. As head of Baba 'Ali Beg's guards, he first learnt how to

command men, and his experience slightly later as leader of a mounted band of robbers several hundred strong must have been of decided value to him. When the time came for him to employ strategy, he showed that he was as much a master of it as he was of tactics; he was a firm believer in the necessity of strict discipline and careful training, and he had the gift of inspiring his men with confidence. In view of the melancholy series of defeats which the Iranians had suffered during the reign of Shah Sultan Husain, these were assets of capital importance.

Nadir was at his best as a cavalry leader, and he won most of his successes with the aid of his horsemen. Nevertheless, he by no means despised his infantry, and he made his *jazayirchis*, or heavy musketeers, into a most formidable body of men. Like Hannibal and Wellington, Nadir was least successful in siege warfare, mainly because his heavy siege artillery was not very effective.

Mention has already been made of Nadir's navy. Although he never went to sea or, so far as I know, even went on board one of his ships, he understood the value of sea power and realized its importance as an adjunct to military strength; the conquest of 'Oman is proof of this.

As a ruler Nadir was a failure. This was not because he had not the necessary gifts, but because he subordinated everything to his love of war and conquest. In the pursuit of his ambitious aims he bled his unfortunate country white. Although for a time he succeeded brilliantly, the edifice he erected had no proper foundations and crumbled rapidly to pieces after his death. He had no consideration for his subjects, whom he ruined by his excessive taxation, while his press-gangs took many thousands of them to swell the ranks of his army and replace casualties. In his foreign policy, however, he showed some shrewdness, and played off Russia against Turkey with skill.

If, on returning from Turkistan to Iran in 1741, Nadir had rested on his laurels and had, instead of hoarding his Indian spoils, used them to further the welfare of his people, how different the concluding years of his reign might have been. However, he cancelled his edict for the remission of taxation in Iran, plunged his people once more into ceaseless wars, and taxed them more remorselessly than ever.

In the administration of his realm, Nadir continued the system of the Safavis under which the larger provinces were each under a Beglar-begi or Governor-General, while the lesser provinces were under Khans or Governors. Under Nadir there were three Beglarbegis—in Khurasan, Adharbaijan, and Fars. He took care to appoint to all these positions

men on whom he felt he could rely, and, to make sure that he was being well served, he sent other officials to spy on them. He used himself to go most carefully through the revenue returns of each province or district through which he passed, and woe betide the luckless official whose accounts failed to satisfy the conqueror.

As regards religion, there seems no doubt that, whatever he may have been in his youth, Nadir was a sceptic in later life. His espousal of the Sunni cause and his creation of the Ja'fari sect were merely political moves and had no religious significance. What seems at first sight paradoxical is Nadir's prodigality in regard to the great Shi'a shrine of the Imam Riza at Meshed. He made very substantial gifts to this shrine, one of the chief of which was the gold with which the famous "Golden Gate" was made. His earlier donations to the shrine may have been designed to gain the goodwill of the Shi'a clergy. In later times, his object was doubtless purely secular—namely, the embellishment of the chief building of his capital city. A historian of Isfahan, Muhammad Mahdi by name (who is to be carefully distinguished from his namesake, the biographer of Nadir), states that the Shah once had a talk with a holy man on the subject of Paradise. After he had listened to a long description of its wonders and delights, he asked: "Are there such things as war and the overcoming of one's enemy in Paradise?" When the holy man replied in the negative, Nadir remarked: "How then can there be any delights there?"

A number of writers have compared Nadir with other great conquerors; he has often been termed the second Alexander or the Napoleon of the East. But by far the closest parallel is with Tamerlane. Like him, Nadir was of Turanian race. He was also unlettered and of boundless ambition. Further, he was a born leader, and he was relentless to evil-doers. By a curious coincidence, Nadir's second wife was a namesake of Tamerlane's daughter-in-law, Gauhar Shad. But it was no coincidence that, when Nadir's eldest grandson was born in 1734, he was given the name of Shah Rukh, for by then Nadir had begun deliberately to model himself upon Tamerlane.

In a book on Nadir which I published last year, I expressed the opinion that Nadir, despite all his faults, was a very great man. A reviewer has taken me to task for saying that, but I still maintain that a man who could, without help or influence, rise from nothing to the position of arbiter of Asia must indeed have been great.

In answer to a question regarding the Ja'fari sect, the lecturer said

that the reason for the formation of this sect was purely political. In point of doctrine, it did not differ from any of the four existing Sunni sects; as each of the Imams of these four sects had a column (*rukʿn*) in the Ka'ba at Mecca assigned to him, Nadir desired that a fifth column should be erected there for the Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq, after whom the new sect was called; this was one of the points to which the Turkish *'ulama* took great exception.

The fact that Ja'far as-Sadiq, who was one of the twelve Imams of the Shi'a, was a great exponent of the doctrines of that sect was doubtless very objectionable from the ultra-orthodox Turkish point of view.*

The Chairman, when thanking the lecturer, spoke of the excellent selection of pictures with which it was illustrated. Dr. Lockhart was master of his subject and they must thank him warmly in the name of the Society for his excellent lecture.

* Dr. Lockhart has sent the following additional information for inclusion in the Journal:

It seems probable that Nadir chose Ja'far as-Sadiq as the patron saint, so to speak, of the new sect in order to make it more palatable to his subjects, the majority of whom were Shi'as at heart. By so doing, however, he gave offence to the Turkish *'ulama*. The Imam Ja'far had, in fact, formed a sect, known as the Ja'fari, in opposition to the four orthodox sects.

According to the *Qisasu'l-'Ulama* (a series of biographies of Shi'a theologians), by Muhammad ibn Sulaiman, of Tunakabun, another attempt to found a Ja'fari sect was made in the Buwaihid period. A certain Sayyid Murtaza urged the Caliph to recognize the Shi'a as a fifth division of the *Ijma'*, under the name of the Ja'fari, in order that, by ranking with the Hanafis, Malikis, Shafi'is and Hanbalis, they would no longer have to practise dissimulation (*taqiyya*). The project fell through, because the Caliph demanded, as the price of his compliance, a sum far beyond the means of Sayyid Murtaza and his adherents.

THE FUNDAMENTAL STRUCTURE OF ISLĀM

BY EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

THE noun "islām" and its adjective "muslim" are used in four quite different senses, all of which have historical validity and have been used in English books, although not all of these meanings have as yet been put into our English dictionaries.

In the first place, both terms are used in a general religious sense to imply surrender or resignation to Allah. This usage is recognized by Sale, Rodwell and Palmer,* in their translations of the Qur'ān. Attention has rightly been called to this general meaning of the terms, but it is not correct to say that "the Koran contains no sectarian assertion."†

Secondly, "Islām" and "Muslim" are used in the Qur'ān in an inclusive sense to refer to the one true religion which Allah revealed to various peoples through successive apostles and prophets.‡ In this sense Jews, Sabians, Christians, Zoroastrians and other believers are all "Muslims" and their religion is "Islām."§ This may be called the inclusive sectarian meaning of the terms. It is the use adopted by the reforming and modernistic groups in Turkey, India and elsewhere, who wish to consider themselves Muslims in religion, but reject the laws and regulations that formerly ruled the secular life of the followers of Muḥammad.

Thirdly, the word "islām" means the practices of the religion that are prescribed as the required duties of all Muslims. In this sense the term "islām" is synonymous with *'ibādāt*, the five acts of worship and service, and is correlative with (a) *īmān*, which includes the six articles of faith required of all Muslims, and with (b) *iḥsān*, which refers to the general class of good works that all Muslims should perform.||

In the fourth place, "Islām" means the whole system of faith and practice founded by Muḥammad. In this sense of the term "Islām" is

* As, for instance, in their versions of 2 : 130.

† *Islamic Culture*, vol. xi., p. 141.

‡ "Every age has its book," Qur. 13 : 38.

§ Cf. Qur. 22 : 17.

|| For this use of "islām" see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 23 f.

synonymous with Muḥammadanism and has a definitely sectarian meaning.*

It is "Islām" in this fourth sense that is discussed in this article. This is the meaning usually given to the term, for when we hear the word "Islām" we think of it as referring to one of the religions of the world along with Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Judaism and the like.

But after we have classified Islām as one of the religions of the world, it is necessary to realize that Islām as a world religion includes far more than people in the modern Western world mean when they use the word "religion." Our modern world has two distinguishing characteristics: one is the division of life into secular and religious spheres and another is the restriction of religious authority to spiritual influence. To us religion is one of the divisions of life along with other departments which we call secular and which we further subdivide into political and social, cultural and economic spheres.

Islām, however, is not simply a religion in this Western sense. It is a system which embraces all the departments of life.† In this respect Islām resembles other religions of the Eastern world. It directs all the attitudes and actions of its adherents. To express this idea, the new word "totalitarian" has been used quite appropriately to describe Islām. In accordance with this description, Islām may be defined broadly as a system of life founded by Muḥammad. For Muḥammad personally his religion—that is, his allegiance to Allah—controlled all his interests—vocational, private and public. The first revelation he received made him prophet and apostle, the herald and messenger of Allah to the people. As the apostle of Allah he was the only authorized teacher and leader of the people. It was by revelation (2: 138 ff.) that he changed the *qiblah*, the direction of worship, from Jerusalem to Makkah. In managing his domestic problems, more than once he sought and followed the revelation of the will of Allah. In his public and political relations, verses later included in the Qur'ān commanded the believers to "obey Allah and His apostle" (4: 62; 3: 29).

Muḥammad's converts became Muḥammadans, his disciples and companions, his imitators and followers, in religious, social and political

* The origin of this sectarian meaning of the term "Islām" is fully discussed by Torrey in his *Jewish Foundation of Islam* (New York, 1933), pp. 101 ff.

† Cf. *Islam in the World*, by Zaki Ali (Lahore, 1938), p. 56: ". . . in the Islamic society religion pervades and permeates every individual action, both in the spiritual and in the material domain."

principles and practices.* This imitation of Muḥammad is based on the Qur'ān (33: 44) and expanded in tradition, but his followers were not to imitate him in all things. A single well-known illustration will suffice here, and other examples will appear as we proceed. In the number of wives his followers were restricted to four at a time, while for him there was a different limit.† But in all things that he commanded, his disciples were to obey him. He had founded a new community. He became the leader and director of his converts in their domestic, social, civil and religious life.‡ His leadership and prophethood had the sanction, nay, the mandate, of Allah for their authority.

I. Political Structure of Islām

It is, however, not to be supposed that everything in the new community was new. For instance, when Muḥammad established his new state in Yathrib (al-Madinah), he gave a charter to the community. This charter provided for a single central sovereign authority in government, a principle new in Arabia, but by no means new in neighbouring countries or previous empires. The charter also made religion instead of tribal or blood relationship the bond of association in the community. Apart from this centralization of political authority and the pre-eminence given to religious allegiance, the charter changed little and introduced little that was new in the social and political life of the people.

For an adequate understanding of Islām it is exceedingly important to realize these facts, for they show three things: In the first place, at the beginning of Islām Muḥammad introduced a political principle long recognized in other lands. Secondly, the Muslims did not abolish all former customs, but continued to follow those that did not conflict with the new Islamic principles. Thirdly, local and even foreign custom could be a supplementary source to provide Islām with both principles and methods of life not supplied by the Qur'ān or tradition.

There is still another important point to be noted: Never did Muḥammad instruct or allow any of his companions or followers to expect or seek any revelations for themselves or others in personal or public affairs. He was the sole channel of the revelation of the

* Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg, 1910), pp. 20 f.

† Cf. 33: 52; al-Baidāwī says it was the nine he had at the time of the revelation of the verse. See also *Ibn Saad* (Leiden, 1904), pp. 140 ff.

‡ "It is specifically declared that to obey the Apostle is to obey Allah himself who sent him," R. Levy, *Sociology of Islam*, ii., p. 3. Cf. Qur. 4: 82.

divine will, the only apostle of Allah to his people. This was Muḥammad's conviction and attitude while he was at Makkah, as well as later, at al-Madinah.* It was while he was at al-Madinah that the further revelation (33 : 40) came to him that proclaimed him to be the Seal of the Prophets. This made him not only the sole channel of revelation for his own time and generation, but also the last prophet and apostle of Allah for all time and all succeeding generations.

During Muḥammad's lifetime the new Muslim community was a pure theocracy. It was a state under the direct government of Allah through Muḥammad, the only channel and agent of the divine revelation and rule. While he lived Muḥammad decided all civil and political disputes, he directed all public activities, he was the immediate source of all new law and legislation. When Muḥammad died revelation ceased and Islām ceased to be a pure theocracy. Muḥammad had founded a new state, but because he was the last prophet and apostle no one could continue the relationship and service that he had begun. No one could solve the new problems of the state by securing new revelations from Allah. Muḥammad's position was to remain unique. His successors would have to take Muḥammad's prophetic statements and his other words and deeds for their guide. His formal pronouncements were the first to be collected and they became the Qur'ān. His other words and deeds, as reported by his disciples, were preserved and became the traditions of Islām, second in authority only to the Qur'ān itself, as a source of law and practice for the Muslim community.

After Muḥammad's death, the first task was to carry on the government of the community. It is a clear commentary on the strength of Muḥammad's influence that there was no attempt on the part of his followers in al-Madinah to go back to the pre-Muḥammad method of Arabian politics. Some distant adherents tried to revert to their tribal forms of government and life, but the Muslims of the city of the Prophet accepted the principle of a centralized authority for the preservation and application of the divine law given through Muḥammad.

With regard to the method of selecting this authority, however, because there had to be a central authority and because Muḥammad had not named his successor, and, further, because the divine law did not prescribe any method for selecting the successor, the old Arab method of decision by the elders of the community was naturally fol-

* See Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, i., pp. 20 f.

lowed. So Muḥammad's closest companions, of whom a number were indeed also his relatives by marriage, elected Abū Bakr as the head of the state.

The very title given to Abū Bakr throws much light upon the political influence of Muḥammad. The new leader was called the *ḵhalīfah*,* meaning successor and vicegerent. He was always to be one who followed Muḥammad as the original and unique leader, and to represent Muḥammad in carrying out the divine law established by the Prophet.

This first act of the Muslim community in meeting problems without Muḥammad's immediate direction teaches several lessons about Islām. It shows that it was not the prophetic pronouncements of Muḥammad, nor yet any other utterances of his that determined the leadership of the future Muslim state. Rather, in preserving the principle of a single supreme authority the Muslims imitated and obeyed Muḥammad by continuing the practice that he had introduced into Arabia. Further, in accepting the leader chosen by the elders of the community they supplemented his formal and informal guidance by following previous established custom. A method of procedure known to the Muslims of the time and place was found to be satisfactory and so made a part of Islām. Thus an event, as well as prophetic instruction and tradition, had its part in determining the future of Islām. The precedent of informal election to the leadership of the community was adopted as a principle by a group of the community, the Khārijīyah, and has remained the chief constitutional theory of their descendants, the 'Ibādīyah, in Oman, Zanzibar and North Africa to this day. Briefly stated, the event furnished a precedent, and the precedent became a principle.

But where there are elections there is the possibility of factions and divisions. The first *ḵhalīfah*, Abū Bakr, took measures to prevent the division of the Muslim community and nominated 'Umar bin al-Khaṭṭāb as his successor. Thus the precedent of nomination became an established principle for part of the Muslims and in a modified form was acted upon by the Umayyads and the Abbasids and by later Muslim dynasties.

When 'Umar was murdered the principle of election was again adopted, but modified by confining the authority to choose to a designated council of elders. 'Uthmān was elected. He did not belong

* The uses of the root in its various forms in the Qur'ān have no reference to a successor to Muḥammad as a ruler or *imām*.

to Muḥammad's clan, the Hashimis, but to another clan of the tribe of Quraish, the Umayyads. Most of the members of this clan were only late adherents of Islām. These late adherents were more numerous than Muḥammad's early followers, but they were fortunate in having one of their number both as an early disciple and as a son-in-law of Muḥammad. So their candidate, 'Uthmān, was elected over an increasingly influential rival.

When 'Uthmān died, also by murder, again the principle of election was followed and 'Alī bin Abī Ṭālib was made *khalīfah*. 'Alī was a cousin of Muḥammad's and also, like his predecessor, a son-in-law. But, unlike Muḥammad's other relatives by marriage, 'Alī was the only one through whom Muḥammad had descendants of the second generation. Muḥammad's daughter Fātimah was married to 'Alī and had two sons, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain. This circumstance furnished the basis of the greatest and most lasting schism in Islām. The partisans of 'Alī adopted the principle of legitimacy in government and made blood relationship the test of political leadership.

But that new principle had difficulties to overcome. The other principles, of election and nomination, had earlier authority. Moreover, 'Alī himself met opposition. Mu'āwiyah, the governor of Damascus, was strong enough and ambitious enough to challenge 'Alī's right to continue to rule. He did not challenge 'Alī's election, but he claimed that 'Alī was not ruling well. He demanded and secured a new election and contrived to have himself chosen. It was that event that split Islām asunder. Mu'āwiyah established himself as *khalīfah* with Damascus as his capital. 'Alī and his partisans became a subordinate minority. His successors became pretenders to the supreme and central authority. For a hundred years they were unable to cope with the ruling dynasty at Damascus.

Mu'āwiyah established the Umayyad dynasty simply by nominating his own son as his successor. He combined the Muslim principle of nomination with the ancient Arabian practice of family leadership, as had the party of 'Alī, but he chose his own family rather than the family of Muḥammad. Family nomination became the dominant principle of succession among all subsequent Muslim states.

Except in Mu'āwiyah's reign, during the Umayyad government Islām had only one *khalīfah* at a time. But it is abundantly clear that not all the Muslims desired or approved the particular authority which was over them. The Khārijīyah favoured the constitutional theory of election. The Shī'ah, or party of 'Alī, with its legitimist principle of

allegiance to the family of Muḥammad, drew to itself others disaffected with the central government. Many of these were non-Arabs, remote from Damascus, and eager to centralize the government in their own vicinity. Ancient Arabian tribal antagonisms continued their divisive influences. At the end of a century of Umayyad rule, a newly formed party, the Abbasid, by alliance with the Alid party, was able to overthrow the last Umayyad *ḵhalīfah*, and establish a new dynasty which lasted for five centuries. During this period the Muslim Empire began to disintegrate. Its unity was destroyed through the formation of separate states with *ḵhalīfahs*, kings and sultans of their own. It was under the Ottoman Turks that a single *ḵhalīfah* again reigned in Islām, but the empire he ruled was no longer coextensive with the world of Islām.

It was Turkey also that introduced the next precedent in connection with the caliphate (*al-ḵhilāfah*). It abolished the office entirely on April 10, 1928. By that action the Turkish Republic for the first time in Muslim world history put into effect a principle that has been recognized in Western Christendom since the beginning of Protestantism. It is the principle of the separation of Church and State. The separation begun during the Reformation has steadily increased in effect and spread in extent. It is true to say that the present effort of secular authoritarian governments to include religion within the scope of their power is but the other swing of the pendulum to that of mediæval times when the central ecclesiastical authority represented by the papacy sought to exercise all the secular and political power possible over nominal emperors and subservient peoples.

Long ago in his *Muhammadanische Studien* (Halle, 1889-1890, ii, p. 384), Goldziher called attention to a tradition in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī (*Kitāb al-Fitan*, *Bab* 2). The tradition says, "Render unto them (your rulers) what is due to them, and ask of Allah what is due to yourselves."

It has remained for Turkey to put into effect in Islām the separation between religion and government that these words teach. In legislating that religion shall be a personal rather than an institutional concern, and a private rather than a social and civic relationship, the Turkish Government has cleared the way for the recognition of the spiritual as opposed to the temporal authority of religion. It is noteworthy that Madame Halide Edib has already called the Turks "the Protestant Moslems of the world."* Entirely aside from religious considerations,

* In *Turkey Faces West* (Yale University Press, 1930), p. 209.

by that act of separation Turkey became a part of the modern world. Iran and 'Iraq are on the way.

We have taken enough time and space to deal only with the political leadership of Islām, but we have seen that events and circumstances, as well as the Qur'ān, determined the nature of that leadership. Further, it was neither the Qur'ān nor early tradition that determined the governmental organization of Islām. Rather, much of the system of government of the conquered countries was continued by the Muslims, together with many of the local laws and methods of procedure. In Syria, for instance, the Umayyads for decades retained the Christian administrative staff, who continued to keep their account books in Greek. In 'Iraq the Abbasids adopted the Persian system of administration by viziers and provincial governors. The Ottoman Turks inherited Byzantine cultural and political patterns, adding Muslim religious institutions. Everywhere the Muslims incorporated in their own codes much of the law of the lands they conquered and ruled.

All this is quite in accordance with the principle mentioned above that local custom, new circumstances and new events may be supplementary sources for principles and practices new to Muslim law and government.

Thus it is sufficiently clear that the constitutional theories and the administrative structures of the many successive and co-temporaneous Muslim governments were not determined mainly by the Qur'ān and tradition. Indeed, the major political factors in Islām have ever been circumstances and events.

II. Social Structure

We will consider now the social aspects of Islām. In this respect also it should be noted that the Qur'ān is not Islām. The Qur'ān was the revelation of Allah. It was therefore sacred and supreme. The sacred character of the Qur'ān gave divine authority to the religion based on it. All the laws and regulations of Islām received that divine authority. But although the Qur'ān gave Islām its divine authority and has paramount prestige as the source of that authority, it has never been the only source nor the greatest source for the content of Islām. That is why the Qur'ān is not Islām. One who knows this sacred book does not thereby know Islām.

The Qur'ān is not the only nor the main source for the social structure of Islām. It does not prescribe all the social practices of the

Muslims. It is well known, for instance, that there is no mention in the Qur'ān of the custom of circumcision, almost universally practised among Muslims and so important that it is nearly everywhere the chief initiatory rite for converts. Moreover, even though the Qur'ān may contain a particular command or prohibition, that fact does not of itself prove that the command or prohibition is still in force for Islām to-day. When the Qur'ān was collected its editors preserved certain early revelations that had been abrogated, or, as some prefer to say, supplemented or superseded, by later revelations. One of the necessary qualifications for Quranic scholars is knowledge of these abrogated and abrogating verses of the Quranic text.

We have seen that when Muḥammad established his political system in al-Madinah he introduced the important principles of centralized authority and of religious solidarity. In the social life of the Muslims the Qur'ān in some respects raised the status of the people. It prescribed new laws of marriage and divorce, it prohibited female infanticide and recognized the rights of women in religion and in property matters. Muḥammad's new system undertook theoretically to direct and control all these and all other attitudes and actions of its adherents. The divine revelation in the Qur'ān mentioned some subjects. For other things other sources of instruction and authority had to be used.

It was the Quranic command to obey Muḥammad that sanctioned the second source of authority for Islām. This source is the Sunnah. The term means the "path" or "way," and refers first to the way Muḥammad taught by his words and deeds and then to the way his disciples acted, assumedly in imitation and obedience of Muḥammad, and then to the way of life and thought followed by the community of Muslims.

The Sunnah is recorded in the traditions of Islām. This word "tradition," *ḥadīth* in Arabic, is used in a technical sense and means the words and acts of Muḥammad and the early Muslims handed down orally until they reached written record in books. It is worth while to note that comparatively few of even the earliest recorded traditions have become part of the Sunnah of Islām. It is for this reason that Wensinck quite properly reminds those who use this *Handbook of Early Muḥammadan Tradition* (Leiden, 1927, p. viii) that his "book, though dealing largely with juristic topics, may not be considered authoritative on any point of *fiqh* (Muslim jurisprudence). . . . Tradition cannot be used as a repertory of Muslim law, but it is, with the commentaries, the chief source of the history of dogma and law,

for there is scarcely any dogmatic or juristic view that cannot be supported by an appropriate tradition.”

Likewise Muslim customs, whatever their original source, tend to be based on traditions, or have traditions, genuine or invented, to justify them, but not every tradition has found expression in a general custom.

The two largest Muslim groups, the Sunnis and the Shi'is, have separate collections of traditions as their sources of instruction and authority to supplement the Qur'ān. These numerous books of tradition are indeed indispensable for the history of Islamic faith and practice. They report the doctrines and customs that have become acceptable to the Sunnis and to the Shi'is, and that in doing so have perhaps come to supersede beliefs and practices taught by the Qur'ān or other traditions. For, confining our attention to the Sunnis, it is possible for the Sunnah of the community to abrogate what is taught both by the Qur'ān and by earlier Sunnah. The doctrines of the Sinlessness of all the Prophets and of the Intercession of Muḥammad to the exclusion of the other prophets on the Day of Judgment are orthodox in Islām now, but they are not found in the Qur'ān. Further, tradition says Muḥammad refused to perform the worship for the dead at the burial of an insolvent Muslim, but it is the custom to do so now. The reason is that other traditions authorized the practice and they are the ones that determined the Sunnah of the community.

An illustration of the inadequate and antiquated character of the old laws and standards is provided by the commercial laws of Islām based on the Qur'ān and early tradition. Those laws are almost entirely inapplicable to the practices and problems of modern times. In the simple matter of interest on loans all sorts of casuistry and subterfuge are in common use by Muslims who wish to observe the letter of the divine law and yet meet the requirements of modern life.

Thus the Islamic scholar needs to study the traditions as well as the Qur'ān in order to know the Islām of the past and the present, for the Sunnah is the second source of authority in Islām and is part of its fundamental structure.

The rapid expansion of Islām from Arabia into Syria, 'Iraq, Egypt and beyond brought to the Muslim rulers and administrators problems that were new. The Qur'ān and Traditions had nothing that specifically applied to these new situations. In the early days these new cases had to be decided under the exigencies of the situation and according to the individual judgment of the Muslim administrators. Since these

administrators had no written code to enforce, their personal judgment, called *ra'y* in Arabic, was acceptable.

In al-Madinah the learned Muslims supplemented the two already recognized sources of authority by deciding cases new to Islām in accordance with community custom and welfare. The decision of problems that were new having in view the welfare of the community was a process of judgment or reasoning of a special character, to which the name of *istiṣlāḥ* was given.

In 'Iraq, however, a different variety of reasoning was used when it became necessary to supplement the specific instructions of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah, for in 'Iraq the local situation was different from that in al-Madinah. 'Iraq was really foreign territory, and had long been under Greek, or, rather, Hellenistic influence. There Muslim jurisprudence developed in the liberal atmosphere promoted by generations of Neoplatonic teachers and students. There the Muslim community was mixed—Arabian, 'Iraqian and Persian. Individual Muslims represented in themselves the mingled influences of primitive Arabian Islām and liberal foreign philosophy. The result was that in 'Iraq the reasoning that supplemented the early Muslim authorities was characterized by rationalism and was called *istiḥsān*. It was judgment determined by that which was thought to be preferable or that which was "for the best."

But none of these types of reasoning was able to win general acceptance in Islām. *Ra'y* or private judgment was too individual, *istiṣlāḥ* or community welfare was too local, and *istiḥsān* or that which was preferable was too liberal for strict Muslims. So another type of reasoning was developed which kept close to the already accepted Muslim authorities. This was *qiyās*, or analogical reasoning, which solved new problems on the basis of their analogy to the decisions already recorded in the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. *Qiyās* kept legislation Muslim in character, rather than individual, local or academic, and so it became the third source of authority for most Muslims.

Meanwhile Islām had been expanding; separate communities had been absorbed into its empire; political factions had been developing; traditional practices became increasingly divisive and theological sectarianism had been developing. But all groups claimed to be Muslim; all affirmed their allegiance to Allah, Muḥammad and Islām. This common loyalty produced a new and needed source of authority to keep Islām from division and disintegration. The doctrine of *ijmā'* or Agreement became the fourth source of authority for the

fundamental structure of Islām. "Agreement" is the consensus of opinion of Muslim theologians and jurists that a particular doctrine or custom has become accepted in Islam. Agreement does not propose or initiate any belief, but it pronounces such articles or customs to be general among Muslims and therefore a part of the Muslim religion. This agreement of the Muslim community is a principle of immense practical value to Islām. It gives Muslims a general basis on which to unite even though they differ on many other matters. It allows ideas and practices acceptable to one group or section to spread until they are adopted generally in Islam. It provides the method by which change takes place in Islam. Historically, Agreement has sanctioned for the vast majority of Muslims doctrines and customs not taught by the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and earlier Agreement.

If any proof were needed that Agreement has brought about great changes in Islam, it would be enough to mention the attitude of the Muslims of Central Arabia towards the beliefs and practices of Muhammadans everywhere else. These Muslims accept only the strict Islām of the primitive Muslim community and assert that all others have changed so much that they hardly have the right to be considered as true Muslims.

But the majority of the Muslim legal and doctrinal authorities hold that these four sources or principles, viz., the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, Analogy and Agreement, are all valid and provide adequate means for the decision of all new problems and so they form the bases of the fundamental structure of Islām.

The authoritative teachers of Sunnī Islam belong to four permanent schools of law. They are the schools or rites of Malik, Abū Hanīfah, al-Shāfi'ī and Ahmad ibn Hanbal. Four other schools were started, but they gained neither widespread nor permanent influence. The four permanent schools differ both in the number of sources they accept and in their interpretation of the principles of the divine law. As a result there are differences in the customs and practices that they approve. Each school has produced its own code of laws, and there are books which deal especially with the disagreements among the schools.

But the problem of Islam has ever been to provide a method of life that would be definite and practical and still be based on its numerous and differing authorities. The schools of jurisprudence could not cover in detail all the activities of life, nor could the code of any one school be applied to a whole community. The Qur'ān makes it a common

duty for all Muslims to command any lawful and to forbid any unlawful act. But the enforcement of law had to be the special duty of recognized authority. In the early decades the Muslim system had been enforced by the rulers in person. Hārūn al-Rashīd, the fifth Abbasid *khalīfah*, merely followed imperial precedent in making his famous nocturnal tours of Baghdad to attend in person to the preservation of law and order in his capital. Later the duty was delegated to other officers. In the capital of Sa'ūdī Arabia the custom of the nightly inspection of the city is still followed.

In the cities the officer who was delegated to enforce the law was called the *muḥtasib*, whose duties included those of a proctor, inspector-general, guardian of law and morality and chief constable. In many places the *muḥtasib* had definite instructions to guide him in regulating the activities of all in his community. These instructions dealt in detail with the actions referred to in the Qur'ān under the general terms of *ma'rūf*, or legal, and *munkar*, or illegal. The word *ḥisbah** included these two kinds of actions. The books of *ḥisbah*-law, of which one at least was compiled by a *muḥtasib*† for the benefit of his successor in office, contained the rules and regulations that were supported by general public opinion. They were more or less completely codified and were as specific and detailed as it was possible to make them. They covered matters which did not come under the jurisdiction of the *khalīfah's* political and military officers and the *qāḍī* or judge, although there was some overlapping of subjects.

These books of *al-ḥisbah*, or official codes of what was lawful and unlawful, do not take the place of the usually ideal and theoretical codes of the schools of jurisprudence, and they do not by any means make unnecessary for Islamic scholars the study of the four chief sources of Muslim law. They do, however, provide practical handbooks of the rules and regulations that reflected the common public conscience and guided public conduct.

The Muslim authorities, we have seen, have held that the four sources of law and doctrine are adequate for all Islām for all time. They have expressed that position by saying, "The door of *ijtihād*, or the right of personal judgment, is closed." Nevertheless Muslim society never ceased to change and Muslim jurisprudence has never ceased to develop. The later changes in Muslim jurisprudence are

* Al-Ghazālī, in *Ithāf al-Sādah*, by Saiyid Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, vol. vii., p. 14; cf. *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 77.

† *Journal Asiatique*, 5^e série, t. 16, p. 348.

recorded in the books of *fatāwī*, or legal opinions of prominent jurists. A *fatwā* (pl. *fatāwī*) is an opinion delivered by a *muftī*, who could be a private individual or an official of the Government, who by his learning or position has the right to express an opinion in response to a question on a point of law or conduct. It is in the collections of *fatāwī* that the development of Muslim law later than the standard works of the early orthodox authorities is to be found. An important instance of the method of procedure is recorded in Sir W. W. Hunter's book, *The Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?** The book deals with the problem of the *jihād*, or war in Islām. It shows how *fatāwī* were secured from leading Muslim religious authorities, who gave their opinion that it was not obligatory for the Muslims in India to maintain a hostile attitude toward their non-Muslim rulers. Another instance of *fatwā* law-making occurred in Egypt when the Muftī Muḥammad 'Abduh gave his opinion that in the Transvaal Muslims might wear hats instead of the usual tarbush or fez.†

The collections of *fatāwī* contain the results of the application of the accepted Muslim principles to contemporary cases. There are many such collections and they form a necessary supplement to the early standard codes of the schools of law.

The classical books of jurisprudence, the practical handbooks of *ḥisbah*-law and the later books of *fatāwī* or case-opinions, all represent the *sharī'ah*, or divine law. They are all dependent upon and closely related to the four principles or sources which form the bases of the official fundamental structure of Islām.

But in addition to these four there are two other bases upon which Islām as a system of life is built.

It has been noted, in dealing with the political development of Islām, that there was another source, supplementary to the Qur'ān, by which the Muslims were provided with guidance. This source was previously established custom. Custom became the chief guide for the political development of Islām and provided most of its governmental structure and practice. Similarly previous custom supplemented the official sources of the divine law.‡ Much established

* London: Trübner and Co., 1871.

† Paper by C. C. Adams in the *Macdonald Presentation Volume* (Princeton, 1933), pp. 13-29.

‡ Cf. Levy, *Ma'ālim al-Qurba* (London, 1938), pp. 15 and 131 of the Arabic text.

custom, or *'ādah* in Arabic, and well-known local practice, or *'urf*, was recognized as lawful in Islām. The Qur'ān itself makes much of categories of things that are *ma'rūf*, or recognized and so legal, and *munkar*, or not recognized and so illegal. The codes of law specified the actions included in these legal and illegal classifications. The items increased in number and varied in particular as Islām developed and spread to new localities. The sources that provided these items were the *'ādah* and the *'urf*, the customs, of the communities. At one time, as Goldziher* has pointed out, the *'urf* was advocated as the fifth official source of Muslim jurisprudence. The effort did not succeed because Islām could not sanction all previous non-Muslim customs, for some of the practices did not accord with Muslim principles. Nevertheless, so much of previous established custom has been included in Islām that the effort to make *'urf* and *'ādah* official bases of law was, to all practical purposes, a success. The Muslim theologians and lawyers may acknowledge officially only the four orthodox sources, but they open the way for the admission of *'urf* and *'ādah* customs by increasing or changing the items included in what is lawful. Further, administrators in Muslim countries have found it necessary to recognize *'ādah* as law. Even at the centre of Islām in Arabia the *sharī'ah* or divine law has never completely displaced the tribal law and custom, the *'urf* and *'ādah* of the Arabs of the desert.† Government officials, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have always recognized old and local custom as legal and binding. An increasing number of codes of *'ādat-law*‡ are being found or formulated. They record the customs and practices which the Muslim religious authorities have not had occasion to include in the *sharī'ah*, or divine law, as *ma'rūf*, or legal, or to denounce as *munkar*, or unlawful.§ The administrators of the life of the community, however, could not wait for the decisions of the theologians. It has always been a practical necessity for them to accept and enforce *'ādat-law*. As an actual fact, therefore, previous local custom has ever been a fifth source for the fundamental structure of Islām, in its social as well as its political development.

It is, of course, in custom that much of popular Islām has its basis and being. There are pagan survivals in the Muḥammadan civilization

* *Die Zāhiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 204.

† Cf. *Hajji Rikḥān, the Marsh Arab*, by Fulanain (pp. 69 ff. in Lippincott, Philadelphia, edition, 1938).

‡ See the art. "Adat law" in *Ency. of Islam*, Supplement, p. 7.

§ Cf. "The Customary and Statutory Laws of the Muslims in India," by Hamid Ali, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xi., pp. 354-369, 444-454.

of every land from Morocco to Malaysia. Scholars will not agree in specifying the doctrines and practices that are to be labelled as superstitions and pagan survivals nor in stating how many of them have been incorporated into the system of Islām that is taught by the recognized teachers of the religion.* Muslim authorities themselves acknowledge the existence of such beliefs and customs among the Muslims, but they differ about the things to be condemned. Popular Islām includes much that is not orthodox and never will be, but the popular beliefs and practices form an important part of Muslim civilization and therefore deserve careful study on the part of Islamic scholars.

Secondary to the *'urf* and *'ādah* which formed the old unwritten custom of the community and which became a supplement to the *sharī'ah*, or divine law, is the *qānūn* or written code of laws which the Muslims found in operation in some of the foreign countries which they conquered and administered. In Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey and elsewhere such existing *qānūn* laws were recognized as valid along with the *sharī'ah*.

The Ottoman Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent was called *Qanuni* because of his extensive codification of extra-*sharī'ah* legislation, but he was not the first to adopt or enact such laws. It was Turkey that first imported laws from abroad when the French code provided much of the *tanzīmat* or reform legislation of the nineteenth century. The Turkish Republic simply followed and extended earlier precedent in adopting the German commercial code, the Italian penal code and the Swiss civil code to provide a more modern and adequate system of secular jurisprudence for an ancient and limited code based primarily upon the Qur'ān as a divine revelation.

The theologians and *sharī'at*-lawyers have ever objected to the enactment and enforcement of the *qānūn*-codes. Nevertheless, secular law has increasingly supplanted and subordinated the authority of the Qur'ān, the traditions and the whole legal system based on them. The Muslim world is following the West. It is restricting its mediæval religious laws and regulations and is expanding its modern secular codes. Parliamentary legislation and statutory law are determining the content and direction of Muslim life, both individual and national. In Turkey officially and elsewhere with some individuals, Islām has already become a religion in the Western sense of the word: a department of life to which belong belief in the supernatural, worship and the spiritual control of conduct.

* Cf. *ṣalāt al-ḥusūf*, the Worship at the time of an Eclipse, and the Pilgrimage.

Thus we see that *'ādat*-law or established custom and secular or *qānūn*-law early became two important supplements to the four orthodox sources for the social structure of Islām. Students of Islām need to add to their knowledge of the classical texts of Muslim jurisprudence the information that has been acquired and recorded by the foreign and indigenous administrators of Muslim communities. Further, they need to read the results preserved by observant travellers and competent investigators. And they find it necessary to keep abreast of current national and international legislation as they view the change of the world of Islām from a civilization based on religious authority to a diversity of nations and peoples that are increasingly under secular control.

III. Religious Structure

The third section of this paper deals with the most important feature of the Muslim system of life—namely, that concerned with Islām in its religious aspects.

The theological development of the Muslim community is revealed by the increase in number and content of its creeds. The term "creed" is applied to three kinds of affirmation of Muslim doctrine. These three types of statement show with fidelity the original and the later sources and stages of the Islamic religion.

The first creed of Islām is called in Arabic *ḳalimat al-shahādah*, that is, "the word of testimony." The single word *ḳalimah* has other uses in Arabic, but in theology it is used elliptically for the whole term: "the word of testimony." In English, simply because of predominant usage, the *ḳalimah* may be called "the Muslim creed," although it contains only part of the content of the Muslim faith. But the better term in English would be "testimony." Until the better term has come into general use, it will be well to call the *ḳalimah* "the short creed or testimony."

This "word of testimony" is *lā ilāha illā 'llāh wa muḥammadur-rasūlu'llāh*.* This should be translated, "There is no god at all except Allah and Muḥammad is the apostle of Allah." This short creed is wholly Quranic. Its two clauses are not given together in the Qur'ān, but they are found at 47: 21 and 48: 29 in precisely the forms used in the creed. It was the simple acceptance and affirmation of this creed that made men Muslims and made their lives and property

* Transliterated as pronounced.

inviolable to other Muslims. It is this testimony that is repeated in every call to prayer and every performance of the worship.

The second creed of Islām contains seven items, two of which are usually combined to make six articles. This second statement of faith may also be called "the Muslim creed" but not the *ḳalimah*, and it may be co-ordinated with the Apostles' Creed of Christianity. All the elements of this longer statement of faith also are found in the Qur'ān, but the whole creed is first found together only in the books of canonical tradition. To distinguish this creed from the former short creed or testimony, it may be called the longer or traditional creed. The Arabic term for it is *īmān*, the "faith" of Islām.

The first of the six articles of the traditional Muslim creed is the first part of the *ḳalimah* or shorter creed. The other articles of faith are belief in (2) the angels, (3) the books of revelation, (4) the prophets, (5) the two items of the resurrection and the day of judgment and (6) the decree of good and evil.

In Christendom the term "creed" is used for the statements of doctrine formulated by the Councils of the Church and also for the statement attributed to Athanasius. In Islām there have never been any councils for the determination of doctrine, but individual theologians have formulated more or less brief summaries of dogma which are called *qawā'id al-'aqā'id*, or "the articles of belief or faith." There are many such summaries and they are distinguished by the names of their authors. In English these summaries are generally and properly called "creeds."

A thorough presentation of Muslim theology would of course involve a discussion of all of the articles of these commonly accepted creeds. One way to study the subject would be to follow the development of Muslim dogma in historical order. It would then be seen how strongly the new Arabian religion was influenced by the theological discussions and the philosophical ideas of the world around Arabia. For instance, one of the important subjects of controversy in the Christian Church in the first Muslim centuries was Predestination and Free Will. This is one of the topics that John of Damascus deals with in his treatise instructing Christians how to conduct controversy with Muslims.* This same subject gave rise to the earliest dogmatic dissension within Islām, that between the *Qadariyyah*, who believed in free will, and the *Jabriyyah*, who did not.

We have seen how the world of Islām divided into various political

* See *The Moslem World*, vol. xxv., July, 1935, pp. 266 ff.

communities and drew its constitutional principles from extra-Quranic sources. We saw, further, that Islām did not remain a unity in developing its jurisprudence, but found much of its legal principles and content in laws and customs not included in the Qur'ān and traditions. It is, however, in theology that the greatest number of differences occurred and it is in theology that the world outside Arabia has most strikingly influenced Islām. The articles of faith furnished the Muslims with more subjects of dissension than politics or jurisprudence, and some of the changes of content of that faith are more surprising than the abolition of the caliphate.

The Muslims themselves have dealt thoroughly with the dogmatic dissensions in Islām. Goldziher lists seventeen books written on the subject.* Other discussions are found in chapters of books on history and biography. The best known of the books devoted exclusively to Muslim dogmatics are the four by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, Ibn Ḥazm al-Qurṭubī, 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī, and Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī. These and other books of Muslim theology have been painstakingly studied by Western scholars. It has become increasingly apparent that students of Islām must also know the similar literature in Greek, Latin and Syriac produced by the Greek and Roman philosophers and the early Christian Fathers. They need likewise to be well acquainted with the religious literature and history of the contemporary Christian, Jewish, Persian and other non-Muslim communities. Further, constant attention must be given to the journals and books currently published to promote the present-day movements among Muslims.

In presenting this part of our subject, the fundamental structure of the Muslim religion, it will be sufficient for us to limit our discussion to the most important article of the Muslim creed, that is, the doctrine of Allah.

When Muḥammad began his preaching and teaching, he did not claim to introduce a new Deity to the Arabs of Makkah. He claimed to summon his people to the God of the Ḥanifs, the Muslims, the Jews and the Christians. That is definitely stated in the Qur'ān, 29: 45, where it is said, "Our God and your God is one, and we are Muslims to Him." Al-Baidāwī interprets the term "Muslim" here untechnically as "obedient."

Muḥammad preached a Semitic religion to the Arabs. His theology

* Cf. also "On the History of Islamic Heresiography," by R. Strothmann, in *Islamic Culture*, vol. xii., pp. 5-16.

was founded on emotion and psychology, rather than on logic and metaphysics. Allah was as real, near and knowable to Muḥammad and his fellow-believers as was Jehovah to the Jews. Muḥammad taught his followers that Allah was a personal God, in that Allah's interest in and control of the life and destinies of His creatures were of the most direct nature. As divine, Allah was transcendent; as Creator, He was unique, and in other respects He was supreme and sublime. Through the revelations which He inspired and through His creative and other activities, He was knowable. When the Qur'ān denies in Sūrah 42: 9 that there is anything like Him, the context shows that the denial refers to polytheism. The whole emphasis of the Qur'ān is to make Allah near as well as exalted, real as well as infinite, personal as well as divine.

The Qur'ān is lavish in its description of Allah. This description is given in the names, epithets and phrases about the character and activity of Allah. It is usual to speak of the Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of Allah. The Muslims themselves employ that number for the Beautiful Names. The lists of ninety-nine names vary. This variation in itself shows that the names number more than ninety-nine. One list* containing over five hundred names has been compiled. The Names are the chief basis for the early Muslim knowledge about Allah.

We have mentioned one instance of foreign influence on Islām in determining the subject of theological discussion among Muslims. It was Greek philosophical influence that shaped the Quranic material about Allah into a systematic doctrine. The Muslim theologians† equated the Aristotelian category of substance with the Quranic name of "Allah" as His Essence or *dhāt*, and they interpreted all the other divine names as the Attributes or *ṣifāt* of Allah. The one name of "Allah" for His Essence expressed the unity of Being of Allah. The numerous names or attributes expressed the familiar Quranic relationships of Allah to His creatures.

The subjects of theological discussion are important and the classification of the Quranic material about Allah is of course vital. But the content of the doctrine of Allah is most important and most vital for Islamic religion. It is here that the influence of Greek philosophy has been greatest.

* J. W. Redhouse, in *J.R.A.S.*, vol. xii. (1880), pp. 1-69.

† Cf. *al-Ghazālī, Kitāb al-Maqṣad al-Asnā, Sharḥ Asma' Allah al-Ḥusnā* (Cairo, 1324), p. 28; also *Kitāb Falsafat . . . Ibn Rushd* (Cairo, 1328), p. 58.

The vividness of the Quranic description of Allah developed logically into an anthropomorphic doctrine of Allah, while the emphasis on Allah's transcendence resulted in a doctrine of kenosis which divested Allah of all attributes. Both of these doctrines were rejected by the Muslim majority. In their place a doctrine of Difference was proposed early in Islām's theological development and has since become the doctrine about Allah most widely accepted and most strongly held by all but the Ṣūfī Muslims. The dogma of Allah's Difference (*al-muḵhālafah*) means that every term used to describe Allah has a sense of its own, different from the meaning of the same words when they are applied to anything other than Allah. The result is that Allah in all His being, attributes and activities is utterly removed from any measure of knowledge on the part of man.

This doctrine of "difference" is the Muslim application of the Aristotelian concept of the "homonym" to the problem of the names of Allah. A "homonym" is a word which has two different meanings. It was the theologian Jahm bin Safwān, trained in the philosophy of the Greeks, who expanded the Quranic verse of 42: 9 to mean, "There is nothing resembling God, the Exalted, either in His essence, or in His attributes or in His actions."* The beggar in the street asserts this same doctrine when he says: "Every idea that comes to mind, Allah differs from that, you will find." Little does he realize that his strongest conviction about Allah is a helpless agnosticism taught by Greek philosophy, in the place of an appreciation of the personal relationship of an Almighty Creator and Lord to His creatures which is taught by the Qur'ān.

About the doctrine of Allah it is possible to say with much, but not all, of the truth that the Qur'ān taught the Muslims to believe in Allah as different in degree from themselves, and therefore knowable, but that the Aristotelian theologians have taught them to believe that Allah is utterly different in kind from themselves and is therefore wholly removed from their knowledge. It is well to note that the same doctrine of the nature of God was taught in mediæval Judaism by Maimonides, but it did not succeed in dominating Jewish theology as it does that of Islām.

The aspects of the doctrine of Allah that we have considered thus far have dealt with its development within orthodox Islām, the Islām of the strict theologians and the mosque. But there is another phase of Muslim life that has flourished outside the mosques and the

* *Islamic Culture*, vol. xi., No. 2, April, 1937, p. 222.

canonical observances of Islām, not promoted by the official teachers of the schools and not included within the standard creeds of the religion. The reference is of course to Ṣūfism. Much has been learned of the origin and development of this phase of Islām and still more needs to be discovered. There is no doubt that there is a basis for mysticism in the Qur'ān and that it grew naturally within early Islām. But it is also certain that the system of thought and life of the later Muslim mystics is Neoplatonic and is not derived from the Qur'ān.

Confining our attention again to the doctrine of Allah, it may be said that with the Ṣūfis the Divine Essence, though transcendent, absolute and ineffable, is nevertheless, through the process of emanation, the source or fount of all essences, with a continuity of being that makes the phenomenal world simply the manifested aspects of God. That is the type of pantheism taught by Plotinus; it is the dominant doctrine of Ibn 'Arabī, the greatest and most influential of the Muslim mystics and is the central theory of Muslim mysticism to this day. It is the key to the Ṣūfi's assurance that he may know Allah experientially.

It remains for us to mention the earlier mystics who were orthodox in that they retained the conception of Allah as transcendent Creator and were not pantheistic. These early Ṣūfis also gave evidence of the part that foreign ideas have in the development of the Muslim religion. They accept as a tradition from Muḥammad the biblical statement of the creation of Adam in the image of God. This tradition teaches the orthodox mystics that there is a real resemblance between Allah and man in essence, attribute and activity.* The later Ṣūfis use the same tradition as both evidence and explanation of their own monistic system.

Enough has now been said to indicate that foreign ideas form a large and vital element of the Muslim doctrines about Allah. The same is more or less the case with the other articles of the Islamic faith. It is true that the Muslim religion is based on the Qur'ān and the other sources recognized as authoritative by the Muslim theologians and lawyers, but it is also true that many doctrines held by the Muslims are extra-canonical. Some articles of the later creeds are not mentioned at all in the Qur'ān, notably details of the eschatology.

The great historians† of dogma in Islām in the past have found it

* D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, pp. 231 f.

† Z.D.M.G., vol. xv., pp. 249 ff. *Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften*, Abhandl. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch. Berlin, 1915.

necessary to discuss non-Muslim theologies and philosophies because some Muslim religious leaders were affected or directed by them. Scholarly histories of Muslim doctrine will always need to deal with foreign religious influences in the development of the faith of Islām. Judaism, Christianity, Neoplatonism, Zoroastrianism and other religions and philosophies have supplemented the Qur'ān and the traditions as sources for Muslim religious doctrines. They also have a part in the fundamental structure of Islām.

THE AMERICAN ALPINE CLUB EXPEDITION TO K 2 IN 1938

By CAPTAIN N. R. STREATFEILD, M.C.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on February 3, 1939, Brigadier the Hon. C. D. Bruce in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: When I received an invitation to take the Chair at this lecture, I accepted it not only with a great deal of pleasure, but for me it had a special attraction, because my first journey in the great mountains occurred in 1892 when I was attached to Sir Martin Conway's expedition to the Karakoram Himalaya. I was, in fact, the transport officer of the expedition, and so I look forward very much to seeing Captain Streatfeild's pictures of the Baltoro Glacier and its mountains and hear about his expedition. In those days hardly any of these mountains had names at all, either native or given them, but the second greatest mountain of the world, K 2, was named after Colonel Godwin-Austen, who became head of the Survey of India. Many of the then unnamed peaks were named by Sir Martin Conway. I cannot claim to have been anything but the nurse who held the mountain babies at that great baptism, Sir Martin Conway standing himself both in the place of father and mother and officiating clergyman. Many of the names given by him were suitable, such as the Golden Throne and Mustagh Tower, but others, I am afraid, less so. When we saw Gasherbrum for the first time, our excellent guide, Zurbriggen, remarked, "Well, that peak will never be climbed"; but he was suitably rebuked by Conway, who pointed out that we were but pioneers, and in course of time we could look forward to great successes even among these giants.

Captain Streatfeild is no stranger to the Baltoro Glacier, for he was liaison officer with the French expedition which attacked this same Gasherbrum, also named "the hidden peak," and so he does not come as a beginner to travel on the Baltoro Glacier.

Captain Streatfeild will now tell us of the American expedition to K 2, with which also he was liaison officer, and will relate to us his experiences on that great attempt and show us his pictures, both cinema and slides—surely one of the finest expeditions that have ever taken place in the Karakoram. Years ago on a previous expedition led by the Swiss Jacot-Guillarmod he named K 2 by what he thought was a native name, "Chogo Ri," which, after all, only means snow mountain.

FOR some years American mountaineers have cast their eyes longingly towards the great mountains of Central Asia, but never previously has an expedition been organized.

At the end of 1937 permission was granted for the American Alpine Club to send an expedition to Kashmir. After due consideration, K 2 (formerly known as Mount Godwin-Austen), a mountain of 28,250 feet and second in the world only to Everest, was picked as the objective. A party of five Americans, with myself as liaison officer, was soon chosen. Mr. C. S. Houston, who was a member of the expedi-

tion which climbed Nanda Devi in 1936, was chosen as leader, and Messrs. P. Petzoldt, R. Bates, W. House, and R. Burdsall completed the party.

The primary object of the expedition was to reconnoitre the possible routes up the mountain from the Baltoro Glacier, with a view to sending a party to attempt to climb the ridge chosen at a later date. It was, however, agreed that, should opportunity and time offer, an attempt should also be made to reach the summit.

Twice previously have parties attempted to climb K 2. In 1902 the Echenstein-Pfanll-Guillarmod expedition tried to scale the mountain from the K 2 Glacier by the north-east ridge, and in 1909 Luigi Amadeo, Duke of Abruzzi, made an attempt from a ridge on the east of the mountain, also starting from the K 2 Glacier. Neither expedition succeeded in reaching striking distance of the summit.

The funds available, entirely subscribed by members of the party, were scanty. It was unanimously agreed that the whole expedition should be on as light a scale as possible and that the minimum number of porters should be employed. With this end in view, it was decided to take six Sherpa porters for work on the mountain, and to limit the equipment, stores and food to an amount which would permit the party to reach the base camp with only seventy coolie loads.

The party assembled in Srinagar, Kashmir, on May 10. After buying the food, etc., not brought from America or England, the party left on its trek of over 360 miles on Friday, May 13. Apart from the party as chosen, the expedition only needed twenty-three ponies to carry the stores, equipment and food.

The first three days' march led up the Sind Valley. Much of the path is carpeted with grass and wild flowers, and above one lie beautiful pine forests stretching up to the snows of the main Himalaya range. Three days after leaving Srinagar the Zogi La Pass, over the Himalaya Mountains, was crossed on a bright moonlight night. From here onwards the country changes: in place of the trees and grass of Kashmir one finds only the bare rock and barren hillsides of Baltistan.

On descending from the snows of the pass the party made its way to Dras and thence by the gorge of the grandiose Indus River to Skardu, the capital of Baltistan. In Skardu ponies were exchanged for coolies, and, after being hospitably entertained by the local Government officials, the party crossed the Indus in an antiquated ferry-boat and proceeded up the Shigar Valley to the confluence of this river with the Braldu.

From here onwards there is no track, and one has to pick one's way as best one can. At times one found oneself at river-level, and at others 2,000 feet above the Braldu. It is impossible to remain in the valley, as the river is so large that it is unfordable.

The last village passed was Askole. This is marked on most atlases, but consists, in fact, of a small hamlet of some thirty houses. Here we changed our coolies and set out on the last eight marches to the base camp. After three days the snout of the mighty Baltoro Glacier was reached. From here five extremely unpleasant marches up the moraine-covered glacier brought us to the south face of K 2, under whose masterful eye we placed our base camp at about 16,600 feet. Almost directly above us, and some 12,000 feet higher, loomed this magnificent peak.

The first task was to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Savoia Pass to the west side of K 2. Here the Duke of Abruzzi had reached a height of 22,000 feet in 1909. After several days of hard work over difficult going a height of 21,000 feet was attained, only to find that the glacier leading up to the pass culminated in some 800 feet of smooth green ice at a slope of about fifty degrees. Attempts to find a way round this obstacle proved abortive, and this side of the mountain had to be ruled out, at any rate for this year. Perhaps in other years or in different seasons this route might be passable, but in the state it was seen this year it would be suicidal to be caught above this obstacle in bad weather.

During the week since the occupation of the base camp the weather had been unreliable, but now there were three days of almost continuous snowfall, during which it was useless to leave camp.

As soon as the weather cleared our faces were turned towards the north-east. On this side there appeared to be two possible routes: one up the spur attempted by the Duke of Abruzzi, and the other the ridge to the extreme north-east. A reconnaissance of the former ridge did not lead to much optimism, as the climbing was difficult and there appeared to be a dearth of even the smallest camp sites. The north-east ridge, however, appeared to be even worse, as, although the first 1,000 feet above the glacier were not difficult, the next few hundred feet led along a knife-edge nearly a mile long. The latter route was, therefore, ruled out.

The reconnaissance of the possible approaches from the K 2 Glacier having been completed, it was decided to spend the four remaining weeks in an attempt to climb the mountain by the Abruzzi ridge.

Between the base camp and the foot of the Abruzzi ridge lay about two miles of glacier, half of the distance being over easy ice, and the remainder over rather complicated broken ice. At the base of the ridge, and at the top of the broken ice, was pitched Camp I. at about 17,200 feet. Here all the equipment and food required for the climb was cached while a reconnaissance was carried forward for Camp II.

The ridge consisted largely of loose rock with patches of snow and ice; the average slope was about forty-five degrees—not a pleasant outlook. After considerable reconnaissance, Camp II. was established on a small snow col at about 19,000 feet. From here onwards the slope steepened and the ridge became more broken and exposed. Camp III. was, nevertheless, pitched at about 20,400 feet on a narrow ledge. Now, however, a serious difficulty appeared: climbers above Camp III. could not avoid dislodging loose stones from the steep slope, and these fell with great velocity in the vicinity of the camp. Despite every care, three tents were holed by falling débris. In spite of this, delicate climbing past an ugly *gendarme* disclosed a suitable camp site, and here Camp IV. was established at a height of 21,500 feet. This camp was safe, and Camp III. was, therefore, evacuated as soon as the necessary stores, etc., had been carried up from it.

A disconcerting setback was now encountered. It consisted of a band of yellow rock, almost vertical, which could not be circumvented. Eventually a chimney (a practically vertical gully) of 100 feet was discovered and was climbed and fitted with fixed ropes. Camp V. was placed above the chimney at about 22,000 feet. The next 1,000 feet was not so difficult, and Camp VI. was perched on a tiny ridge at 23,000 feet.

Now followed a nasty exposed area to be traversed. However, with the judicious assistance of ropes fixed to pitons, a safe route was constructed across the face, and Camp VII. was established on a flat stretch of snow at 24,500 feet. From Camp VII. runs a long snow ridge at a gradient of about twenty degrees, which extends to the base of the final cone, which is approximately 2,500 feet in height. Food and time did not permit the establishment of further camps, but, after a strenuous day's climb, two members succeeded in reaching the base of the cone, a height of about 26,000 feet, and returned to say that they considered that the last 2,000 odd feet appeared less difficult than some of the ridge already climbed. Time may show whether they were correct.

During the period that the party had been on the ridge the weather had held, but now dark clouds began to appear on the horizon. It was

therefore decided to return to the base camp without delay. The whole party was in the base camp three days later, and the long march back to civilization was commenced two days afterwards.

The route followed back to Srinagar was somewhat shorter than that taken on the outward journey. This was made possible by the opening of two high passes, which were snowbound on the way out.

So ended the expedition. The party was a happy one of climbers who were out for the "fun of the game" rather than the "honour of the climb." The expedition was absent from Srinagar for 100 days, during which there were no accidents to climbers or porters.

General BRUCE : I feel, ladies and gentlemen, that you will now have a very good idea of what mountaineering round the Baltoro Glacier means, but I do not think that many will quite understand what an immense exertion is required to climb at such great altitudes, for at the great heights one is working at least at the disadvantage of having only half the amount of oxygen to breathe that one has at sea-level. You are doing the hardest possible work with half the amount of fuel to do it with. Travelling on the surface of the glacier, covered as it is from one end to the other very nearly by loose stones, is one of the most exasperating forms of exercise it is possible to experience, slithering and slipping the whole time. I think we were the first to call it "moraine-hopping." It occasions also some of the most violent language, which I consider entirely excusable. You must remember that hard work at high altitudes is also a great test of an expedition's efficiency, because a pleasing and equable temper, besides all other Alpine virtues, is one of the greatest necessities. Many years ago there was an expedition of nine travellers who went up the Baltoro Glacier one expedition of nine, and came back nine expeditions of one, but luckily this expedition was a model of brotherly love and forbearance.

I would like to congratulate Captain Streatfeild on his excellent work as liaison and transport officer—a difficult position which he fulfilled with the greatest ability.

The lecture was illustrated by a cinema film.

THE ASSAM HIMALAYA: TRAVELS IN BALIPARA—II*

By F. KINGDON WARD

FROM Charduar to Tiger Flat is 25 miles. There is an all-weather motor road passing in turn through virgin jungle, tea gardens, and paddy fields, at the foot of the hills. Cars have to stop at the Belsiri River, however, as there is no bridge; and we walked the last five miles to Tiger Flat.

It was the late April, 1935, and raining. At Tiger Flat I found a large clearing, with grass huts, on the edge of the jungle. There was also a small river, hidden by high grass, thick enough to have concealed any number of tigers. We camped here for the night.

Next day we turned north towards the clouded hills, marching ten or twelve miles up the wide valley through swampy jungle, high grass, and savannah. Stopping only at intervals to detach leeches from our persons, we arrived at a point where two mountain torrents meet. At the confluence is a fair-sized village of grass huts, Doimara. No smoke diffused itself through the thatched roofs, no pigs wallowed in the mud, no dogs scavenged for scraps, and barked at our approach, no children played beside the stream. There was no sign of a human being here; it was uncanny, like a village of the dead. The fact is, Doimara is occupied only in the winter. The temporary population had recently evacuated it and returned to their permanent villages in the mountains. Next December they would come back here like a flock of rooks in spring, to repair their nests for the mating season.

There is a path up either valley. We followed the more westerly stream, which leads to the Pankim Pass and to Shergaon. Crossing and re-crossing the torrent by flimsy bridges, it was easy to see why this route is impassable during the rainy season. Soon after starting we met an elephant on the path going the same way as ourselves, and browsing leisurely as it went along. Not knowing whether to say "shoo" or not, we gave it precedence. This delayed us for a bit, but presently the elephant, comfortably ignoring us, left the path, and we went by. Though we ascended the narrow valley steadily the whole day, when we camped for the third night, we were scarcely 2,000 feet above Tiger

* For Part I. of this paper, see *J.R.C.A.S.*, October, 1938, p. 610.

Flat, after five hours' marching. Blister flies swarmed in this camp, and gave us no quarter till night-fall.

As we climbed upwards, the forest grew greener and greener, for the rainfall increases with altitude. At this season many trees on the plain are leafless, but not here, at 3,000-4,000 feet. But the fourth day's climb was longer and steeper than anything we had experienced yet, and after six or seven hours' marching, we were in a quite different sort of forest, where several trees were putting out new leaves, as though it were spring; which in fact it was. There were also rhododendrons in bloom. We must then be fairly high up, nearly 9,000 feet, and close to the pass. We spent the night in a clearing on the shoulder, with grand trees all round us. This is virgin forest, untouched by the hand of man, and is full of trees such as maples, oaks, and birch, besides less familiar ones such as laurels and magnolias.

A steady drizzle accompanied us as we climbed the last few hundred feet to the pass next morning; nevertheless, through the moss-swathed trees I caught a last glimpse of the Assam plain, thousands of feet below. The Pankim Pass is a little under 10,000 feet. For half a mile we walked along a ridge, then began to descend suddenly. Jack of beanstalk fame, when he reached the top of his creeper, and found himself in an unfamiliar world, could hardly have been more surprised than I was at what I saw on the other side of the Pankim Pass. And yet I was in some degree prepared for it. The sun was shining in a beautifully blue sky. Gone was the white wet mist which curled dismally amongst the trees on the south side, gone too the dense jungle with its wrappings of moss. Blue pines towered up amongst vivid green oaks, spring flowers carpeted the earth, and below were cultivated fields. The whole scene reminded one irresistibly of England in spring.

A short descent through these delicious glades brought us to the Sherchokpa village of Shergaon, with its châlêt-like houses, 6,700 feet above sea-level. Small streams gathered together to join a larger stream which flowed down a valley towards the north-east; and all round us rose the hills, their slopes covered with the same forest of oaks, blue pines, and rhododendrons.

The first building in Shergaon to catch the eye is a small white-walled temple—one can hardly call it a monastery, since nobody lives in it. Besides it contains graven images. Prayer flags flutter from every house, and prayer drums revolve by every stream.

A notorious person named Wangia, headman of Shergaon, now

came forward to welcome me. Wangia is a red-eyed, lachrymose old man with lank white locks, and a brown skin wrinkled like a dried apple. He had dressed himself for the occasion in his greasy Tibetan *chupa*, coloured cloth boots, and skull cap. He is almost permanently drunk, and maudlin in his friendliness. Nevertheless, Wangia is shrewd, and no fool. He is more than the headman of Shergaon, nothing less than one of the "seven kings of Rupa," who are the hereditary chiefs of the Sherchokpa tribe. Who the Sherchokpa are is a minor mystery; probably nothing more than an endogamous group of the Mönba, though they now speak a language of their own. Outwardly, they resemble the Mönba, with whom they share a peasant culture. A greater than Wangia was in Shergaon on that May day, 1935; a lama, Geshi Ishi Dorje, a rotund man with little pig eyes in his dark, well-creased face, and a half bald pate. But Ishi Dorje's expression is benign. He speaks slowly in a thick soupy voice, pitched low—he would be worth a fortune to the B.B.C. as announcer—and is affable and friendly. He was most anxious for me to take his photograph, for in his canonical robes he is an impressive figure, and he knew it. Perhaps the chief attraction was his hat, a gorgeous, gilded wooden pagoda, more ornamental than protective. In the West, the Roman Church has always aimed at increasing the stature and dignity of the theocracy by crowning them with high hats, such as the mitre. In the East, the Tibetan Church has done the same. And so Ishi Dorje crowned himself with a small golden pagoda with a pink glass ball at the top, thrust his fat legs into vivid scarlet and green cloth boots, and wrapped his ample torso in a monkish robe of dull red, edged with silver braid, a brighter coloured blanket thrown loosely over one shoulder. I was delighted to take several photographs of so striking a figure.

Ishi Dorje is an important lay and church official. He comes originally, I believe, from Kalaktang, a village close to the Assam plain; but he was educated for the Church at the great monastery of Sera, near Lhasa, and was appointed to Tawang. He is now the principal representative of Tawang, in southern Mönbyul. His mind, of course, soars far above such petty trifles as frontiers, and he wanders freely amongst the *drokpa* of Bhutan, Tibet, and Balipara, going from one monastery to another. He has organized missions to the *drokpa*, for the lamarchy finds it convenient to keep these wandering herds under its control. I found monks resident in every *drokpa* community, and what is more, these missionaries are permitted to marry, a thing unheard of in orthodox circles.

Ishi Dorje proved himself a true friend and helpful, for he gave me permission to go where I liked in Mönnyul, and to cross the frontier into Tibet. But he was shrewd enough not to give it me in writing and I was shrewd enough not to press for it.

After crossing three more ranges, each higher than the last, we dropped right down to Dirang Dzong, the administrative centre of eastern Mönnyul. In the valleys between the ranges are Mönba villages, the houses clinging together on the steep slopes as though for mutual protection. All the streams we crossed flow eastwards to join the Bhareli River. The third and highest range is crossed by the Manda La, a pass over 10,000 feet high, and for the first time we found ourselves amongst silver firs and giant rhododendrons. It was a fine day in early May, and through the trees to the west I saw the mountains of the Bhutan frontier, still crested with snow, and to the north the rocky Zela range, which we should have to cross. A descent of 5,000 feet brought us to the large village of Dirang Dzong, which lies in a dry and draughty valley near the source of the Bhareli, or at any rate of its western branch. It is a curious fact that all the great rivers which drain the Assam Himalaya flow eastwards in longitudinal valleys, from the mighty Tsangpo itself, and the only less mighty Subansiri, to the comparatively small Bhareli. The transverse valleys by which these rivers cross the axis of the main range, or break through the outer ranges, are short by comparison.

Beyond Dirang Dzong the country is unsurveyed, although a number of peaks have been fixed on the Zela range, and still more on the main Himalayan range beyond. These last, some of them over 23,000 feet high, are clearly visible from Kohima, in the Naga Hills, nearly 200 miles distant.

In 1935 I spent only a few days at Dirang Dzong, being eager to get on into Tibet. But in 1938 I made Dirang Dzong my base for a more intensive exploration of eastern Mönnyul, and came to know the surrounding country well.

Agriculture in Mönnyul is primitive, but it is static and permanent, not temporary like that of the hill tribes. The same fields are ploughed and sown year after year, with the same crops, in the same order; for the Mönba have an empirical knowledge of rotation.

In north Burma, the Hkanung tribe, though cultivators, are migratory, almost one might say nomadic. Yet they are not nomads by nature, except in so far as they have been driven to wander in order to escape from their enemies. Thus finally they have come to rest in the

mountains of far northern Burma. They are cultivators, and, as a side line, hunters. Yet their peculiar situation has imposed on them a semi-nomadic life, even in their present home. A Hkanung village usually remains in one spot for less than a generation. Half the names on the map are a decade hence merely names.

Such nomadic agriculture is only possible where the population is scanty and the territory large. The average Hkanung village consists of about half a dozen huts.

But in the Assam Himalaya such movement is impossible. Some of the Abor villages, for example, contain 500 houses and there is no land available for migration on so big a scale. The villages are fixtures and the ensuing land hunger is a frequent cause of inter-village strife. The Dihang valley is, at that particular level of civilization, as thickly populated as it can be. Probably the same is true of the Subansiri valley. The pressure on the food supply steadily increases and the more hygiene and medicine are introduced by Government, the greater grows the pressure.

At first the rotation of shifting cultivation—jungle, crop, jungle—may be as much as eight or ten years, but as the population increases, the fallow period rapidly decreases, until only a year or two may intervene between one crop and the next. Moreover, the soil is impoverished so that the crop yield also seriously diminishes year by year; everything is taken from the soil, nothing returned to it, until finally it is bankrupt. In Mönyul there is no such land problem. Nevertheless it is obvious that here also there must be a certain balance between arable land and population, and it seems likely that that balance is nearly attained. In other words, the population is about stationary.

The road to Tawang and Tibet continues a few miles up the valley from Dirang Dzong, crosses the river, and climbs round a shoulder of the mountain by flights of stone steps. Thus it reaches a spur of the Zela range and ascends without a break, or at any rate without a descent, for 7,000 feet to the Ze La. At about 9,000 feet is Senge Dzong, the last village on the south side of the range, strung out along a grassy ridge. Senge Dzong is really a trading post, but there is cultivation here and ample grazing.

In June, 1935, I crossed the Ze La in a rainstorm. The Zela range has been well glaciated in the past, but its highest peaks are only just over 16,000 feet, and there are no glaciers, or even snow beds now. Our objective was not Tawang, but the district called Mago. After crossing the pass, therefore, we turned off the main road, and camped

in a narrow valley at the foot of another rocky pass, which we crossed first thing next morning. In all we crossed four more passes, about 15,000 feet high (some were still partly under snow) during the next three days before descending several thousand feet by a steep path to the Lugathang stream, close to its source. If it were possible to follow this stream westwards, one would soon reach the Tawang road at the village of Jang, whence a steep climb out of the valley brings one to Tawang itself. Unfortunately below Lugathang the stream plunges into an impassable gorge and the exhausting route we had followed, near the crest of the range, is the only means of communication between Lugathang and Tawang!

We followed up the stream for about a mile, through a sea of gorgeous rhododendrons, and then climbed several hundred feet up the hillside to the wretched village of Lugathang. It was a cold and cheerless spot. Not a single domesticated plant grew round these dark buildings, which formed a small rabbit warren, so closely were they packed. If environment accounts for half our nature, what sort of effect, I wondered, had these bare mountains on the people!

The *Drokpa*, however, were not at home. All, save one ancient dame, had already taken their flocks to still higher pastures and we had to stay here two days while a message was sent to them. They returned in the evening bringing some yak, and in pouring rain we crossed another high rocky range. Patches of brilliant yellow, caused by thousands of primulas, marked the camping sites of the herds, this particular primula (*P. strumosa*) evidently flourishing to excess where yak had trampled and manured the ground.

From a fine glacier lake we descended on the second day after leaving Lugathang to yet another large torrent flowing westwards, or rather south-westwards. Like the Lugathang stream it was bordered with rhododendron bushes in full bloom, the mauve flowers making a wonderful show. Crossing this stream we climbed the ridge on the opposite side, to a pass called the Chera La. And now for the first time since leaving the plain the main Himalayan range came into full view, bristling with snow peaks which were only ten or twelve miles away. Behind that white rampart lay Tibet. About 2,000 feet below us was another deep valley, in which a stream (Dungma Chu) flowed westwards from the snow peaks; and a little way down it we could see another *drokpa* village, in the district called Mago. This was our immediate destination.

It will be seen that the river pattern here is complicated. The map

was a hindrance rather than a help, because the country is unsurveyed and where the map makers have guessed, they have guessed wrong. For example, on the map (Survey of India, Sheets 83 and 83A) Luga-thang is shown on the Mago River, which it is not. It is on a smaller river separated from the Mago River by a high range of mountains, which we crossed. This Lugathang stream flows westwards to the south of Tawang; the Mago River probably joins the Tsona River which flows southwards to the west of Tawang. Until the country round Tawang is surveyed, it cannot be stated with certainty just how these rivers, in their deep valleys, flow and combine; but the main river system is fairly simple :

(i.) The rivers in Mönyul flow westwards to Bhutan, eastwards to Assam.

(ii.) The Zela range forms the divide between east-and-west-flowing rivers: it is an off-shoot of the main Himalayan range.

(iii.) The westward flowing streams soon plunge into impassable gorges; this is probably where they are crossing the Zela range to reach the Manas, in Bhutan. The eastward flowing streams, which rise to the south of the Zela range and flow to the Bhareli, plunge into no such gorges. The valleys are comparatively wide.

(iv.) Communications in Mönyul north of the Zela range are therefore difficult; to get from one part of the country to another, it is necessary to cross several high ranges of mountains. This has helped to isolate Tawang, and has canalized traffic along two or three definite routes.

(v.) The present drainage pattern results from the glaciation of the eastern Himalaya during the last glacial age.

As already pointed out the Zela range was, before 1914, the *de jure* frontier between Assam and the Tibetan outlying province of Mönyul, although in fact Tibetan influence and administration extended some way beyond that, the Buddhist faith, for instance, reaching as far as Shergaon and Rupa. With the "rectification" of the frontier by agreement in 1914, however, the main Himalayan range became the frontier, thus bringing the key position of Tawang within Assam. As we have seen, no steps were taken for 25 years to alter the administration of the country, which continued to function as hitherto.

As to this Tibetan administration, it seems to me to be benign and rather contemptuous. Neglect of the people is probably its worst aspect, and its best. Most men would rather be ignored than bullied. The influence of the Church prevents any gross abuse; but it also

muzzles its disciples. Yet there is probably no other oriental country, not excepting the most enlightened, where so few real abuses exist, or where every man has so fair a chance. Criminals it is true are severely punished, but crime is comparatively rare. Witnesses who are suspected of lying may be flogged, thieves walk with heavy wooden collars round their necks, or are shackled with leg irons. But on the whole there is little inhumanity in Tibet, and much real kindness. In Mönyul the people complain of only one exaction, and even that is a hardship rather than a grave injustice. I refer to the system of *ulag* or free transport for officials, which every village is bound to furnish on demand. Such a system naturally lends itself to abuse. There is nothing the Tibetan official dislikes so much as travelling. His inertia is monumental. The demand for *ulag* would be small therefore, but for illegal imposition for trade purposes.

Though one cannot defend the system of double taxation in Mönyul—once to the Tibetan administration and once to the Akha as a bribe—it is only fair to say that the Englishman home on leave from India is equally subject to double taxation. The Mönba at least gets something in return for his tax to the Akha—peace instead of war; and perhaps it is cheap at the price. What he gets from the Tibetan administration is less clear. But on the positive side he probably gets rough-and-ready justice, and on the negative side he is free to till his fields and to trade.

Descending from the grassy summit of the Chera La we reached the Dungma chu and crossed it. Shortly afterwards we arrived at the Drokpa village of Dyuri, a mile or two down the wooded valley. Dyuri consists of half a dozen cabins aground in a shallow sea of mud. At this point the Dungma Chu is joined by a stream from the north (Goshu chu), on the right bank of which is another village, Nyuri; the two villages are often called Mago, which name also applies to the whole district. Just beyond the confluence of the Dungma and Goshu streams a bare wall of granite rises many hundred feet above the river, marking its entry into a gorge. About a mile further on, the Gori Chu joins in, and the combined river is called the Mago chu. There is no path down either of these streams from Mago into Bhutan.

Dyuri and Myuri resemble Lugathang. They are *drokpa* or herd villages, the people subsisting mainly on the produce of their flocks. They dress in skins, and woollen or hair garments of rough but warm felt, and live largely on milk, butter, and cheese, and occasionally meat. Such grain as they need is imported in exchange for butter and wool. There is no cultivation. The *drokpa* are almost a race apart, moun-

tain gypsies, a landless people who have sought shelter and livelihood in the high pastures. Most of them are, no doubt, descended from true nomad tribes. It is a curious paradox, emphasizing the unusual conditions of the Assam Himalaya that whereas the hill tribes are given to nomadic agriculture, the *drokpa* are a settled pastoral people, living in villages above the crop line.

Most of the people had gone up the northern valley with their flocks, and I spent three days at Dyuri, waiting for transport. Close to the village is a hot spring, but it is not much used. Small pebbles from the bottom, pressed to the eyes, are reputed to cure blindness or ophthalmia.

At last, on June 12, the yak arrived from up the valley, and we marched up the Goshu chu towards the snow peaks, which are visible from Dyuri. In the afternoon we reached the *drokpa* camp, called Chunak ("black water"), where there are several stone-walled huts, occupied during the summer months only. It poured with rain the next day, which was unfortunate, as the march from Chunak over the Tulung La, 17,250 feet, is a particularly irksome one. As we approached the pass, the glaciers and snow peaks of the Himalaya came into close view.

As we crossed the Tulung La late in the afternoon, after an exhausting climb, the sun came out for the first time. Not far below was a stony valley, and as soon as we reached the stream we camped at a height of nearly 16,000 feet. Great chunks of the dazzling blue Himalayan forget-me-not (*Myosotis Hookeri*), lay around in scores, like turquoise-studded hassocks, an unforgettable sight.

Next day, rounding the shoulder of a spur, we met the Tibetan wind off the plateau, head on, and to the accompaniment of a resounding thunderstorm, crossed the Pen La, 17,350 feet. We were over the Assam Himalaya, in Tibet.

During the next four months I wandered far across southern Tibet, northwards to the Tsangpo and to the China-Tibet road beyond that, and eastwards into Porneo.* But I will pass over that period, and return to Balipara. In October I recrossed the Pen La and the Tulung La, in fine but very cold weather, and found myself once more in Mago. Instead of retracing my steps to Dirang Dzong by the rather troublesome climb to the Ze La, I took a more direct road.

Crossing the Chera La again on October 10, I had a clear view of Gori Chen, and was able to form some idea of the size of the ice cap which had once covered the whole of the eastern Himalaya; not

* *Geographical Journal*, November, 1936.

merely the main range on which glaciers still exist, but the lower ranges also, almost down to the edge of the plain. At that time the Himalayan system must have looked much more like a plateau than a series of parallel mountain ranges.

The distance from the edge of the plain to the crest line of the main range varies between 50 and 80 miles, but the glaciers extended a long way north of the main range. Between the plain of Assam and the valley of the Tsangpo, the plateau-like Himalayan arch was probably nowhere less than a 100 miles wide, while the distance from the Bhutan frontier north-eastwards to the gorge of the Tsangpo is between 250 and 300 miles. Thus the eastern Himalayan ice cap alone must have covered something like 25,000 square miles.

The present lesser ranges of the eastern Himalayan system probably did not come into prominence until much later, during the retreat of the glaciers. The longitudinal valleys (*i.e.*, east-west valleys parallel to the main range) appear to owe their existence to glaciers, and the lesser ranges are the portions which remain after the valleys have been carved out.

Winter had now definitely settled over Mönyul. All the cattle had come down from the high pastures, and as we ascended the valley of the Gori Chu, beyond the tree line, it took on a more desolate appearance.

Crossing the now small stream, we turned south, and after a short climb reached the Tse La. This pass is about 20 miles north-east of the Ze La and appreciably higher—over 15,000 feet. Looking back we saw Gori Chen once more, only a few miles away. From the pass we descended the bare turf slopes into a valley where shrubs, and finally a few fir trees appeared. We camped by the stream on the edge of the forest and that night there was a very hard frost. Next morning we left the stream, and ascended through the fir forest to the Poshing La, which crosses a shoulder above the stream. The day had begun fine, but on the pass we found ourselves enveloped in a bitterly cold mist. The south side of the Poshing La is steep and rocky; it is the practically dry bed of a large torrent which formerly flowed from the glacier occupying the upper valley. Now the stream follows a course of its own further west, flowing in a gorge, while the path takes the old high level glacier route. A steep flight of high and awkward steps leads down from the pass, and the yak which carried the baggage had a bad half-hour. However, we soon reached the ridge which now becomes the path right away down to the main valley, and the sun

presently breaking through again, we could see the fields round Dirang Dzong, 7,000 or 8,000 feet below. That evening we camped on a grassy alp, and when the sun rose next morning it revealed long parallel lines of blue mountains, lesser ranges of the Assam Himalaya, separated by deep narrow valleys, the whole covered with forest. From one point we caught a distant view of the plain through a gap in the last line of hills, and I thought I could see the gleam of the Brahmaputra, 50 to 60 miles distant. We were on the extreme eastern edge of Mönnyul. The valleys which fell away on our left and the hill clearings which we could see quite plainly, are inhabited by the Akha tribe. About one o'clock we reached the little monastery of Lagam, at about 8,000 feet altitude. There are one or two miserable hovels and a little cultivation; but the place seems to exist mainly to bestow the final blessing of the Church on those who venture to cross the Tse La to Mago, and also as a trading post. For the Tibetan Church is not above engaging in commerce. The solitary lama was absent.

We ought to have spent the night at Lagam, but as I was in a hurry to get on and as, moreover, we could see Tembang on its spur away down the valley, I decided to go on. We did not leave Lagam till after two o'clock and it was quite dark long before we reached Tembang. Men came out with torches to light us into the village. Early next morning a gorgeous sunrise showed Tembang to be a walled village, perched on a windy spur some 2,000 feet above the Dirang Dzong River (Digien R.). It is the eastern outpost of the Mönba in this valley. But neither the wall, pierced only by two narrow gates, approached up flights of steps, nor the natural strength of the position avails the Mönba, who are too cowardly to defend their fortress. Possibly it has withstood assaults in the past; clearly it was designed to that end. To-day not swords and bows and the drums of war, but *manis* and prayer drums hold back the invader; reinforced of course by bribes.

The people of Tembang are not beautiful. Inbreeding, due perhaps to isolation, has left its mark on the inhabitants and Tembang seems to have more than the usual number of mental defectives.

We covered the remaining distance to Dirang Dzong in a long day's march, having exchanged our yak for coolies. The path keeps high above the river on the left bank, and we pass through only one village in ten miles. Thus on October 14 we got back to our starting point at Dirang Dzong.

On October 16 we set out for Shergaon, which we reached in three days; only to discover that it would be quite impossible to cross the Pan-

kim La for another six weeks, as the torrent on the south side, which was also frequently the path, was in full flood. The Sherchokpa do not migrate to Doimara till December. The climate of Shergaon was now delightful, the days warm and sunny with sharp frosts at night. The fields were bare, and the people did not seem to have much work in hand.

On October 20 we started down the valley in a north-easterly direction, and by next day were in the limestone country. The stream flows in a characteristically deep gorge, so that sometimes we were compelled to climb high above it. There was a corresponding change in the vegetation too, and in many places the rocks were covered with a beautiful little slipper orchid (*Cypripedium Fayerianum*). The north-west Himalayan cypress (*Cupressus torulosa*) also appears in some numbers. The lower slopes of the mountains are steeper and barer than round Shergaon.

In the afternoon we reached Rupa, or Dukpen, a large village where three streams meet, and have not only carved out an amphitheatre at the bottom of the valley, but have left long level terraces suitable for agriculture. There is a three-storied *gompa*, but it appears to be used more as a store-house, and a meeting place for the "Kings of Rupa" to discuss affairs, than for religious purposes, though masks for religious dances are kept in the top storey. The inhabitants of Rupa are very like those of Shergaon, though they call themselves by a different name, and speak a slightly different dialect. Communication between Rupa and Shergaon is not interrupted during the rainy season. Although more than 2,000 feet lower than Shergaon, the climate of Rupa is pleasant, and the open limestone country is as delightful as any place in the hills.

From Rupa a track goes south over the Bompou La, via Doimara, to the plains, reached in four days. But the Bompou La was no more passable at this season than the Pankim La, and it was necessary to continue eastwards another two days' march and cross the outer range by a lower pass, which would bring us to the bank of the Bhareli River itself.

Accordingly we continued down the valley, and on the second day passed in the course of a few miles from the "dry" climate of Mönnyul to a "wet" climate—these terms are of course comparative—and from pine forest to jungle. Nothing obstructed the valley; we crossed no ridge or spur, there is no visible barrier of any sort. It is simply that the saturated monsoon wind blows a certain distance up the valley and

then ceases. Or rather, the wind itself does not cease, but the bulk of the moisture it contains is dropped before it reaches Rupa. And with the change of climate there is a marked change in the vegetation.

That afternoon we reached the first Akha village, Jamiri, and another day's halt became necessary to collect coolies.

There are "tame" Akhas, subsidized by the Assam Government. The men are tall and well built. They wear a long "shirt waist" or night-gown sort of garment with a sash round the waist, and cloth gaiters. Ornaments are freely worn—big bead necklaces, immense silver ear-rings, like telephone receivers, and finger rings. They wear their hair long, tied in a top knot. At Jamiri we were quite close to the great S-bend of the Bhareli; in fact within one of the loops. It was but a short distance across the outermost range, the last barrier between us and the plains, to the river bank, and the pass is less than 6,000 feet above sea-level. All round Jamiri are hills covered with dense evergreen jungle. On October 26 we crossed the pass and, descending, presently saw the wide Bhareli River below. Soon we were in dense sub-tropical jungle. The path keeps to the river bank for some miles, and at this season was much overgrown. A heavy rain-storm made the going difficult, and we were soon covered with leeches. We forded two streams without difficulty, but later I learnt that during the rains they are the most formidable obstacles on this route. Two Daphlas, carrying my mail from Charduar to Jamiri in August, had tried to cross the Sessa stream in flood by means of a hastily constructed raft. The raft had upset, they had lost everything, clothes, knives, and, of course, my mail, and had only just escaped drowning. Nevertheless this rather roundabout route up the Bhareli, over the outer range by a nameless pass (5,790 feet) to Jamiri, and thence up the valley to Rupa, is the only way into the hills during the rainy season. Even Daphlas do not perform the journey unless they have to.

We just failed to reach the end of the motor road on October 27, and after a very long march, camped on the bank of the Bhareli. Early the following morning we reached a favourite picnic place. We were now only 20 miles from Charduar, but we camped on the road that afternoon with ten miles still to go.

Getting up before daylight next day to watch the colours of the sky changing, we made an early start before it grew hot, and reached Charduar in three hours, after a journey of six months' duration.

So ended my first journey in the Balipara Frontier Tract.

In 1938 I returned there for a more intensive botanical exploration

of the frontier hills, having first promised not to cross the original Tibetan frontier, *i.e.*, the Zela range.

Early in May, 1938, I was back at Dirang Dzong; and one of the first places I visited was the Poshing La, to see the rhododendrons in bloom. We went via Tembang and Lagam. At the latter place a surprise was in store for me. The lama in charge greeted me like an old friend, and there was no mistaking him. He had only one eye; his face was lop-sided, as though somebody had tried to carve up the near side with a meat chopper. I had met him fourteen years previously at the little wooden monastery of Pemakochung in the gorge of the Tsangpo, in Tibet. It is a far cry from Pemakochung to Lagam! The interior of the monastery, where I spent the night, reminded me of a neglected provincial museum; dusty pheasant skins, and other "curios" hung from the rafters in front of the altar, and last year's harvest festival decorations—discoloured corn cobs and the like—had not been cleared away.

From Lagam we climbed to the Poshing La, which looked a very different place in May from what it did in October. More than twenty-four species of rhododendron grow along the ridge, and most of them were in flower. However, it rained continuously.

In July I again visited the Poshing La. The rhododendrons were of course all over, but on the return journey we were, surprisingly, favoured with clear weather, and from the spur which leads down to Lagam and Tembang, I caught sight of a group of snow peaks on the main range, just behind the Poshing La. It was an exceptionally fine view, nor was I prepared to see them from so close. This group is situated just where the Zela range joins the main Himalayan range, and the glaciers must feed the Bhareli River.

We did not descend to Lagam, but took a more direct, if rather precipitous route, down to Dirang Dzong. This proved a lucky choice, as on the way I discovered a new and very charming lily, growing in the pine forest.

My second journey from Dirang Dzong was westwards to the Bhutan frontier. A well-used pass, the Orka La, connects Mönnyul with Trashigang Dzong, in the Manas valley, via Sating, an important village with a monastery of some repute. It was June, and the weather at Dirang Dzong was not unlike a pleasant English June. We walked up the valley to Liu, a good-sized village on the main road to the Ze La and Tawang; and here I found my old friend Ishi Dorje in residence in the pretty little *gompa*. Wet rice is grown at Liu, where

the climate is still sub-tropical. The next day we began to climb the frontier range, diverging from the Tawang road, and keeping due west towards Bhutan. In a few hours we reached a *drokpa* village at about 9,000 feet altitude, but well within the forest belt. Even here, however, it was too cold for cultivation, and the people lived on their flocks and herds, taking them up into the high pastures during the summer.

Immediately above this static nomad encampment, we entered the silver fir forest, with rhododendron undergrowth, and climbed up the steep zig-zag ridge for two days, camping at last just above the tree line, beside a beautiful glacier lake. Or rather it was once a glacier lake; but as there are no longer any glaciers, it is now just a lake. The alpine flowers were a marvellous sight. Most of them grew, not in dozens or scores, nor even in hundreds or thousands, but literally in millions. They blazoned the slopes with almost every imaginable colour. And the curious thing was that man was responsible for this in many cases. Where he had cut down and burnt the scrub, to allow his cattle to graze, it was just there that primulas grew in sheets, jostling each other. I have never seen so many primulas. In one place it was the bright yellow *P. Dickieana*, in another the violet *P. Gamblicana*, or the deeper yellow *P. strumosa*. And besides these there were yellow poppies, and blue poppies, anemones, androsace, and of course tuffets of dwarf rhododendron.

Unfortunately as soon as we reached the Orka La, a violent storm from Bhutan sprang up, and came roaring over the pass. The wind reached gale force, and threatened to tear my tent out of the ground and hurl it into the lake. Night after night I awoke, to hear the wind, and to feel the wind; it seemed to shake the very hills. It was cold too, and wet, the rain driving in sheets across the high and flowery landscape. We stood it for a week and then went down the ridge to Dirang Dzong, reached on the third day. It was midsummer here, and the barley was ripe. The people were ploughing up the land to plant the second, and main crop of the year, maize.

I only made one more trip to the Orka La and that was in the late autumn. The scene had changed. The weather was fine and frosty, and the hard outline of the mountains shone dully like gunmetal against the soft turquoise sky. Now the turf slopes were spangled with thousands of sapphire and sea-blue gentians, instead of with primulas. It was an extraordinary transformation. It would be difficult to imagine a greater contrast than these slopes present in spring and autumn.

Besides visiting the Poshing La twice and the Orka La twice, and

crossing the Bomde La for the first time—this last a pass east of the Manda La, of no particular interest—I made one more journey in 1938, namely to the Ze La in August, the wettest month of the year. In 1935 I had crossed the Ze La in June, when the rhododendrons were in flower. In August there were no rhododendrons, and not many primulas left, and it was early for Himalayan gentians. In fact it was rather the between-season lull. Except for the rain—there was no lull about that. It hardly stopped raining, and we enjoyed none of the wonderful views we had had from some of the other passes.

By the middle of October I had collected seeds of a hundred species of flowers, the pick of the season's botanical discoveries. They included 25 species of rhododendron, 20 of primula, the new lily, a gorgeous scarlet-flowered phlomis, and several gentians.

We left Dirang Dzong on October 20, and taking the short route to Dukpen, crossing only two passes, reached the Bhareli River in ten days. And so to Charduar once more on the last day of the month.

So ended my second journey in the Assam Himalaya. But one always returns to a favourite country a third time!

REVIEWS

Imperial Japan, 1926-1938. By A. Morgan Young. Demy 8vo. Pp. 320.
Allen and Unwin. 1938. 12s. 6d.

By what was to prove a strange irony the period in Japanese history which is the subject of the present study was called "Showa," or "Peace made Manifest."

"The young Emperor of Japan," as Mr. Young records, "came to the Throne in the closing days of 1926." The liberal Baron Shidehara was Minister of Foreign Affairs. In China the compact between Sun Yat-sen and Abramovitch Joffe, a Russian Commissar, who came to China in January, 1923, as head of a Soviet Mission, was bearing fruit. In the crisis between the Foreign Powers and China, which rapidly developed, Baron Shidehara "put the whole question, for the moment, on a higher plane than it had hitherto occupied. Japan was anxious, he said, to see the re-establishment of order and security in China. Friendship for China dictated this wish, which was also necessary for the commercial interest of Japan. But the end could be attained only on Chinese initiative; compulsion from without could only do harm. Japan could only lend her support to Chinese endeavours and provide opportunity for their fulfilment . . . China had a historical background of several thousand years; she had a national life peculiarly her own, and no imposition upon that national life or political or social institutions devised by foreign nations to suit their own convenience could possibly succeed. Nor could it be imagined that the Chinese would long acquiesce in foreign intervention or submit to foreign dictation."

In this summary Mr. Young gives us a glimpse of the highest peak perhaps in liberalism that Japan ever reached. The next few years were to show a rapid decline. With fearless accuracy, Mr. Young, who for many years was Editor of the *Japan Chronicle*, the only British newspaper in Japan, traces the steps which give the key, in part at least, to the Far Eastern situation to-day.

Space is devoted in the earlier pages to the China policy of the Government under General Baron Tanaka, to whom is imputed the so-called "Tanaka Memorial," which, alleged to be a forgery, has begun to be realized in so many particulars. An account of what Mr. Young calls "Liberalism's last effort" under the leadership of Mr. Hamaguchi and Baron Shidehara follows, bringing us to the military action in 1931, "which," says Mr. Young, "thrust Japan back into the Middle Ages and re-established the soldier as the ruler of Japan."

Considerations of space forbid any attempt to follow Mr. Young through the maze of events, disfigured by political assassinations, filling the hearts of the friends of Japan with despair, which have led to the rise of what is known to-day as the "Young Officer party" and its dominant influence on Japanese national policies and threat to world peace.

"Facts are hard chiel and dinna wing." Mr. Young presents us with them in overwhelming array. But a reviewer may venture to submit that they are not the whole story. To understand modern Japan we must go far back in history and at the same time pay some attention to the cynical disregard of obligation which unfortunately has become a characteristic of the age.

Mitford's *Tales of Old Japan* is still no bad guide to an understanding of her national spirit.

The Russian advance across Asia and her direct threat to Japan's existence, first manifesting itself round about 1860, was and is a stern reality. Japan has a strategic problem. Her deprivation by Russia, Germany and France in 1895 of the fruits of her victory in the war with China provided her soldiers and sailors with a tradition of revenge and hate in a country where tradition dies hard.

In our profound sympathy for China in her terrible plight, anti-foreignism in China, which in modern times came to a head ten years ago, is too often forgotten to-day, especially by Englishmen who in some respects suffered most.

Again, for Japan schism in Europe has been an invitation and an opportunity. Events have proved that moral force and the "Rule of Law" are useless without their appropriate sanctions.

We have to strike a balance, and much as some may dislike the conclusion, the scales are not entirely weighted against Japan.

But whether we agree or disagree with this anticipation of the verdict of history, there can be no room for doubt that our best effort is called for in considering Japanese policy in China, and what should be our answer.

Mr. Young's book is a timely contribution of reliable material, helping us to assess current events, perhaps not least importantly in relation to the relentless spirit which has inspired Japanese activity on the mainland of Asia. Not that there is any lack of clearness in "the writing on the wall." Although the strategic question is no doubt occupying Japan's attention, it is the economic question which immediately affects British, American and foreign interests at large. Here Japan is making rapid and consistent progress in the direction of economic domination of China and more particularly of North China.

On the Yangtze she herself is trading, while denying access to foreign shipping on the grounds of military necessity. By all means in her power she aims to establish a strangle-hold on Shanghai. At Hankow she has taken over the former British Concession, which under the Ch'en-O'Malley Agreement was a "Special Area," thus in effect exercising belligerent rights despite the theory of independent Chinese regional administrations as distinct from military governments established by an occupying force.

But it is in North China that the foundations have been most fully laid for the absorption by Japan of the economic resources of that vast region.

In March last a new bank called the Federal Reserve Bank was established, ostensibly by the so-called Provisional Government of the Republic of China in Peking, with power to issue notes for which it was decreed that notes of national currency should be exchanged within certain defined

periods. Despite opposition, this bank cannot be said to be a failure, and it seems most probable that in the absence of effective counter-measures it will succeed in establishing itself and driving out the former national currency, which had a substantial reserve and was fixed at a certain ratio in relation to sterling. The new currency not being backed by reserves, its notes will have no value in terms of foreign exchange. Persons, therefore, doing trade other than with the Japanese Empire and Manchoukuo, will be unable to purchase freely necessary foreign exchange for the purposes of their business, which will be forced back almost entirely upon the elementary and hampering principle of barter. At the same time, even without the restrictions which are in force in Japan and Manchoukuo it will be impossible to withdraw capital invested in the country, returns on investment, trading profits and savings, save by grace of traders whose businesses show surplus exports, the proceeds of which in foreign currencies are not required to pay for imports.

From the Japanese standpoint, on the other hand, the acceptance of these notes being compulsory in Japanese-occupied areas, they are available to pay for all local supplies to the Japanese Army, and for all China produce purchased by Japan, despite the fact that the notes have, in effect, no value save that of the charges connected with their production and issue. It is thus clear that if Japan can make a success of this bank, as now seems probable, and at the same time can establish, as she aims to establish, trade and exchange control, she will be able to buy virtually for nothing the produce of North China, and, after supplying her needs, will be able to sell the balance abroad in exchange for commodities which she requires. For the effect of strict control of exchange will be to make all proceeds of the export trade in foreign currencies available exclusively for the purposes of Japan and to eliminate foreign import trade save in those essentials which Japan cannot herself supply.

Such is the foundation of the Japanese scheme for economic domination in North China. And since, as just indicated, for the full achievement of its aims strict control of trade and exchange is called for, a number of steps have also been taken in those directions. The system devised several months ago, a system of export permits in respect of wool in certain wool-collecting districts in Inner Mongolia, has now given place to an enforcement of trade and exchange control over all skins, furs, hides, wool, silver and brass. Nothing can now be exported from that region without handing over to the Mongolian Bank the equivalent value in foreign exchange.

Some months ago in North China an embargo was also placed on the export of hides, allegedly for military purposes. More recently a similar embargo was placed on the export of wool and hemp, while only as late as December 2 regulations were issued, controlling strictly the export, destination and settlement of exchange in the matter of cotton. It will be seen that the export trade of North China as regards its staples is no longer in any sense free, while exchange control, already in force in Tsingtao, at least so far as British and American merchants are concerned, though possibly not for German traders, is already partially in operation.

Turning to imports, some months ago certain restrictions were imposed on grounds of military necessity. It is now an open secret that restrictions are to be imposed in the near future on no less than 94 articles of import, the great majority of which represent articles in which foreign importers in particular are interested and which include the chief amenities of foreign life.

Side by side with these economic activities, the attitude of the Japanese Army, which controls all communications, contains more than a hint of creating conditions indistinguishable from beleaguerment if the Foreign Concessions do not comply with their demands. Provocative and unnecessary passport measures are enforced as regards Europeans and Americans, but not as regards Chinese and Japanese, which would be the case if this represented a justifiable war measure. At the same time the "de facto" regional authorities are encouraged to interfere in a number of directions with the elements which go to make life for foreigners pleasant and even tolerable.

In the cultural field, or, more correctly, in the field of propaganda, all Chinese schools within the occupied areas have been compelled to adopt new textbooks prepared under Japanese supervision. Meanwhile all Chinese newspapers have either been long suppressed or have found it impossible to maintain their independence and therefore have given up publication. The only vernacular papers to-day in the occupied areas are those controlled by Japan.

Nor has the foreign Press, especially the British Press, escaped the consequences of this propagandist policy. The principal English newspaper in North China, *The Peking and Tientsin Times*, has been denied, and until the last few days its French contemporary also, railway facilities for distribution to its subscribers outside the foreign Concessions at Tientsin.

The conclusion, therefore, asserts itself that foreign trade in North China is gradually becoming impossible, and, unless a halt is compelled, it can only be a matter of time when it is for all practical purposes eliminated.

The questions which arise are what is China doing about these things, what are we doing about these things, and how far is Japan strong enough to enforce her will upon lines which will close the field to British trade and industry as well as the trade and industry of America and other foreign nations other than Japan?

The Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society is not the *Edinburgh Review*, and space does not permit of a monograph on this vital subject. A few lines in conclusion, however, may perhaps be permitted on the various alternatives.

The pages of Mr. Morgan Young's valuable book bear eloquent witness to the existence of the elements that make for persistent pursuit of the Pan-Asian ideal. Only effective resistance can enforce temporary abandonment or failure.

What then is being or can be done?

In the first place, China has put up resistance to an extent totally unexpected by Japan, fore-knowledge of which would probably have prevented her from embarking on military operations. As China has retired in the field, the "de jure" Government of China has developed what has become

known as the policy of "scorched earth," with pitiful consequences to vast sections of the population. Earlier in the year vast areas south of the Yellow River were deliberately flooded to check the Japanese advance, and for a time Doihara, like Alva, found himself precariously situated.

A second measure has been the development of guerilla warfare throughout the occupied areas, for, although Japan controls all communications north of the Yangtze, her authority does not extend any considerable distance beyond the coast and a narrow strip along the railways.

Thirdly, the Chinese producer, more particularly of cotton in North China, is believed to be drastically limiting his output, so that the requirements of the countryside may not be much more than covered. Though, therefore, Japan has been and will continue to be successful in her arms, the task of consolidation in order to reap the fruits of military success presents difficulties which can only be measured by the spirit and continued determination to resist of the Chinese people.

As regards protection of the foreign position, the policy of Germany in Europe, for the time being at any rate, would not appear to admit of any action stronger than representation backed by economic pressure. The question, therefore, which arises is in what direction and to what extent can the latter be exerted?

In order to come to some conclusion one must realize that there are three elements in the situation. The first is represented by the integrity and interests of China, which call for a peace on honourable and just lines; secondly, a realistic view is necessary of Japan's position; and, thirdly, an accurate appreciation requires to be made of the position and rights of trading nations of the West.

In the last resort, if foreign trade is for all practical purposes to cease there will be no reason for America or the British Empire to continue to trade with Japan, which represents substantially more than 50 per cent. of Japan's total trade. Since, however, China, even if conquered, cannot supply many of Japan's vital needs, Japan cannot risk the penalty which would ensue on her deliberate sabotage of the great trading machinery which has been built up in China over more than a hundred years. This is no doubt realized, and is the principal and perhaps the only reason for the oft-asserted promise not to interfere with foreign interests, a promise consistently belied by the active steps taken by Japanese militarists to make all foreign business impossible. Meanwhile, there are economic measures of a less drastic nature which may at least be threatened. At long last therefore Japan should have to yield her more extreme ambitions apart from considerations of her internal economic condition which cannot stand indefinitely the strain of war. With her it is a race against time, and provided there is fair recognition of her position she might be glad to end it.

Turning to the Chinese standpoint, in China for many years there will be eloquent reminders of what Japan has done. With many Chinese "lest we forget" will be a dominant influence. But China has sore need of peace and reconstruction.

And so the conference table may be nearer than many suppose.

This view perhaps gains some support from Japan's unremitting en-

deavours to secure the right class of Chinese to lead the process of reconstruction in the occupied areas and in her oft-repeated invitations to foreign capital. Such invitations, however, will be refused if the Chinese are to be no more than "hewers of wood and drawers of water," or if foreign finance is to be dissociated from some form of permanent co-operation in the developments which are to take place. Great Britain is a great investor abroad, but her principal business is not moneylending. It is trade and active participation in the development of enterprise in which she participates financially. To lend money in order to enable Japan to exploit China to the detriment of British interests until she is strong enough to do without our assistance would be suicidal, involving ultimately the elimination of British interests east of Singapore.

F. J. R. C.

CHINA,

December 4, 1938.

POSTSCRIPT

The foregoing review did not arrive in London in time for the January issue of this Journal. I have therefore been asked to bring it up to date.

On reflection it seems that this can best be done in the form of a postscript, since the past three months have seen no change other than the gradual development of the situation on the lines which have been indicated.

Shanghai is still starved by the restrictions on the navigation of the Yangtze. In Hankow life has become continuously more difficult and oppressive. But it is perhaps rather to North China, as probably Japan's real goal, that we have to look for the true reflection of her policies and methods. Tsingtao has already been reduced to economic bondage. Tientsin is the next objective.

Shortly before Christmas barricades were erected at the exits of the British and French Concessions at Tientsin, ostensibly for the control of anti-Japanese and Communist elements, which it was alleged existed in the Concessions. It was further alleged that, so far from eliminating these so-called subversive forces or controlling their activities, the municipal police, if not secretly co-operating, were sympathetic to their aims, and in consequence were what the Japanese military described as "non-co-operative." For this charge there is as little foundation as in the charges levelled against the Shanghai municipal police, with whose record the Japanese police record in the section of the International Settlement controlled by them cannot begin to compare. It is but fair to add, however, that this attitude was possibly inspired in part by genuine apprehension as to guerrilla activities which were becoming increasingly menacing, especially in view of a weak Japanese garrison. There was, therefore, a disposition not to regard this development as necessarily a threat to the foreign areas.

Early in February notification was given that the barricades would be removed, but in practice it proved that this only meant relaxation for the time being of the demand on foreigners to produce passports or cards of identity issued by their respective Consular authorities and abandonment of search of Chinese. The barricades continued to exist, and though technic-

ally open, they were arranged in such a way as to impose on traffic an S-like course reducing it to "first gear" pace. Meanwhile a circular road had been constructed on the land side of the British and French Concessions to enable direct communication to be made between the Japanese Concession, which lies above the French Concession, and the First Special Area, formerly the German Concession, which lies below the British Concession. There was now indication of the construction of an electrified barbed-wire fence on the Concessions side of the road.

This has been virtually completed, while a new bridge between the Italian and Japanese Concessions will be completed shortly, giving access from the Japanese Concession to the railway without going through the French Concession.

It is generally understood that the blockade will be renewed in the near future if the British and French authorities do not compel recognition by the foreign banks and merchants of the new Federal Reserve Bank notes, which, according to recent pronouncements of the provisional Government in Peking, will supersede entirely the Chinese national currency notes on March 10. At the same time exchange control, which exists in effect everywhere in North China except in Tientsin, is expected to be made of general application either directly or indirectly. It is also generally supposed that the more rigorous form of blockade which is indicated is intended to control the movement of Chinese Government notes in addition to all trade movements, save on Japanese conditions.

Should this policy succeed, it will be the end of Great Britain's export trade with North China, since it will mean that the sterling or gold dollar proceeds of goods exported by British firms will be handed over to the Japanese, either in payment of goods, compelled through Japanese agencies to be bought in Tientsin with foreign currency, or in exchange for Federal Reserve Bank notes, to pay to the Chinese dealer.

It should be clearly understood that this is but the precursor of what may be expected elsewhere in China should Japanese domination become as it is north of the Yellow River. In other words, North China is to be the *corpus vile* of Japan's great effort to compel the wealth of China and the proceeds of the labour of her industrious people to subserve Japan's aims.

The past eighteen months have seen the strategic movements for position. By the time these words appear in print the battle will have been joined. Will Great Britain, the United States and France, with economic weapons at their command, stand by as passive spectators? Will they permit the vast trade machine, founded on the adventurous beginnings of the East India Company two hundred and fifty years ago and developed in the treaty ports for nearly a hundred years, which it is in their power to protect, to be ruthlessly sabotaged? The British, American and French communities in China, believing themselves to be fighting their countries' battles by holding on steadfastly until relief comes, do not think so.

F. J. R. C.

CHINA,

February 25, 1939.

Redressement économique et Industrialisation de la Nouvelle Turquie. By Orhan Conker et Emile Witmeur. Preface by S. E. Ismet İnönü. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 345. 65 illustrations. Map. Liège University. Paris: Sirey.

Turkey is a country which has always been of special interest to the people of this country, whether from the political standpoint arising from the importance which its geographical position has given it in the consideration of our Imperial problems or from the wealth of fable and mystery for which veiled women, harems and the Court of the Sultan have formed a background.

Until the outbreak of the Great War, therefore, when Turkey unfortunately found herself—albeit against the wishes and the better judgment of the mass of the Turkish nation—ranged with Germany against Great Britain and her allies, there existed an ample literature giving an accurate insight into the history, the administration and the economics of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman Empire has passed, and since the inauguration of the Turkish Republic a new Turkey has come into being regarding which there exists but a scanty literature, with the result that the changes which have taken place both politically and economically are but vaguely known or realized in this country. Even now there exists no satisfactory exposition in English of the Turkey of to-day, and this fact makes the work of Messrs. Conker and Witmeur the more valuable, for, even though it is in French, it does make available to European readers a remarkably clear view of the economic and industrial progress which had been made in Turkey up to the end of 1936.

Turkey's economic history can be divided roughly into three periods: (a) that prior to the Treaty of Lausanne; (b) the period from 1923 to 1929, during which as a result of a commercial agreement signed with the victorious nations Turkey surrendered her right to freedom in making tariff changes; and (c) the period from 1929 to 1936, the latter part of which period was devoted to the execution of Turkey's first five-year plan of industrialization.

Under the Ottoman Empire the economic position of Turkey had steadily deteriorated. No attempt had been made to develop local resources; industry was confined almost entirely to the manufacture of carpets and pottery by traditional methods; and agriculture, except in the case of tobacco, figs and sultanas, was in a very backward condition. To anyone less determined than Mustapha Kemal or to a nation less courageous than the Turks the position of Turkey when the Republic was founded must have appeared to be beyond hope of rehabilitation. Mustapha Kemal's Government decided, however, that the attempt had to be made, and the results have surprised all who have had any contact with the country. The policy on which industrialization has been based has been that of establishing those industries whose raw materials were available inside Turkey and for whose products the country offered an assured market. It was for this reason that the first steps were in the direction of making the country self-supporting in wheat, sugar and cotton. Such was the success

of this policy that imports of wheat, which cost the country £T12,000,000 in 1923 and £T19,000,000 in 1924, had been reduced to nothing by 1932, and there has been a regular export since that date. Production of sugar began in 1926 when the output was only 570 tons, while imports amounted to over 62,000 tons. By 1936 the country was in a position to produce and manufacture the whole of its requirements and imports had ceased. Agriculture and the sugar industry, together with the construction of railways, attracted the principal attention of the new Government during the period prior to 1929, when, with the expiration of the commercial agreement with the victorious powers, Turkey obtained freedom to make use of the tariff for the protection of her industries, and it was then that the five-year industrialization plan was prepared. For the execution of this plan advantage has been taken to some extent of the only local private bank, the Ish Bank, but for the general financing and the supervision of the execution of the plan a new bank, the Sumer Bank, has been founded, which is entirely a Government organization obtaining its capital from Government and controlled entirely by a board appointed by Government. To this bank has been committed the control of industrial development, while more recently other banks have been founded on similar lines—the Eti Bank to develop the mineral resources of the country and the Deniz Bank to control shipping, docks, salvage, etc.

Under the five-year plan factories have been constructed for the manufacture of cotton yarn and cloth in which the country is now almost self-supporting as regards both raw cotton and finished goods, paper, glass, woollen yarn and cloth and artificial silk, while the plant for the manufacture of iron and steel is now under construction by British enterprise.

Railway development has been pushed ahead at a great pace. In 1923 the country possessed only 4,018 kilometres of railways, all of which had been constructed by and were owned by foreign interests. During the years 1923 to 1935 the Government constructed over 2,600 kilometres of new lines, while by the end of 1936 all the lines controlled by foreign interests had been purchased by the State on favourable terms.

Together with these developments other striking changes have occurred. Education has received careful attention, technical schools have been founded; legislation has been enacted governing hours of work, the employment of women and children, hygiene and other matters covered by general factory legislation, all of which had hitherto been unknown in Turkey; while special efforts have been made to encourage savings, with the result that deposits in the local and foreign banks have increased from £T1½ millions in 1920 to over £T72 millions in 1935.

The old Turkey of the Ottoman Empire has indeed passed, and a new young Turkey has arisen in its place, full of vigour and courage and determined that it shall take its rightful place among the nations of the world. It is, moreover, a factor on the side of international peace. Having now no ideas of territorial expansion, its desire is to live at peace with its neighbours and to be enabled to complete the work of economic development and internal rehabilitation to which it has set its hand. This book, replete

with facts and figures, can be warmly recommended to all who desire to get an up-to-date picture of the progress which Turkey has made in these directions.

J. B. M.

Ansāb al-Ashrāf of al-Balādhurī. Published for the first time by the School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 11" x 8". Vol. V. edited by S. D. F. Goitein, 1936; Vol. IV.B edited by Max Schloesinger, 1938. At the University Press, Jerusalem.

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem is to be congratulated on having been able to produce these admirably printed, well-annotated, and well-indexed volumes at a time and in circumstances which can scarcely have been favourable to such an enterprise. The scholarship and industry of the editors deserve warm commendation. Clearly Arabic and Islamic studies are adequately represented at the Hebrew University.

The author whose voluminous work is being made accessible to scholars belongs to the third century of the *hijrah*. His history of the Islamic conquests, published by the eminent Arabist De Goeje in 1866, is justly regarded as an authority of the first class for its subject. Of the much more extensive production to which these volumes belong a fragment was edited by Ahlwardt in 1883, of which the first 77 pages terminate the volume numbered V. It is a collection of anecdotes about members of eminent families, to which there is something analogous in Drumann's *History of Rome*, a work which anticipated Mommsen in its wholehearted condemnation of Cicero. The analogy is not very close, since Baladhuri's work is neither history nor biography, but a series of citations of statements about the same characters or events, sometimes confirming and sometimes contradicting each other, so that the result is not so much instructive as bewildering. Thus on one page we have four accounts of a dream seen by the Caliph Uthman the night before his murder, no two of which are in exact agreement, while one differs substantially from the others. If we wish to ascertain what part Ali played in the murder of this Caliph, there is no lack of evidence, only it is contradictory; one person heard him say from the pulpit that he neither approved of it nor disapproved, another that he had not ordered it, another that he had actually forbidden it; according to one account no one charged him with being accessory to the murder, according to another he was said to be its instigator. And the evidence about other details of this important event is of the same character.

Doubtless the source of the trouble is the belief which lasted for many centuries that the proper seat of knowledge was not the written page, but the "breast" or the "heart"—*i.e.*, the memory. Hence even when letters are produced, they are not copied from originals, but reproduced from oral communications; and so what purports to be the same letter is given in substantially different forms.

Since it is not in our power to cross-examine the witnesses, the use of this work for the enucleation of history is difficult; its value, however, as an early monument of Arabic literature, for linguistic usage, and for

Kulturgeschichte, is considerable. Dr. Goitein's Introduction to Vol. V., which is given in both English and Hebrew, furnishes all that can be required in prolegomena, giving information about the author, his sources, his relation to other historians, and the use made of his work by later writers, etc. Both he and his colleague have striven successfully to attain a very high standard of accuracy.

D. S. M.

The Ptolemies of Egypt. By Lieut.-Colonel P. G. Elgood, C.M.G. 8½" × 5¾". Pp. xvi + 240. With ten illustrations. Arrowsmith, 1938. 8s. 6d.

The Hellenistic kingdoms, which shaped themselves after the death of Alexander the Great, form a most interesting bridge between the old independent Greece of the City States and the Greek world as it fell all together under the imperial dominion of Rome. The Egyptian realm of the Ptolemies, of course, stood outside the Greek world, and here the bridge is between the old native dynasties of the Pharaohs and the new incoming power. This gives Ptolemaic Egypt a special interest, and now we have here from Lieut.-Colonel Elgood an excellent account of this transitional régime. It was the task of the Ptolemies to rule this ancient realm, superficially Hellenized, but with all its old native traditional religion and ideas, and the author gives us in his brief pages a clear and vivid account of the remarkable personalities who were able to do this for some three hundred years. It is curious that a period of such varied and picturesque character should have excited so little general interest, that it should have been so much, as the cover of the book reminds us, "confined to the textbooks of the student." Singularly few modern writers have gone for material to Ptolemaic Egypt; the subject is in this way strangely fresh, and this book is a good reminder that Cleopatra, exciting as she no doubt must be, was not the only notable character of her race and time. Ptolemaic Egypt has, in fact, hardly been exploited, except that in recent years the Greek poet, the late C. P. Cavafi, devoted to it a few of his most remarkable poems. On page 219 Colonel Elgood describes the scene when Cleopatra and Antony in a public ceremony divided the empire between the young princes. On this Cavafi has a characteristic poem, painting with a stately cynicism the indifference of the citizens to everything except the outer beauty of the pageant; they knew that soon all was to fall into the hands of Rome. But no city had been the centre of Greek intellectual life as Alexandria had been, and was still for centuries to be, and this gives a real importance to the period here described by the author. The glory of the Ptolemies was real, and perhaps this short notice of a good book may be ended by a rough translation of Cavafi's poem put into the mouth of a Ptolemy:

"I am the son of Lagos, a king. Fully in my hand—
It is my strength and my wealth give it me—is all delight.
Macedonian, or barbarian, there is none equal to me;
Nay, none to approach me. How absurd is that son of Seleucus,
With all his luxury just bought in the market.
And if you ask yet more, know this for a truth:
This city teaches the world, of all Greece she is the summit;
In all learning, in every art, the most wise."

R. M. D.

Geography in the Middle Ages. By George H. T. Kimble. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
Pp. xii+272. 20 collotype plates. London: Methuen and Co.
Price 15s.

The University of Reading did well to enable its Lecturer in Geography to publish this history of one branch of mediæval thought. Its object is "to follow the development, in mediæval literature and cartography, of the theories concerning the earth, its physical properties and distributions as they were affected, on the one hand, by the prevailing classical Christian and Moslem ideologies and, on the other hand, by the results of human enterprise on land and sea."

For such a small compass the field was enormous, and the most skilled writer might have found it hard to give his readers eyes to see the wood for the trees. Some of the material might, with advantage, have been transferred to footnotes, for the book is distinctly difficult to read. It starts, moreover, by assuming a knowledge of the orthodox views of geography held under the Roman Empire. The plates should have been provided with keys.

The chief value of the compilation is to show the struggle of reason against authority throughout the whole period from the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire to the voyages of Columbus. It is possible to disagree with any selection of facts and quotations, especially on such a scale, but the only omission which seems definitely unfortunate is the absence of a section on political geographers such as Willibrand of Oldenburg. Oriental exploration is briefly treated, but the comparison between Arab and Christian geographers will be of much interest to readers of this journal.

A complete history of geographical thought by the same author would be an extremely desirable publication.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

The Wild Asses. A journey through Persia. By W. V. Emanuel. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
Pp. 352. Jonathan Cape. 1939. 12s. 6d.

It is not clear why the author has chosen the title "Wild Asses," unless it be that he wishes to facetiously suggest that his journey was a wild excursion of an international band of male and female students galloping through the courts "where Jamshid gloried and drunk deep" and stamping and braying over the head of Bahram, "that great Hunter." However this may be, this extraordinary excursion is the first of its kind, and the most astonishing thing about it is not so much the journey itself, which was wonderful enough, but the inconsequent and casual manner in which it was undertaken. A formidable journey of 12,000 miles, including tremendous distances over rugged mountains in alternating temperatures of Arctic cold and tropical heat, and a rather foolhardy crossing of a trackless salt desert about 300 miles across, was boisterously undertaken by an irrepressible party of students as if they were taking part in a glorious rag in their university town. This very mixed cosmopolitan party of some ten women and thirteen men, clad in shorts and flannels, travelled third class (hard) via Russia, slept in the open on camp beds in any garden they were lucky enough to find, diving into the *hauz* and lying in the *jubes* and water channels whenever they got

the chance. It was quite enough to make a stately traveller like Lord Curzon turn in his grave, and it would be interesting to hear—or, better still, to overhear—what the smiling Iranians really thought of this new sort of *farangi*, after the immaculate Corps Diplomatique and the well-tailored Europeans they usually meet. It was the New East meeting the New West with a bang.

The strangest thing of all is that this adventurous journey was not only successfully carried out, but carried out without a single mishap to any of the party, and without an incident of any kind, which might well have been caused by their entry in disguise into the sacred shrine at Meshed.

Hospitality greeted them everywhere from British and Iranians alike. British consuls and legation officials received and entertained them on a truly princely scale and contributed in no small degree to the success and pleasure of the journey.

The book is well and amusingly written and contains much up-to-date and accurate information about Iran. As might be expected, a good deal is written in praise of the wonderful progress of the Iranians under the auspices of His Majesty the Shah. There is also a dissertation on the "Drang nach Sud Osten," a chapter on Persian poets and poetry, and the inevitable legends and stories about Omar-i-Khayyám, Firdausi, Hafiz, and others. There is also a map showing the route, some good photographs, and an index. Altogether it is a very readable and amusing account of a very remarkable journey, and Mr. W. V. Emanuel is to be congratulated upon an extremely comprehensive and interesting survey of Persian history, ancient and modern, and a surprising knowledge of local conditions and customs, which might well have taken a lifetime in Iran to acquire.

F. Y. H.

The Diary of a Desert Journey. By Lord Gerald Wellesley. 9½" × 6". Pp. 90. Putnam, 1938. 5s.

This unpretentious brochure is little more than the expansion of a diary kept on an expedition, now seven years old, during which the author passed through Sinai, Transjordan, and Palestine, with a brief excursion into Syria. The most interesting part is that dealing with the journey from Tor to el Aqaba. It is a pity that the author, having in true pilgrim spirit elected to traverse Sinai in the only satisfactory manner—*i.e.*, by camel—should have missed the experience of crossing the Naqb el Hawa, but the route he pursued beyond the Convent of Santa Katerina brought him down the great Wadi Watir to the Gulf of Aqaba, where he joined his forerunners in lotus-eating on that immemorial shore.

Lord Gerald's stay at Santa Katerina was made fruitful by his companion's knowledge of Greek, an invaluable asset in that abode of rare treasure and limited crudition. At el Aqaba the travellers were royally entertained by the Governor, Mohammed Bey el Muhasin, whose rich Syrian exterior was set off by the richer accent of Chicago. Strangely, Lord Gerald found nothing of interest in this intriguing spot; admittedly there are not any monuments, yet he caught no echo from the fashioning of King Solomon's fleet, and the Arab revolt lacks an honourable mention.

Petra is pleasantly, even originally, described. In Palestine the author in three days became a confirmed Zionist, a surprising sequel to his impression at the Wailing Wall, where he found that symbol of Jewry's agony "a very comic spectacle."

There are signs of hasty writing. Aaron did not die, even traditionally, on the Exodus (*sic*); the old kingdom of Moab was far removed from the Gulf; and Wadi Ghazala masquerades as Wadi Razeli. There is no map.

J. M. C. J.

Language Hunting in the Karakoram. By E. O. Lorimer. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. 310. Map. London: Allen and Unwin. 1939. 12s. 6d.

It is interesting at the present time to read of a country where autocratic government lends itself to contentment amongst its people and peace with its neighbours. Mrs. Lorimer's sympathy with and understanding of the people of Hunza are obvious. She was previously well acquainted with them, and she here spends fourteen months among them, her husband, in the meantime, studying their language, a tongue never attempted hitherto by a European. It is not difficult for the reader to realize her tact and her quality of inspiring confidence. It is, indeed, amusing to note her full acceptance of the national prejudice against everything pertaining to the neighbouring country of Nagir.

Although Mrs. Lorimer's enthusiasm for the Hunzakuts is unqualified, I think most who have lived with (if not among) them will agree with her rather than with the more critical Colonel Schomberg (*Between the Oxus and the Indus*. Hopkinson. 1935), who, whilst recognizing many of their sterling qualities, makes them out to be avaricious, quarrelsome, and selfish. Indeed, in this book Mrs. Lorimer, from a more intimate knowledge, disproves each of these accusations without at any time referring directly to their author.

Mrs. Lorimer, during her stay in Hunza, lived almost the life of the people. She attended their festivals, was an honoured guest in their homes at their ceremonies and on other occasions, and, in spite of the difficult language, was freely consulted in all the trivial happenings of their daily lives. Her candid treatment of the chapter on marriage in Hunza is intensely interesting. That an ignorant people, bred to a tradition of tyranny and oppression by past rulers, surrounded outside their borders by superstition and prejudice, should have evolved for themselves customs so essentially decent, hygienic, and free from either prudery or licence, is astonishing.

The origin of the Hunzakuts and of their language is obscure, and one can make no guess at how far the racial descent has affected their essentially manly and broad-minded characteristics. Necessity, in the form of a naturally poor country, has undoubtedly helped by giving them energy and adaptability to their circumstances. Their broad-minded outlook is encouraged by the tolerant Maulai creed. One cannot, however, but suspect that much of the present-day national character and their mode of life is due to the kindly but forceful guidance of the late Mir, Sir Muhammad Nazim Khan, who died soon after Colonel and Mrs. Lorimer's departure. I think it was Sir Evelyn Howell who called him the Strong Man of Central Asia, a designation which was not inappropriate.

There may be some small mistakes or slips, possibly a few of an historical or geographical nature, in this book. Only one seems of importance. Barashaski Hunza is not in the Karakoram proper. It lies beneath Rakaposhi, terminal point of the Kailas Range, a mighty range which deserves better recognition by travellers.

W. R. T.

Panjābī Ṣūfī Poets, A.D. 1460-1900. By Lajwanti Rama Krishna. With a Foreword by A. C. Woolner. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xxxii + 142. Oxford University Press. 1938. 7s. 6d.

Western students of Ṣūfism, few of whom are familiar with the Panjābī language, will appreciate this scholarly and charmingly written book. The authoress herself modestly describes it as a thesis; but though from a scientific point of view her work may leave something to be desired, it merits the superior title in virtue of the artistic feeling and literary skill with which the results of her studies are presented. Its subject is the popular mystical poetry composed in the Panjāb during the last four centuries by Ṣūfīs, mostly saints and dervishes, writing in their mother-tongue. Miss Rama Krishna has spared no pains to collect manuscript and other materials, and has given us in ten short chapters much interesting information about the lives and personalities of the poets, together with specimens of their verse in Panjābī, followed by literal English prose translations. These illustrate very well the characteristics of the new style which appears for the first time in the *kaḥfās* and *shalokḥ* attributed to Shaikh Ibṛāhīm Farīd, a Pīr of the Chishti order—its simplicity and sincerity (in strong contrast to the work of earlier Panjābī poets who used Persian or Urdu as their medium of expression), the unconventional directness of its appeal, its freedom from Ṣūfistic technicalities and, above all, its distinctively local colouring drawn on the one hand from Panjābī mythology and folk-lore and on the other from the life and homely crafts of the countryside.

"To the Panjābī Ṣūfī the world was a spinning-wheel and his own self or soul the young girl who was supposed to spin and prepare her dowry. His good actions were like spinning, and the yarn thus spun was his dowry which, like the young girl, he would take to the husband (God). As a husband loved and lived happily with the wife who brought him a dowry and was qualified in spinning, so did God love the Ṣūfī who died with a good account (*kaḥma* or actions) and possessed qualities that would befit a soul striving for good." The poets often refer to the love-tales of Hīr and Rājhā, Sassī and Punnū, Soḥnī and Mahīvāl; and—a specially Indian trait—it is always the *heroines* (Hīr, Sassī and Soḥnī) who symbolize the human soul in quest of the Divine Beloved. "After the Ṣūfī has attained union with God he is no more Hīr but becomes Rājhā, because for him all differences vanish away and he sees Rājhā (God) as much in his own self as in the external world."

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate the value and interest of the book. In some places, however, the writer puts forward views which it is impossible to accept. One sees that her knowledge of the history and development of Ṣūfī doctrine does not go very deep. To take a single instance, what evidence can be adduced for the statement that "transmigration and reincarnation were adopted (by Panjābī Ṣūfīs) and afterwards supplemented by the theory of *kaḥma*"? The passages quoted (p. 112 and elsewhere), when understood in their natural sense, give no countenance to a belief which the mystics of Islam only mention in order to refute and repudiate it. Ṣūfism has never admitted the notion of an

ego passing from one material embodiment to another. The manifestation of Universal Spirit in successive bodies is a different thing entirely. In fact, while these Panjābī poems are Indian in their vocabulary and imagery, the mystical ideas remain essentially Persian. For example, compare the following verses of Bullhe Shāh (p. 59): "Bullhā, what do I know who I am? Neither am I a Muslim in the mosque, nor am I in the ways of paganism. . . . Bullhā, what do I know who I am? Neither in happiness nor in sorrow, nor in sin nor purity, nor of water nor of earth, nor in fire nor in air. . . . Bullhā, what do I know who I am? I am not of Arabia nor of Lahore, neither a Hindu nor a Muslim of Peshawar, nor do I live in Nadaun. . . . Bullhā, what do I know who I am? Myself I know as the first and the last, none else as second do I recognize, none else is wiser than I," with the celebrated ode of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī (*Selected Poems from the Divāni Shamsi Tabrīz*, No. XXXI.), beginning: "What is to be done, O Moslems? for I do not recognize myself. I am neither Christian nor Jew nor Gabr nor Moslem." The imitation throughout is obvious.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Iqbal's Educational Philosophy. By K. G. Saiyidain, B.A., M.Ed., Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State. 8½" × 5¼". Pp. 202. Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf. 1938. Rs. 2/8.

This well-written little manual attempts to formulate the general implications of the late Sir Muhammad Iqbal's poetic view of the world. The author would seem to admit that "education" consists in the transmission of aims (alternatively the "highest" aims) of a social group to its growing members, but in view of Iqbal's own eclecticism the nature of the several educational demands of the Muslim communities possibly concerned is here stated only in an abstract way. Most of the copious illustrative quotations from Iqbal's poems are left in the original Persian, and the book is presumably addressed in the first instance to students of educational training colleges in India.

The author is not unaware that poetry, and particularly, one may add, modern ideas cast in the time-worn Persian convention of poetry, may lend themselves to a great variety of conclusions. The safe interpretation is the vague one. Moreover, Iqbal himself, for his conception of the individual, acquiesced in constant use of biological metaphors of the interaction of organism and environment. Writing for India, he believed it peculiarly necessary to crusade against the popular interpretation of destiny, which might be held responsible for a political and intellectual paralysis of peoples, and against the pseudo-mysticism of the renunciatory negation of the Self that he regarded as the real danger of Eastern Sufism, and as essentially repugnant to the spirit of Islam. Quite different (he says) was the idea of Man in the Quran, as a being who was to be held to account for a unique human "experiment in living." But if life is to be guided in Bergsonian wise by the creative urge of Desire, if morality involves choice, and the search for truth is more important than Truth itself, and if error is an in-

dispensable factor in experiment, what of the possible frustration of the free? The vitalism of this romantic doctrine of action is weak because it is metaphorical only, and rather floats upon a "social biology" than strikes root in psychology: moreover, it shows the humanist to be unconsciously wavering between two views. Either, as he says, "the movement of life is determined by ends," which, "whether they exist as conscious or unconscious tendencies, from the warp and woof of our conscious existence," or, as a psychological view of ethics would have informed him, "its motive power comes not from in front, from 'ends,' but from behind, from the wishes which are in ourselves" (Dr. E. B. Holt).

One chapter of this study deals with the revolt against intellectualism that is equally natural to poets and to those who, like Iqbal, have listened to the prophets of the irrational in the early years of this century. It is dubious whether many modern thinkers of repute would wish, as flatly as is here supposed, to give intelligence "the supreme command" over our lives, and even more dubious that this could be the cause of all the woes of Europe. We cannot perhaps look for a ready prose equivalent for key terms such as Love, synonymous with "a faculty called Intuition" ("a higher kind of intellect"), which were conceived so subtly and so variously in another tongue in poetry. Moreover, to a European, Iqbal seems as unduly attached to the doctrinal manifestos with which some natural scientists have seen fit to supplement their labours, as he is alienated from the hope he might have found in the West in a clear concept of the social, and of social science. The weakness of the message he delivers, at least in this study of him, on the social order of Islam can be ascribable only to an assumption that a Muslim public was already well-nourished on social thought, unless it is that his biological analogy of human adjustment has done the destructive work of analogy, in removing the thinker's curiosity just when it was most needed.

If in the presentation of Iqbal as a humanist the political belief of his poems is at all obscured, then he appears solely in that character of intellectual dependence that in theory he deplored. He seems to have persisted in holding that it was right to speak of a "service" that European scientific thought could render to Islam, on the ground that this thought was a development from the culture Islam itself had once had. But it is trite to say, as his critic does, perhaps alluding to a well-known theory of Prince Said Halim, that a decadence of Islam has been hastened by the "neglect of science." Iqbal himself knew where science was most necessary—namely, to aid in the understanding of *ijtihad*, and to welcome development of Muslim doctrine. "The truth is (he wrote) that among the Muslim nations of to-day, Turkey alone has shaken off its dogmatic slumber, and attained to self-consciousness," for Turkey alone had "passed from the ideal to the real": "for the present every Muslim nation must temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics." The main factor in any such evolution could and probably should be a criticism that would come not to destroy but to fulfil Quranic teaching, as in his *Jawid Nama* he

makes the spirit of Prince Said Halim say to the Turks, or the spirit of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani when to the communist he recommends the Quran, as the true death-sentence on capitalism.

The message of Iqbal the poet would perhaps be educational in the sense in which his disciple here takes that word if some great individual (to thoughts of whom Iqbal so often turned) arose to realize in action what the poet could only sing of: the tolerance, "born of strength, not of weakness," but also the "war," which "is good if its object is God." From his teaching and the present study of it a European reader may learn much, even if the intellectual affinities selected by Iqbal's own education prove to have been ill-chosen for the purpose he finally found to be his. For it is often a characteristic of the orientalist in Europe to seek in a foreign culture the alluring shadow of what he could better find as a reality in his own experience, and it is good that he should sometimes see as in a mirror the ever-present perils of superficiality, and his own possible misapprehension of modes of thinking so strange to him. In this way he, and we, too, may be incited to new conquests in our supreme ignorance of Asia.

OWEN E. HOLLOWAY.

What about India? By L. F. Rushbrook Williams. 7½" × 5". Pp. 176.
London: Nelson. 2s.

When returning, as I am at the moment, from a visit to India, I have hitherto always been in some dread of having the question, which has been taken as the title of this little book, put to me by innumerable friends on my arrival in England. For the knowledge I have acquired during some years spent in India is sufficient only to make me appreciate the difficulty of replying to it, and to make me realize how many false ideas are spread by ill-informed people who attempt to do so. In the future, however, those who approach me on the subject will cause me no embarrassment, for I shall be able to answer with complete confidence: "Read this book, which, for the modest price of 2s., will tell you all you want to know!" The author states that its intention is "to give people in England some 'background' for the Indian news they read in the Press." But it will serve for more than this; for, within the compass of 150 small pages, there is to be found a truly remarkable amount of information concerning the past history of India and more recent developments under British rule. "Suggestions for further reading" are given in an appendix, and the long list of books named gives not only some idea of the magnitude of the subject, but also of the extent to which Professor Rushbrook Williams, with all his own intimate knowledge of the country and people of which he writes, has sought the views of others before presenting his conclusions. The book, by examining the distinctive culture of India and tracing the history of successive invasions, explains how it is that no government has ever ruled the country from a single centre, and shows how the British, owing to the unique character of their invasion, have perhaps come nearer to this ideal

than anyone else. A warning is given against supposing that we are the only people who have ruled India well. The author claims that "our truest title to fame rests upon the fact that we are the only people who, because of certain novelties both in our manner of rule and in the culture upon which it is based, have put India into the way of ruling itself." I am myself often astonished to find how many people to-day believe that the idea of a self-governing India was never seriously contemplated before the present century. To these the words of Elphinstone and Munro, which are quoted, may prove to be an astonishing revelation. Reading the statement made by Lord Morley, on introducing his reforms nearly one hundred years later, they may indeed deem it reactionary in comparison with those earlier pronouncements. Professor Rushbrook Williams, however, points out that neither Elphinstone nor Munro could envisage the emergence of the Commonwealth conception, but "considered political freedom for India postulated a severance of the connection with Britain." He adds: "Dare we yet say with confidence that they were wholly wrong? It lies with us to convince the peoples of India that the Commonwealth conception is adequate to their needs." The ever-present danger to peace in India which lies in the jealousy between Hindus and Moslems is fully dealt with. The increase of communal disturbances in recent years is attributed to the desire, with the advent of democratic forms of government, of each community to demonstrate its importance. Rather optimistically, as some might think, the author dismisses this increased animosity between Hindu and Moslem as "the growing pains of a new political order." But he makes no disguise of the fact that the greatest justification for the retention of British authority and British troops in India is to be found in the inability hitherto of these two communities to compose their differences. It is, in fact, the very strength of the case, which has led those who wish to rid India of British rule to accuse us of deliberately fomenting discord—a charge which it is shown is manifestly absurd. In relation to Indian Nationalism, however, the British stand for something more than arbiters and neutral police. Unlike former invaders, they have not been trapped in the labyrinth of India and absorbed. As a result, while English has been adopted as a *lingua franca*, "the irritant of a dynamic Western culture, impinging upon a cultural tradition so different, has encouraged sectional groups, in face of Western rulers, to stress their common similarities rather than their age-old distinctiveness." Their essential *difference* from the British is something which the people of all races and religions in India to-day have in common. Were British authority and the power to enforce it withdrawn, this common bond would disappear, and the author claims that one cannot be dubbed a reactionary for reflecting on the unpleasant possibilities which might ensue in a country whose population is divided not only by religion but traditionally into fighting and non-fighting peoples.

The ground covered in *What about India?* is so extensive that it has only been possible in this review to touch on a few of the points dealt with. But, before concluding, I would refer to Professor Rushbrook Williams' examination of the charges that India has been exploited and victimized

under British rule, and that Britain has killed Indian industries. He does not hesitate to characterize one action, which was taken against the protests of the Government of India, as "a piece of pure selfishness for which a high price has been paid in subsequent ill-will and suspicion," but the statistics of economic progress which are given in the last chapter of the book can scarcely fail to convince an unprejudiced reader of the falsity of "charges, which are often made, even to-day, and are confidently repeated by many persons who have no opportunity of knowing the true facts."

H. R. S.

The Indian States and the Federation. By M. K. Varadarajan. With a Preface by the Most Hon. the Marquess of Lothian. 8½" × 5½". Pp. xi+292. Oxford University Press. 12s. 6d.

This book deals with the position of the Indian States in the Federation of Provinces and States envisaged by the India Act as the future constitution of India. In the last chapter, on "Paramountcy," it is pointed out that the nature and scope of the paramountcy of the British Crown over the Indian Princes remains still completely undefined. Yet *legally* it is to this undefined power that a future Federal Government would have to trust for the enforcement of its authority over the States. On the last page is written, "If a Ruler disregards his constitutional duties the Federation stands helpless."

Detailed criticism of the rest of the book would appear to be premature at present. For all vocal expressions of political opinion in India—the elected Provincial legislatures, the Moslem League, the Congress—are vehemently opposed to Federation. The Princes have not yet committed themselves. But as under the India Act they have twenty years, of which eighteen are still to run, there does not appear to be any legal reason for haste. And Mr. Gandhi's recent action in employing his favourite technique of a "fast unto death," to impose the will of Congress on Rajkot State, is hardly calculated to expedite matters. Mr. Gandhi's fast has been described in the London press as "anachronistic." A stronger term might have been employed, for the fast is a direct contravention of the criminal law of India as expressed in the Indian Penal Code. The Princes may well argue that if the law of the Indian land can be broken in this way with impunity, it may be broken in the future in other directions, including safeguards for the States.

Lord Lothian in an introduction to this book rightly praises the skill and clarity with which the author presents the problems arising out of his subject.

J. C. FRENCH.

The Spirit of India. By W. J. Grant. 9" × 6". Pp. viii+120. Illustrated by 141 photographs. Batsford. 10s. 6d.

This book, with its attractive dust-cover by Brian Cook, and useful maps in the end-papers, attempts to give a survey in under thirty pages of the salient parts of India.

Although we admire Mr. Grant for having touched upon such a diversity of

subjects, we must, we regret, differ from him upon several of the points he raises.

In the first paragraph of the first chapter he says that "we hear with wearisome frequency of 'the problem of India' and 'the mystery of the East.' India is no more a problem than Gibraltar is, and her mystery is but an unappreciated point of view." Yet only eleven pages later, in speaking of the Himalaya Mountains, he says that he regards them as "a throne of stupendous whiteness, mystery, power, majesty. But above all, mystery—that mystery which no science can banish and no reason conquer. And that is what the Himalayas have remained for me. They are still the mysterious home of the gods. Useless to tell me that the peaks are gnessic and the valleys metamorphic." It is fortunate that those who deal with the very real dwellers in these mountains regard them as human beings with ordinary problems to be solved by means of sympathetic understanding.

Mr. Grant has the gift of vivid simile and description, and his impressions of a tropical jungle—"empty, rotting, self-warring jungle; trees fallen in old age; dead grass heaped on dead grass in semi-decomposed mounds; queer greenish pools of stagnant water"—shows quick perception. But why be "shocked" at the sight of an ancient woman in a wayside village smoking a cigarette, surely the recognized prerogative of primitive tribeswomen of both East and West?

What is "a Chablis"? A glass of wine? If so, we are surprised at its making Mr. Grant "imaginative." And what manner of pictures can he have seen of Jerusalem to make it look like Allahabad?

He is apt to write in a confusing mixture of tenses, and sometimes refers to a town as "it" and sometimes as "she" in consecutive paragraphs. "Violence is not Hinduism; it is something which is extraneous to it." The following paragraph reads: "Hinduism is defiling her hands. She is like a prayer-meeting learning to dance the hornpipe." Yet frequently, having aroused irritation over some such minor point, he calls forth admiration by, for instance, his summing up of New Delhi; that it "has no heart; all it has is an official brain." The Viceroy's residence there is now referred to as Viceroy's House, New Delhi, not as in the caption of plate 53, which is a beautiful aerial view. Again, "Princes Street's greatness is that it has a castle to be seen from" might have been put more concisely. Yet a few pages later on he again wins admiration for his vivid metaphor about Benares, the city "holy to Hindus. It is the city of the temple and the bathing ghat. There are mosques, too, but they are like gulls at a crow's wedding." *A propos* of the bathing ghats of Benares, is there a verb "to runnel"? We cannot find it in Webster's *New International Dictionary*.

Having consulted several acknowledged experts, we feel that we cannot agree with Mr. Grant that Turkey is the last autonomous country left in Islam. We respectfully beg to suggest 'Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Egypt. Perhaps the reason that he thinks of Turkey to the exclusion of other independent Moslem states is that the Khalif was last at Stambul. If so, does Mr. Grant remember how the Commander of the Faithful was bolstered up there after the office had once been completely extinguished by Hulagu, and was later revived only as a servile priestly position? Even in the halcyon days of the Ottoman rule the Sultan was not acknowledged by other Moslem countries as Khalifa-ul-Musalmin, by Persia, for one; and we read in the memoirs of the Emperor Jehangir that he changed his name from Salim to Jehangir because the Turkish Sultan of that time was also called Selim, and Jehangir did not want, when the *Khutba* was read from the pulpit during congregational prayers, that he should be confounded with the Turkish monarch. In India the *Khutba* came to be read in the name of the Ottoman Sultan, as Commander of the Faithful, after Moslem suzerainty over

India had ceased. The loss of Turkey, should a non-Moslem power annex it, would naturally cause grief in Moslem hearts, but it would not render Islam a landless outcast.

We are led to believe that the followers of Jainism are called Jains, not Jainas.

Mr. Grant is surely drawing on his imagination in his description of "troops, British and Indian—and Royal Air Force," returning from the Frontier. "Easy for the glib to speak," he says. "A week on the Frontier would make them speak less. I have travelled with soldiers from Peshawar on the Frontier mail. They bore the marks of their Calvary. They were like men who had been gnawed at by some slow disease. Sallow of cheek and sharp of bone, they had the dull, lustreless eyes of those who had looked on the pristine ferocity of things. They spoke little. Such men seldom do. There are forces in Nature which make speech a mockery. To me their souls seemed bleached—bleached in the terrible unmercy of things; the glaring cruelty of hills, the quivering agony of plains."

Yet, withal, Mr. Grant has bravely touched upon a vast number of subjects concerning India, and his chapters serve as a vehicle to introduce very excellent and well-chosen illustrations acknowledged to various sources. But a vehicle should be sturdily built and without obvious flaws.

S. R.

Kanthapura. By Raja Rao. George Allen and Unwin. 7s. 6d.

The author of this tale of an Indian village writes in a style that he would use were he trying to express himself in his own language. In a short preface he admits the difficulty of this, but explains the necessity for it. The tempo of Indian life, he says, is impossible to express in the English language. It should be unbroken, episode following episode in a sequence almost as rapid as thought follows thought. To the ordinary reader, therefore, the whole narrative will probably appear so inconsequent as to be almost incomprehensible, but to one who knows the Indian scene it will recall memories and pictures of Indian village life that have remained unchanged for decades. The story concerns a student at an Indian university, who becomes an enthusiastic follower of Gandhi. He comes of a humble family in the village of Kanthapura, whose pride in him had led them to expect great things. They are naturally heartbroken when the local Swami excommunicates him for consorting with Untouchables, and his aged parents die more or less from grief or shock. Moorthy, the son, however, continues to be a disciple of Gandhi, and forms a Congress group in Kanthapura. The sufferings endured by this small Congress group in their efforts to free themselves from the "Red Man's" domination constitutes the rest of the story. These so-called sufferings are mainly descriptions of *lathi* charges by the police when endeavouring to break up Congress meetings in prohibited places. We presume the author to be in sympathy with the Congress movement, as he dedicates his book to five "Satyagrahis," but if that is so he makes out a very poor case for self-government by the people. In fact, one could scarcely read a better argument against it than this book written by an Indian about his fellow-countrymen. The impression he has given of the Indian in the village, who, after all, is typical of millions in the country, is one of childlike simplicity and undeveloped mentality; an inability to think for himself or be without a leader, and a readiness to follow and put his trust in any plausible leader rather than take the initiative. Whether or no Mr. Raja Rao intended to give that impression is not clear. In our view he has wished to depict the struggles of a downtrodden people to free themselves from British

rule. He is, however, too realistic and sincere a writer to succeed in showing them as other than they are; and if his picture is a true one, and one cannot help being convinced that it is, then it would seem to be obvious that the granting of self-government to people so utterly unfitted for it could only lead to disaster.

A. A. C.

Indian Artífex. By Victor Bayley, C.I.E., C.B.E. Illustrated from wood-cut decorations by F. Youngman Carter. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. 287. London: Robert Hale. 12s. 6d.

Those who have read *Permanent Way through the Khyber* will welcome another book by the same author.

In each chapter he describes some episode during his varied experience of railway construction. Most of the scenes are laid in India; others in Mesopotamia in wartime.

He writes with a lively imagination and a keen sense of humour, regarding the work of a railway engineer as a constant battle in which the mysterious forces of nature are the opponents to be brought under control and subdued to the will of man. He thus introduces an air of romance enlivened by comedy into what might otherwise seem prosaic. His graphic description of the conditions under which the railway work was carried on presents a vivid picture in each case; and as an acute observer of human nature his stories of the many peculiar characters with whom his work brought him into contact are full of racy humour.

The final chapter deals with the possible future development of railway and road transport and is opportune at a time when so much thought is being given to the problem of making the one complementary to the other.

J. K. T.

Loyal Enemy. The Life of Marmaduke Pickthall. By Anne Freemantle. Frontispiece. Pp. iv + 448. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$. Hutchison. 10s. 6d.

One of the strangest aspects of the influence of East on West is the throwing up from time to time of unusual and outstanding personalities, both men and women, who have "found" themselves from the moment of contact with the East in a way that they might never have done had they remained in their native land. Sir Richard Burton, Charles Doughty, T. E. Lawrence are names that come instantly to mind; and there are others even to-day whose lives seem to have been absorbed as completely as theirs into the life and spirit of the Orient. Among women who have given themselves with fervour to the East, the names of Lady Hester Stanhope and Gertrude Bell, dissimilar though they were in type, stand out.

Of Marmaduke Pickthall, the subject of this biography—the "loyal enemy," as Aubrey Herbert called him, of the country of his birth—it might be said that his understanding of and affiliation to the life of the East was at least as close as in any of the cases mentioned, owing chiefly, perhaps, to his easy command of languages and his surpassing knowledge of Arabic in particular. Though with some experience of the different dialects of Arabic-speaking countries the writer may be permitted to doubt whether Pickthall's knowledge of Arabic was acquired as quickly as his biographer would claim. He had wandered in Egypt, Palestine and Syria less than two years when, it is stated, he "acquired his great mastery of Arabic" during a short sojourn in Damascus.

Throughout the book there is unfortunately too evident a spirit of partisanship, the survival of a phase of hero-worship during childhood which has influenced the authoress's memories of her early contacts with her subjects. We read, for instance, that when she was a child of eight to ten years of age Pickthall seriously discussed religion with her, and it seems curious that to so young a girl he should have explained: "The Persian mind seeks ecstasy even though an illusion: the Arab mind seeks truth even though it prove a disillusion, for the Arab will never accept ecstasy as truth, though the Persian claims it so."

There are also certain obvious inaccuracies in the book: we read of Pickthall's father and uncle that "both boys became clerks in the Bank of England—walking daily from Broxbourne (Hertfordshire) rectory to Threadneedle Street to save their fares." And the frequent lapses into slang are disconcerting. With true appreciation of the beauty of words Pickthall writes of a tree with "its shade drawn close about it like a mantle," or describes the foliage of the olive trees as "the colour of thin moonlit cloud." His biographer's "Marmaduke now found himself very broke" and "Lawrence was always trying to get upsides with his own inferiority complex" make a rather painful contrast. The jerkiness of style that results tends to throw the reader off the line of thought or argument.

None the less, this is a book that will be read by many lovers of the Eastern scene with the pleasures of memory to compensate for faults of style. The outlook on Eastern policy that made of Pickthall an "enemy" however loyal has a curious interest to-day. His insistence on friendship with Turkey as a necessity in Great Britain's policy in the Near East can only be read with regret, in the light of subsequent events, that it was not acted on: his reading of the Turkish character was eminently right. And on Lawrence, Gandhi, Amritsar, the Khilafat, and other personalities and questions, this book gives views from a new and unconventional slant.

This biography will be welcomed by the many admirers of *Said the Fisherman* and Pickthall's other novels of the East, but it would be greatly improved if pruned of superfluities and slang.

D. M.

Escape from Russian Chains. By Ivan Solonevich. 8½" × 5½". Pp. 350. Frontispiece (portrait). London: Williams and Norgate. 1938. 12s. 6d.

This volume continues the story of its predecessor (*Russia in Chains*), telling us how the brothers Solonevich lived in the labour camps and prepared their successful flight. The joint escape of three brothers probably means a record.

If you do not believe what goes on in Russia, read here. We cannot help believing an author who describes things without any attempt at the consciously dramatic or picturesque. If his plain tale often achieves an effect of devastating satire, it simply shows that the facts are grotesque beyond the comprehension of a Western mind. Almost the greatest sin is that of becoming efficient, of "taking root"—that is to say, the opposite to "becoming unstuck."

No wonder the author was due for adequate punishment when his sins were found out, for he had managed to stay rooted in his task—physical culture—for six long years. "When my sins ultimately overwhelmed me, the commission ordered that I be discharged as having taken root, as inexperienced, as having nothing in common with physical culture, as having shown no results. Meanwhile the Gosizdat—the Government Publishing Trust—had published during that period six of my textbooks on physical culture."

In the course of his narrative Solonevich gives many shrewd explanations and psychological analyses of the Russian situation. Thus, when he traces the evils of

confused Socialism to the confused thought of the intelligentsia: "One year in a concentration camp would, for a certain group of Russian emigrés, prove an eye-opener and a parachute for their descent to earth."

There is plenty of good fellowship and charity among those resigned to camp life, but when it comes to flight the slogan is "Everyone for himself," with an utter disregard for the possible consequences to other people, good or bad. The brothers had to plan their escape without taking anybody into their confidence. There is practically no room for social heroism or self-sacrifice unless you are prepared to die without having achieved anything worth while towards improving general conditions. We are made to feel the utter hopelessness and helplessness which assail the most courageous; so when Solonevich asks himself if he should stay in order to help the waifs and strays, thousands of children crowded into dismal camps: ". . . nothing, nothing at all, could help them. Help would only prolong their agony." Which means that one must let the authorities do their worst (or best) by "liquidating" the shivering, starving, and syphilitic wretches as quickly as possible. It proves, moreover, that the Soviet rulers are a gang of utter cowards lacking the moral courage for introducing the lethal chamber for social conditions beyond their control.

Long experience as a prisoner seems to teach a most complicated code of diplomacy and strategy, without which it seems impossible to delay violent death for a reasonable number of years.

Cases of cannibalism are common. Prisoners shoot G.P.U. men and roast them by the camp-fire. Instances like these do not strike us as sensational "atrocities," but as logical outcomes of established conditions. All in the day's work.

Hypothetically one may ask whether the escapists left anybody in the lurch or might have helped others, and so on. But we soon feel convinced that the Soviet hell overrules heavenly theories by hellish facts, leaving no other choice but that of ruthless self-help. Moreover, our friends have done their best to avoid harming innocent people.

Apparently the author considers the present state of Russia to be the last stage before ultimate explosion or collapse. Despair will reach a point where no fear will prevent the peasants from banding together and setting the country aflame, with what results nobody can say.

The reviewer has not visited Russia for the last six years. But owing to his general experience of Russia, Russian mentality, and Russian methods before, during, and after the war, he considers himself capable of judging the veracity of a book like this one. It sounds true and genuine throughout, and it should provide wholesome and consoling illumination for everyone who feels dissatisfied with life in a civilized country, democratic or totalitarian.

W. R. RICKMERS.

Damage in the Nanking Area, December, 1937, to March, 1938.

Urban and Rural Surveys. By Dr. Lewis S. C. Smythe. University of Nanking.

A good deal has been written about the horrors of the war in China. It is fortunate that the accident of the presence of competent observers at Nanking has made it possible for a statistical examination of the exact damage caused in that special area. The results are of some considerable value. Dr. Smythe and his staff are trained observers and, having made similar surveys in this area both in the hostilities of 1932 and the floods of

1931, know the area well. The survey was undertaken primarily to enable the Nanking International Relief Commission to assess the need for relief and the best means of applying it in this and other areas. A second object—to evaluate the cost of modern warfare to the non-fighting civilian—appeals to a wider public. The results as tabulated are somewhat appalling.

The survey, it need hardly be stated, is, within the limitations of its conditions, objective. The damage recorded was caused by both sides—Chinese and Japanese, an attempt is made in passing to apportion. But the whole report presents a serious attempt to avoid anything in the way of propaganda; this heightens its value and effectiveness.

The record is appalling. To select a few figures: In Nanking City a population of over a million was reduced, by migration largely, to about a quarter of a million. The quarter of a million record 3,250 killed—a figure certainly understated—74 per cent of these deaths were definitely caused by non-military action—*i.e.*, by murder, etc., by the troops. Three thousand one hundred injuries were reported, 98 per cent. by soldiers' violence.

In addition, 4,200 male civilians were reported as taken away under military arrest and not returned; a polite way of saying executed. A very large proportion of killed and injured were male, mostly between the ages of 30 and 44. Of the injured females a large proportion were between 15 and 29 (no attempt was made to collect figures for rape).

Those left were in a serious plight economically. Employment had gone down to 35 per cent.; of those in employment earnings had gone down to 32 per cent.—*i.e.*, total income was reduced to 11 per cent., and that among people already at a low standard. A certain amount of relief was being given when the survey was made (April, 1938)—35 per cent. were so helped; the rest live temporarily on friends and reserves. There is ground for the comment "administrators of public funds may well marvel at the endurance and self-reliance of the plain Chinese people."

The total loss of property for the whole city was \$246,000,000—15 per cent. due to military operations, 31 per cent. to robbery, and 7 per cent. to fires after the occupation.

In the rural area surrounding Nanking, an area equal to two English counties, the population left and enumerated was 1,080,000. An attempt was made to estimate temporary and more permanent migrants. Those left behind reported a loss in grain, buildings, crops, cattle and implements of \$41,000,000—*i.e.*, \$220 per family or three-quarters of a year's income. In this area, too, loss of life was large, particularly among adults. One interesting comparison is drawn with the 1932 floods, the death-rate in the period enumerated was higher than in 1932; the deaths were, moreover, largely of wage-earners, and the destruction did not end in March, 1938.

Indeed, the continuing nature of the loss is perhaps its worst feature. As Professor Smythe says, "Under existing circumstances there are various (governmental) authorities (in some places none), the more unimportant of which are so closely connected with military and political operations, and are receiving so little of regular revenue from the localities considered, that relatively small efforts at relief have been made. Constructive aid to the

farmers is not only a humanitarian necessity, but will strengthen the economic basis of the community and of the Government itself, and will be of infinitely more value than political propaganda in securing the goodwill and co-operation of the people." It is sad to record that these considerations have not received any open recognition. The authorities have not only done nothing for the farmers, they have steadily obstructed any attempts by private organizations to take a hand. Lack of food has swelled the ranks of the bandits. Unless the rural area gets on its feet there is little hope for the quarter of a million in Nanking and those in its rural area.

The conditions in Nanking can be paralleled in innumerable other centres. Some time the problem of reconstruction will have to be tackled. When that time comes the experience of those devoted foreigners who have borne the burden and heat of the day will be invaluable to the Chinese. Not the least among these will be the staff of the Nanking University.

B. W. P.

North China Front. By James Bertram. Demi-oct. Macmillan. 15s.

It was an American writer, Edgar Snow, who provided the first really convincing and authentic account of the Chinese Communist armies and their leaders in Northern Shensi. The experiences recorded by him, however, were gained prior to the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese conflict. In the book under review an Englishman, James Bertram, carries the story of those armies a step further by his description of some five or six months spent with them, following the outbreak of fighting in the summer of 1937.

At the time the first shots were exchanged in July that year the author was in Japan. Determined to see for himself what was happening, he hurried over to China, and, after a short stay in Peking, decided to make his way to the "Red Capital" of Yen-an. Not without reason, he considered that it was from the Chinese Communist Eighth Route Army, based on that area, that the main resistance to the Japanese in the north would come.

Like Edgar Snow a year previously, he received a friendly welcome, and was provided with every facility for seeing and hearing whatever he wished. Like Snow, too, he conceived a real liking and admiration for these sturdy Communist fighters, who, after ten years of campaigning against the Chinese National Army, were now allied with their former enemies against a foreign invader. Under the circumstances it is, perhaps, not surprising that a certain bias creeps into much of what he writes; but he is perfectly honest about it and admits frankly that he lays no claim to impartiality. While, however, he makes no attempt to conceal where his sympathies lie, he is careful to avoid the vituperation and choleric abuse to which the partisan writer is so apt to descend, and, generally speaking, his criticisms are well merited. These criticisms are levelled just as pungently against Chinese incompetence, pusillanimity, and indecision as against the misdemeanours of the Japanese soldiery. Some of his strongest condemnations are, in fact, reserved for the looting and excesses committed against their own countrymen by Shansi and other provincial troops.

While the Chinese regular forces come in for some hard words, the Communist Eighth Route Army stands out as a very model of exemplary behaviour. What he says of this body of men and of its leaders is borne out to a large extent

by what Snow recorded of them in his *Red Star Over China*, but one cannot avoid feeling that at times he allows his enthusiasm to run away with him and that he is over-ready to accept statements made to him at their face value. At the same time there seems no reason to doubt that, taken by and large, he presents a reasonably accurate picture of their mobility and skill as guerrillas, of their initiative and powers of endurance, and of the soundness of their policy in such matters as cultivating the friendship and confidence of the local country folk and treating their Japanese prisoners with kindness and consideration.

It is in his observations on the strong and the weak points of the Japanese as fighters that he is most convincing. These observations, it is true, are based mainly on information supplied to him in the course of talks with his friends of the Eighth Route Army, but they serve to confirm what Leurquin and other observers on the spot have written. The reply to his query, "What is your opinion of the fighting quality of the Japanese Army?" given by Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Eighth Route Army (p. 258), is particularly frank and informative.

It is not everyone who will share the author's belief in Soviet Russia as the champion of world peace, and it is a pity that he appears to accept the authenticity of the Tanaka Memorial without question; but apart from such relatively minor idiosyncrasies as these, there is little fault to find in this very readable first-hand account of a little-known facet of the present Sino-Japanese struggle.

M. D. KENNEDY.

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. A Narrative History from 1925-1938. By Harold R. Isaacs. With an introduction by Leon Trotsky. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Pp. xxvi+502. Secker and Warburg. 18s.

This book is wrongly named—it is the story of the breakdown of the Russian Revolution by a follower of Trotsky, or rather of the Third International. The fifteen-page introduction—the best thing in the book—sets this out. True, Trotsky claims that the narrative of the Chinese Revolution is set out in an objective way; it is unfortunate that it is not so, a good statement of the facts of that period would be invaluable. Mr. Isaacs is, however, so interested in proving his thesis that the Chinese movement was used by the protagonists of the two rival theories in Russia to serve their own ends that the interest of China is overlaid.

The mass of facts set out, with wearisome detail, leave one impression. When Sun Yat Sen set out to look for allies to help him in his ends he settled on Bolshevik Russia. Russia went into the adventure, not to help China, but to push forward her own aims. The Chinese leaders were, in Stalin's words, "to be utilized to the end, squeezed like a lemon, and then flung away." Astonishing to relate the said leaders were dishonest enough to do a little squeezing themselves, a fact that causes indignation to the author. Whether Sun Yat Sen and his successors could have attained their objects without the aid of such questionable allies is a matter still open for discussion; undoubtedly China had to pay very dearly in the turmoil and butchery which apparently are essential to a revolution on the Russian model.

Actually Russian methods are not suitable to China. The Russian, seeing something old, is seized with a desire to destroy it; the Chinese before going to such extremes will enquire why the institution has lasted so long, and if there is any good in it to be preserved. The inruption of Western ideas did for a moment make it possible for young men in a hurry to push aside this Chinese

regard for tradition, but inevitably, as has happened, century-old characteristics will recur.

On another aspect the book is disappointing; such stress is laid on the part taken by industrial workers that the influence of the land is minimized. True, reference is made to the various risings by the peasants, and a chapter of twenty-five pages given to the "struggle for the land," but there is not the same enthusiasm as in descending on the evils of the factory system and the bravery of the strikers. And a book which sets out to be objective should at least mention the studies of the land problem by, e.g., Tawney and Buck. And if I were setting out to make a case for communalizing the land of China I would attempt to answer the view of the farmer set out in so widely read a book as *The Good Earth*. This neglect raises suspicions. The book is footnoted with authorities; it is possible to overdo this, and the choice of authorities is almost entirely from the Left.

On occasion, when making most damaging charges against the wicked Imperialist, the authority is not mentioned. One would like to know what support there is for "The Christian General Gordon stopped at nothing, treachery included," and "Students fell writhing to the ground (at Shanghai). Twelve of them died." (There were fourteen, none of them students, several were registered criminals.) In these and many other cases of highly controversial statement no attempt is made at more than assertion.

The fact of the matter is that the men with hate in their hearts, the men who reduced Russia to its present state, failed ultimately in their attempt on China. Mr. Isaacs admits this. His consolation is that there is another World War coming (page 457). Those who expect a thing in the end work for it. Fortunately there are realists in power in China and elsewhere.

New Life for Kiangsi. By C. W. H. Young. Published in Shanghai. 1935.

This is an account of a visit to the ex-Communist areas of Kiangsi shortly after they had been recovered. The author saw a deal of the damage caused during the Soviet occupation, and heard at first hand accounts of the brutal treatment (to put it mildly) they inflicted on all and sundry. There are detailed stories of the way the capitalists were made to disgorge and what happened to the spoil. One question is bound to be raised in the mind of any reader: the men who perpetrated these enormities are the men who are running the government of North China at the moment, and apparently in an entirely different way. Why this change of method? Is it a change of heart? And how have they been able to bring their followers, the Eighth Route Army, to a similar frame of mind? There are revolutions in China.

There is a further account of the methods adopted by the Generalissimo to deal with the havoc and misery he found. Out of that grew the New Life movement and the turning from political to social technique for the improvement of the lot of the masses, a method not altogether interrupted by the "incident." Also accounts of the system for dealing with Communist prisoners; these were sent to schools to be "reformed."

B. W. P.

Japan's "Grand Old Man." Bunji Omura. 9½" × 6". Pp. 442. Frontispiece. London: Harrap. 15s.

It is unfortunate that the English in which this book is written is of a type which makes it unpleasant for the average reader. A second serious fault is that it is overloaded with trivial detail, which is of interest only in showing up certain points in Prince Saionji's personal character, but which in no way affect his work as a political leader.

It is doubtful, therefore, if subscribers to lending libraries will read the book, though it is a book which should be of great importance to the serious student of Japanese politics, and which should be read by any Englishman who is about to take up any responsible position in Japan.

Many passages show up clearly the differences between the Japanese political system and that employed in any country in Europe. For instance, the following imaginary conversation, which is supposed to take place after 1932:

"You will agree with me that the larger political parties have neither true command over the people, nor are there true leaders like Hara among them. That's how the reactionaries become powerful to start with. For instance, if I had recommended another Seiyuekai leader to succeed the slain Inukai just because the party had a majority in the Diet, I am afraid another coup against the Cabinet would have followed. On the other hand, if I had paved the way for a fiery military Fascist leader, I should have been afraid that his administration would have thrown the Imperial Constitution to the winds. So I wanted to have a man able to keep the military Fascist contingent in check and the party government somewhat intact. I found Admiral Saito."

EDWARD AINGER.

The Dragon Book. Compiled by E. D. Edwards. 7½" × 5½". Pp. 368. William Hodge. 7s. 6d.

This book is a small anthology mostly translated from the Chinese. If its purpose is merely to give pleasure to the English reader, it will achieve its object; the passages translated are chosen more to appeal to the European sense of the bizarre than to give any real understanding of Chinese thought. A suitable book for the spare room.

EDWARD AINGER.

A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam. By Reginald le May. Pp. xxi + 165. 80 plates. Cambridge. 1938.

Art history is a new science, and especially so in this country. Historical method has long progressed so far and has been used so extensively in the treatment of most subjects of European history that the art historian who has to deal with European art is usually working in a field otherwise well surveyed. He is able, in consequence, to interpret his material freely in the light of written records. He may incidentally throw a new light on the political ideas or on the economic contacts of the period. But it is only in the Dark Ages of Europe that he is in the same position as is habitually the student of art history working in the Indian field, for in each case the general history is still uncertain. But the position with regard to India is even worse, because there is here no satisfactory chronology. So that

instead of drawing on the labours of political or economic historians the art historian in Asia, and especially in India, often finds himself articulating his subject and providing a skeleton which the historian will be glad to use.

It is a task of this kind which Dr. Reginald le May has attempted in his *Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam*. For the history of the country, or rather countries, which are now included in the modern kingdom of Siam, is imperfectly recorded and much of it very obscure. Any attempt at the arrangement of monuments of sculpture or painting in a chronological series on the evidence of style alone is very dangerous, for it implies the adoption of an *a priori* scheme for the evolution of style from primitive, through maturity to decadence, of increasing realism or increasing conventionalization, and so on. Dr. le May is fortunate in escaping to a great extent from this position, for Buddhist art in Siam shows the constant influence of different schools of art in India whose dates are well established. Influences from Cambodia, Sumatra and Ceylon were also brought to bear, but the dates here are less certain.

The only author who has hitherto made an attempt to treat the subject as a whole is Dr. Salmony, and his account is largely vitiated by his assumption of the invasion of the country by the Tai, the modern Siamese, in the first or second century A.D. The archæological work of Prince Damrong and the French scholar Dr. Coedès has shown this to be false: the first Tai settlement on Siamese soil was not until 860, and the greater part of Siam was occupied in the early centuries of our era by the Mon people of Burma. They were Buddhists of the Hinayana or Lesser Vehicle. No Buddhist image of Mon type has been found in Burma, and it is therefore fair to assume that Buddhism must have reached the country by sea. The art shows clear signs of Gupta influence, but has a strong local character, so that from the beginning there is something which can be spoken of as a characteristic Siamese style. Though the Tai race came from Yunnan, there is little evidence of early Chinese cultural influence, except in language. The Tai were to show themselves eclectic, but their progress towards the south was slow. Their way was barred by the great Khmer Empire which dominated North-West and Central Siam from about 1000 to 1300 A.D. It may be remarked that the Khmer favoured both Buddhism and Brahmanism, and it is a pity that Dr. le May has confined himself to Buddhist sculptures, since there is no stylistic difference between the images of the two creeds. Though much fine Khmer work has been found on Siamese soil, it is only where there is a trace of Tai or Mon influence that it can be called in any peculiar sense Siamese.

Dr. le May has not made it easier to disentangle the contributions of these different peoples by speaking of the Mon, Khmer and Tai periods. Their characteristics as he gives them establish them as separate schools, but they flourished side by side rather than in successive periods. He himself shows that Lamp'un remained in Mon hands until 1292. The Tai gradually filtered into the country between 850 and 1350, but especially after 1220 when they began to feel pressure from the Mongols. There was

no decline of Khmer influence before 1250, but already in the eleventh century fresh influence was brought to bear on the country by the great kingdom of Pagān, established in Burma, which had welcomed Buddhist refugees from Ceylon and later felt the influence of the Pāla style of Bengal and Bihar. The Tai were closely akin to the Burmese, and at Chiengsen, in North Siam, Pāla influence first entered Siam by the land route. But centuries earlier, by the ninth century at least, influence from the same last great school of Buddhist art in India had reached the peninsular part of Siam by sea. Dr. le May is able to show some striking instances of Pāla influence in the Buddhist sculptures of Siam and a number of pieces both in stone and bronze which have been found in Siam must have been imported from the Pāla mainland of India.

The Tai style finally developed fully after their establishment at Suk'otai, which they took from the Khmer about 1250 and which became the capital of a large Tai kingdom in North Siam. Dr. le May attributes a decisive stage in this final revolution to influence from Ceylon, but here he seems to be on less sure ground. It is a well-established fact that Hinayana Buddhism was reintroduced into Siam from Ceylon at this period. But our knowledge of the chronology of mediæval Sinhalese sculpture is much too slight and uncertain for archæological influence to be clearly proved. Indeed, influence from Ceylon looks much stronger in the art of the kingdom of Palembang in Sumatra (which also controlled the Siamese peninsula), where Dr. le May is inclined to see only influence from the Bay of Bengal during the early Pāla period. On this point it is a pity that he does not refer to the work of Dr. Schnitger, a pioneer in Sumatran archæology.

This short account of the contents of the book will give an idea of its scope and of the many and controversial questions which it touches. The tour that it follows through a land a thousand miles by five hundred in extent, and during the thousand years before 1600, at which point the author finds his interest slackens, may be a little bewildering, but that is inevitable, for the subject is new and intricate. Though the sculpture of Siam has not the classic assurance of that of Cambodia or Java, it has something of the same human vitality that is to be seen in archaic Greek sculpture, but which is so seldom elsewhere reconciled with integrity. The illustrations should certainly appeal to the general reader, but it is doubtful whether he will wish to follow all the detailed arguments of the book, unless he is interested to see the new science of art history applied.

B. G.

Buddhism: Its Doctrines and its Methods. By Alexandra David-Neel. 7" x 5" x 1". Pp. 299. John Lane, the Bodley Head. 1939. 6s.

This book is a translation, by H. N. M. Hardy and Bernard Miall, of the author's *Le Bouddhisme, ses doctrines et ses méthodes*.

It is a short study of the more essential and striking points of the Buddhist

doctrines and mental disciplines, supported by constant quotations from the scriptures both of northern and of southern Buddhism, including Tibetan and Japanese authorities.

Though critical, here and there, of Buddhist doctrines, the author's principal aim is not at a critique, but simply at an exposition, with a minimum of comment, which will give the Western reader one more opportunity of reviewing them and seeing whether his world can derive benefit from them.

Her chapter on the complicated questions arising in connection with the doctrine of Karman as adopted by Buddhism is the best example of her genuine intellectual ability, although clarity of exposition is not always complete in it.

She does not attempt to disguise the inconsistencies of doctrine among Buddhists, as, for instance, on the question of killing in war, or on the relationship of *nirvāna* to *saṃsāra*. But she writes:

"A prolonged stay in Buddhist countries establishes the fact that in practice the differences between the Hinayana and the Mahayana, and between the different sects of each, are not so clear as they seem to be if one confines oneself to reading the treatises of the leaders of the Buddhist schools of philosophy. In practice, the various doctrines overlap and interlock at many points."

She mentions the story of the young Buddhist prince who gave himself as food to a tigress with cubs who would otherwise have died of starvation, and adds:

"I believe—not entirely without reason—that an action of this kind might really have been accomplished. It is difficult to plumb the depths of charity and detachment to which certain Buddhist mystics have attained."

Long acquaintance, through personal discussions, with the ideas and practices of present-day Buddhists is to be numbered among the author's special qualifications for her task. The book seldom reads like a translation; nor—if allowance be made for the difficulty of the subject in many parts—does it make difficult reading.

Mipam, the Lama of the Five Wisdoms. A Tibetan novel by Lama Yongden. English version by Percy Lloyd and Bernard Miall. 8" x 5" x 1". Pp. 340. John Lane, the Bodley Head. 1938. 8s. 6d.

Lama Yongden is the adopted son of Madame David-Neel, the writer on Tibetan subjects. Wishing, he says, to disseminate information as to the ideas and customs of his native land as a corrective to that conveyed by European novels about Tibet, he collected materials, and was afterwards persuaded to throw his work into the form of a novel.

On the whole, local colour and information are sufficiently subordinated in it to the telling of the story.

Mipam, a son of a village headman, felt himself, in boyhood, ill at ease in a country in which men shot arrows at kindly disposed leopards, and hatred and violence prevailed. He determined to search for one in which compassion and love were the rule. Circumstances caused him, as a matter of fact, to wander far in the course of his boyhood and youth, and the author takes him by natural steps into many strange environments which he desires to illustrate, including an astrologer's establishment and Tashilhumpo, the seat of the Tashi Lama. He was early admitted to a monastic brotherhood in which marriage was, fortunately, permitted; and a boy-and-girl love interest plays an important part in the story. He ends by being recognised as the reincarnation of a historic abbot, and as the young head of a great and progressive monastery.

The heroine is a more sympathetic figure than the hero, although the latter is given human enough qualities. Most readers, perhaps, will feel some disappointment that the *motif* of gradual enlightenment and spiritual growth, opened in such promising style, is not more fully developed in order to prepare the way for Mipam's entry into his monastery, which is the climax of the book. This theme is not, indeed, completely neglected, but it is given a very insignificant place as compared with miraculous happenings and visions having a religious connection, and with the elaborate intrigue of the story. The latter is well told, with the abundant illustrations of Tibetan life and ideas which could hardly have been supplied by any foreigner.

Mr. Percy Lloyd, it would appear from the preface, has been not merely a translator but an adapter and an interpreter of the spirit of the Lama's composition. Author and adapter have between them turned out an interesting piece of work, with many attractive, and some amusing, pages.

The Analects of Confucius. Translated and annotated by Arthur Waley. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 268. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

The sage of the family of Kung in the State of Lu, whom we know as Confucius, died in the fourth century B.C. The present head of the family—the seventy-sixth after the Master—lives in the village where the Master was born and outside which he lies buried. The family graveyard is enclosed by a wall seven miles in circumference. No other family in the world can claim such a record.

In the history of mankind Confucius is unique. He incorporated in his person the main elements of Chinese culture. After the lapse of 2,000 years the moral, social and political life of nearly one-third of the human race is still under the influence of his mind.

Like other great men he has suffered much from legend. Half a dozen different Confuciuses can be constructed by tapping this legend at different stages of its evolution. Mr. Waley has chosen wisely to show us the Confucius of the Analects and to dismiss as fiction all biographical data which do not occur in this collection of sayings. The result is a picture of a learned, kindly and genial man, who devoted his life to training "the sons of gentlemen in the virtues proper to a member of the ruling classes." Towards the end of his life he travelled from State to State in the present Provinces of Honan and Shantung "seeking for a ruler who would give the Way its chance." He was entirely unsuccessful. The highest court office that he ever held was a minor one, that of *shih-shih* or Leader of the Knights.

As to his private life, he was born in humble circumstances. He had a son, whom he outlived, and a daughter. His elder brother was a cripple, so that he acted as head of the family. "What he regarded as exceptional in himself was his love of learning—that is to say, of self-government—and his unflagging patience in insisting upon the moral principles that had (in

his view) guided the godlike rulers of the remote past. His task . . . was not so much to impart knowledge as to inculcate moral principles, form character and hand down unaltered . . . a great tradition of the past." As a result the Chinese are the most cultured and peace-loving people in the world to-day.

Mr. Waley needs no introduction as a translator of Chinese. Since he set himself the task of recovering what the unknown compiler of the *Analects* meant, his translation differs radically from those of his predecessors, who all followed Chu Hsi's interpretation. In consequence he translates *jên* by good, *chün-tzu* by gentleman, *wên* by culture, *t'ien* by Heaven or nature, according to the context, and *tê* by moral force instead of by virtue.

The best way of appreciating Mr. Waley's work is to compare any passage from his translation with the same passage in Legge and Lionel Giles. Legge renders Book VI., Saying 20: "Fan Ch'e asked what constituted wisdom. The Master said, To give oneself earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them, may be called wisdom. He asked about perfect virtue. The Master said, The man of virtue makes the difficulty to be overcome his first business, and success only a subsequent consideration—this may be called perfect virtue."

Giles has "Fan Ch'ih asked in what wisdom consisted. The Master said, Make righteousness in human affairs your aim, treat all supernatural beings with respect, but keep aloof from them—then you may be called wise. Asked about moral virtue he replied, The virtuous man thinks of the difficult thing first, and makes material advantage only a secondary consideration. This may be said to constitute moral virtue."

Waley translates the saying thus: "Fan Ch'ih asked about wisdom. The Master said, He who devotes himself to securing for his subjects what it is right they should have, who by respect for the Spirits keeps them at a distance, may be termed wise. He asked about Goodness. The Master said, Goodness cannot be obtained till what is difficult has been duly done. He who has done this may be called Good."

Mr. Waley is to be congratulated on producing an ideal translation of the *Analects*. It is not his fault that they make dull reading.

G. J. Y.

NOTES

It is regretted that reviews of the books following cannot appear until the next number of the *Journal*: *Man or Leviathan*, by Edward Mousley. This book must be studied carefully by everyone who wishes to find a world order which allows of freedom and development for man in contrast to the *Leviathan*, the totalitarian state. Mr. Mousley suggests a law which would be accepted by all and obeyed by all without loss of individuality or a reasonable national pride. The book was written after much thought, and

Mr. Mousley's previous publications set the high standard which it reaches; the proposals he puts forward will surely lead to some practical end.

Other interesting books under review are: *The Present Condition of India, The Rise and Growth of Congress, Nationalism and Reform in India, Up from Poverty in Rural India, The Riddle of Arabia, The Spirit of Islam, Harris of Japan, L'Egypte Moderne, South of the Clouds, The Bible in India, Biblical Archæology, India Calling.*

The Council wish to thank Mr. Bourke-Borrowes, Mr. Said-Ruete, Mr. Waddington, Miss Newton and Mr. Owen Holloway for valuable gifts to the Library.

Members only are responsible for the spellings of proper names and place-names.

OBITUARY

CHARLES R. CRANE

MR. CHARLES CRANE, who died on February 15, was an American citizen who took the deepest interest in the problems of Asia. As a young man he lived for nearly a year in Bukhara and Samarkand, eating the native food and making friends with everyone, while Asia cast her spell upon him. Very wealthy, he used his money more especially to foster education, and was a trustee of the Robert College in Constantinople and president of the Women's College. After the Great War he was commissioned by President Wilson to examine the question of the United States accepting a mandate for Syria.

He served as American Minister to China under the same President, and spent much money and trouble in collecting the singers of Chinese songs that were in danger of being lost and making gramophone records of them. The best choirmaster was reported to be in the Philippine Islands. Crane accordingly had him tracked down and engaged; he finally trained the singers in an old temple at Peking.

In his later years, Crane's services to Arabia were of outstanding value. He engaged a capable American engineer, who not only provided Jeddah with a water supply but constructed a road and discovered coal and other minerals. To the Imam of Yemen Crane also presented a bridge and, I believe, a road.

My connection with Crane started in 1923, when I visited the U.S.A. At that period he was busy with the education of some forty young people whom he had rescued from the clutches of the Soviet. He was also sending succour to Russian popes, who were starving.

His affection for the Royal Central Asian Society, which, so far as Asia was concerned, he repeatedly stated to be the best in the world, was proved by a handsome gift of money towards the cost of changing premises, while in his last letter he enclosed a second cheque towards the cost of furnishing the new premises of his "much prized society."

To sum up, Crane was absolutely selfless. He spent very little on himself, but lived for his family and the many interests which he had at heart. He travelled far and wide in Asia, indifferent to risks—a fellow-traveller was shot in his company near Kuwait—or discomforts,

studying its problems with insight and sympathy. He has passed away, aged eighty, among the palm groves, producing dates of excellent quality, which he had planted in Southern California. Few men will be so deeply and so widely mourned as Charles Crane.

P. M. SYKES.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL M. E. WILLOUGHBY, C.B.,
C.S.I., C.M.G.

THE death of General Willoughby on February 14 deprived the Society of a distinguished member, who not only actively shared its interests, regularly attending its meetings, but also used his wide experience in and knowledge of the Far East to contribute from time to time valuable papers on Far Eastern subjects.

Michael Edward Willoughby, the only son of Lieut.-General M. W. Willoughby, C.S.I., was born in 1864, educated at Winchester and at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst. He travelled extensively during his varied career. His genial humour, unassuming demeanour, and tact made him friends wherever he went. A ready pen and considerable artistic skill have added special interest to the records of his journeys.

In February, 1884, Willoughby was commissioned in the Northumberland Fusiliers, and in 1885, on transfer to the Indian Army, was posted to Skinner's Horse at Peshawar. There his special abilities led to employment on frontier reconnaissances. He was soon transferred to the 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse), the regiment which he eventually commanded.

His first war service was in the transport with the Chin-Lushai expedition of 1888-90. During 1896-97 he graduated at the Staff College, Camberley, together with Haig, Allenby, and others who subsequently gained distinction.

Returning to India, he was employed on Staff duty at Army Headquarters and in Assam. In 1900 began his association with China, when he proceeded on special service with the force sent to North China to take part in the quelling of the Boxer Rebellion.

From 1901 to 1904 he was back in India on the Staff of what was then the Bengal Command. In 1907 he was appointed to the staff of the North China Command, and in 1909 to be Military Attaché at the British Legation in Peking, a position which he held with distinction for three and a half years. In the course of his duties he was sent on

special missions to Manchuria and to the Yangtse Valley. The journeys thus accomplished, added to extensive explorations in Yunnan, as well as travels in Siberia and Japan, gave him an exceptional knowledge of the Far East and of the military and political problems involved in British interests in all those regions. At the end of his period of duty as Military Attaché, Sir John Jordan, then British Minister at Peking, expressed his high appreciation of the constant and valuable assistance that Willoughby had rendered him, especially mentioning the characteristics of sympathy and consideration that enabled him to gain the confidence and goodwill of Chinese of every standing and any province, as well as to work in complete harmony with his colleagues. Sir John Jordan's praise was cordially endorsed by Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, and the C.M.G. was conferred on Willoughby in recognition of his services.

He returned to his regiment in India, but was soon called upon to undertake a duty of a very unusual kind, for which his qualifications peculiarly fitted him. In August, 1912, he was placed in charge of the Commission for the repatriation through India of the Chinese armed force that had been beleaguered in Lhasa by the Tibetans after they had fought their way to that place. The terms for the withdrawal from Tibet were arranged by negotiation between the Chinese commander and the Tibetan authorities. The proposal that they should be withdrawn through India was made by Yüan Shih-kai, the President of the Chinese Republic, at a conference with Sir John Jordan in Peking, at which Willoughby was present. The fact that the latter was returning to India fresh from his long and intimate relations with the Chinese marked him as the man for the job. That this unprecedented and complicated task was carried out to the satisfaction of all concerned reflects great credit on Willoughby. One of his last acts before his death was to present to the Society a copy of his deeply interesting report on this remarkable and essentially "Central Asian" episode. The report is in the library, available to any members who may wish to read it. It is well illustrated by photographs.

Willoughby succeeded to the command of the 2nd Lancers in May, 1913, and was with it in Saugor when the Great War broke out. Towards the end of 1914 he proceeded with the regiment to France, where it immediately became engaged in the fighting about Bethune and at Neuve Chapelle. He was then appointed liaison officer with the Indian Cavalry Corps, and later in 1915 was made A.Q.M.G. of the Meerut Division, and accompanied them to Mesopotamia. He was

next given command of the 6th Cavalry Brigade, and in 1916 joined the Staff of the 3rd Indian Corps, in which capacity he served till his return to India early in 1919. He had been five times mentioned in despatches, and was awarded the C.B. His services were also recognized by our Russian allies, who conferred upon him the Second Class Order of St. Anne with swords.

Yet another spell of active service awaited him on the outbreak of the Third Afghan War in the spring of 1919. For his services on the Staff of the North-West Frontier Force he was again mentioned in despatches, and was awarded the C.S.I. in 1920. He then retired and settled in England. He continued, however, to lead an active life, travelling at intervals in many parts of the world. In 1930 he married Muriel Edith Faulkner, daughter of Captain G. Faulkner Wilkinson, Durham Light Infantry, who, sharing his love of travel, accompanied him and helped him on journeys abroad which he continued for some years, even when weakened by the malady which has now brought a good life to its close.

Willoughby's varied interests in London included membership of the Royal Geographical Society, on the Council of which he served for a period that terminated last year. He also served assiduously for several years on the governing body of the National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart, Marylebone.

J. K. T.

MISS ELLA SYKES, F.R.G.S.

ELLA SYKES was one of the most remarkable women of her generation, an inspiration and a help to all who knew her.

It was perhaps her early life with her brother in Iran that she looked back to with most pleasure. She considered herself the most fortunate of women for having had the opportunity of keeping house for him in Kerman, in accompanying him on the Perso-Baluch Boundary Commission and on his many journeys in Iran, of collaborating with him in his books on Iran and the opportunity she had during the war of visiting Chinese Turkestan. Her books of these wanderings—*Through Persia on a Side-Saddle, Deserts and Oases of Central Asia*, with her brother—are well known to all members of the Society and tell their own story.

When she came home during the war she organized canteen work at Étaples, and after it was over she accepted the secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society and spent some six years there before retiring into private life. It was then perhaps that her many talents came to fruition. Herself a successful writer, she was generous to an unusual degree in helping inexperienced and budding authors with their manuscripts, which she not only read through but in many cases almost rewrote, and it is noteworthy that the books which she handled, but on which her name did not appear, were usually an outstanding success.

But not only in her retirement did she give of her brain and personal experience to advise others. Remarkably conscientious, and having been placed on a committee for sending University women to Canada, she went out herself in 1913 as a penniless woman might have done and for six months took such work as was offered her—usually that of a general servant—all through Canada; her little book *A Home-help in Canada*, which tells of her experiences, is a delight to all women interested in the Empire, and ran to more than one edition. This wide experience gave her a vivid realization of the need of development in that country, and one of her most treasured committees was that of the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement where, with Sir George MacMunn, Sir Wyndham Deedes, Geoffrey Stephenson and others, she worked hard to choose suitable candidates and to prepare them for their new experiences.

Towards the end of her life she gave herself largely to work among girls, and was honorary secretary of the Girls' Friendly Society in South Kensington. There can be few women who have had such varied interests. There must be very few whose life has been so well lived and who have given so generously to their fellows.

Miss Sykes was an original member of this Society and served for some years as Honorary Librarian on its Council.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE "FOSSILS" FOUND ON MOUNT EVEREST AT 25,000 FEET

IN the Journal of April, 1938 (vol. xxv., ii., p. 262), Mr. N. E. Odell (wrongly spelled in Irish fashion "O'Dell") is said to have found two fossils on Mount Everest at a height of 25,000 feet, which he put in his pocket and, his brain befuddled by the rarefied air, took out later, mistook for biscuit, bit, found stone-hard and threw away. Mr. Odell says that what he found were not fossils but "cone-in-cone" structures, very like fossils. These he neither bit nor threw away, but he remembered that they might be of interest if brought back, and they were given by him to the British Museum of Natural History, where they still are.

We have been asked by the Argonaut Press to say that the cost of *Northern Nejd*, edited by Douglas Carruthers, is £2 2s.

NOMINATION FORM.

.....
.....
.....
(Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address)

being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend ^{him}_{her} for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

His
Her connection with Asia is :

(Entrance fee, £1. Yearly subscription, £1 5s.)

Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXVI

JULY, 1939

PART III

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THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

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**AGREEMENT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE
ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY**

8, CLARGES STREET, LONDON, W. 1

I,

of

HEREBY COVENANT with THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, LONDON, W. 1, that for a period of seven years from the 6th April, 19..... or during my life, whichever period shall be shorter, I will pay annually to the said Society such a sum as will, after the deduction of Income Tax, leave in the hands of the

Society a net sum of.....

such sum to be paid from my general fund of taxed income so that I shall receive no personal or private benefit in either of the said periods from the said sum or any part thereof.

IN WITNESS whereof I have hereunto set
my hand and seal this.....



Signed, sealed, and delivered by the said

.....

In the presence of

Signature.....

Address.....

Occupation.....

NOTICE TO MEMBERS

YOUR Council wish to draw the attention of Members to the following facts :

(1) The Commissioners of Inland Revenue have agreed that the Society is a scientific one and as such can recover Income Tax at the standard rate on all subscriptions paid under covenant for seven years. (Letter of March 7, 1939.)

(2) This means that a Member who signs such a covenant only pays to the Society his or her normal subscription of £1 or £1 5s., as the case may be, but the Society actually receives this sum plus the amount of Income Tax at standard rate—*i.e.*, about an extra five shillings—and this at no cost to the individual subscriber.

(3) Your accountants estimate that if all Members would sign, the Society would increase its annual income by over £200 per year.

(4) We ask all Members who are willing to do so to sign the form opposite and to return it to the Secretary at 8, Clarges Street, London, W. 1, and the Council wish to express their gratitude to those who have already done so.

EDWARD AINGER,
Hon. Treasurer.

NOMINATION FORM.

.....
.....
.....
(*Name, with Rank, Appointment or Occupation and Address*)

*being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL
ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend ^{him}_{her} for membership.*

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

His
Her connection with Asia is :

(Entrance fee, £1. Yearly subscription, £1 5s.)

NOTICES

THE Annual Dinner will take place on July 6 at Grosvenor House, the President in the Chair. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode and Lady Chetwode will receive members and their guests. The Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald and the Hon. Harold Nicolson will be the principal speakers and Sir Richmond and Lady Palmer will also be the Guests of the Society. In addition to the dinner there will be three lectures in July. The Society cannot enjoy the hospitality of the Royal Society as alterations are to be made to their hall, and the first and last lectures will be held in the Royal Empire Society's hall, while on July 19 two French films will be shown by Mme. Adrienne Weill. This meeting will be held at 5 o'clock. Members are therefore asked to read their lecture cards more carefully than usual to see both place and time. Sir Richmond Palmer will lecture on Cyprus on July 12, Lord Lloyd in the Chair, and Dr. Lindt on the Persian Gulf on July 26.

Many members of the Society will be interested to hear that the Assyrian newspaper *Athra*, which gives special news of the Assyrians, can be seen in the Reading Room. There is also a new German publication dealing with Central Asian questions which can also be read here.

The following members have been elected recently :

Commander I. R. H. Black, Royal Navy, W. H. Crawford Clarke, Esq., Wing-Commander S. D. Culley, D.S.O., Lieutenant A. H. Diack, Royal Navy, Mrs. J. M. Dreschfield, Squadron-Leader N. C. Ogilvie Forbes, Royal Air Force, Captain P. B. Hembrow, A.C.R.E., J. T. Irvine, Esq., Captain J. H. Jeffers, Captain R. A. Smart, Dr. Luigi Gabbrielli, Dr. M. R. Lawrence, Major D. Burt-Marshall, Lt. Lieutenant-Colonel G. W. R. Templer, D.S.O., F. Harcourt Smith, Esq., Mrs. E. R. Provis, M.A., Mrs. E. Cragg, Robert Ellis, Esq., Flight-Lieutenant J. R. A. Embling, Flight-Lieutenant Peter Fleming, Brigadier A. R. Godwin-Austen, O.B.E., M.C., Dean Walter A. Groves, Al-Sayid Chefik Haddad, Major A. H. Kemp, M.B.E., A.M.I.M.E., V. C. W. Kenyon, Esq., D. M. H. Riches, Esq., R. F. G. Sarell, Esq., Captain G. A. D. Taylor, Max Thornburg, Esq., the Rt. Hon. Lord Alington, Mrs. Cecil Brooks, Mrs. R. H. Brooks, Captain A. B. H. Day, R.A. (ret.), Hon. Paul Knabenshue, W. D. Garbutt, Esq., T. S. Geary, Esq., Dr. Bernard Lewis, B.A., Ph.D., A. I. Macpherson, Esq., M. F. Payne, Esq., D. N. Rabagliati, Esq., Major C. P. Warren, M.C.

Contributors only are responsible for the statements in the Journal.

To those who are concerned with the transliteration of Arabic the following extract from Sir John Malcolm's *Sketches of Persia*, published anonymously more than a hundred years ago, may be of interest :

NOTE TO THE READER

The usual orthography of some proper names has been altered, with a view to rendering them more conformable to the pronunciation and the grammar of the languages to which they belong. For instance, our old friend and favourite, the caliph Haroun-al-Raschid of the "Arabian Tales," appears under his Arabic name of Haroon-oor-Rasheed. The critical reader will also discover that a few of the Eastern words have not always been spelled exactly alike. This unintentional typographical inaccuracy was caused by the peculiar circumstances under which these volumes were printed.

The book was printed by John Murray in 1828; perhaps the present holder of that name may be able to trace what these circumstances were. The Society is indebted to Mrs. Francis Storrs for this and other books which she has presented to the Society.

The Council wish to thank Mrs. Patrick Ness and Colonel W. B. Lane for gifts of Journals.

The Council is deeply indebted to Sir Percy Sykes for the gift of his magnificent coloured slides of Persia and Central Asia and for those of Miss Ella Sykes which he has presented to the Society.

ANNIVERSARY LECTURE

TRANS-JORDAN

By COLONEL F. G. PEAKE, C.M.G., C.B.E.

The Thirty-Eighth Anniversary Lecture was given on June 14, 1939, General Sir Arthur Wauchope, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., in the Chair.

General Sir ARTHUR WAUCHOPE: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Colonel Peake needs no introduction from me to members of the Royal Central Asian Society; his work is too well known, and deservedly so. Colonel Peake first went to that part of the world in 1918, serving as a very young officer under Colonel T. E. Lawrence, and took part in what is generally known as “the Arab Revolt.” After the War he formed the first police force in Trans-Jordan, and later commanded that police force when it had developed into what is known as the Arab Legion, over a period of some fifteen years. These were troublous times: each neighbouring country was, at one period or another, in a state of turmoil, yet during all these years Trans-Jordan remained tranquil and peaceful, with barely one or two minor incidents occurring to disturb that peace. We cannot, perhaps, analyze all the circumstances which have contributed to that tranquillity. But when we consider the community of race, of language, and of religion which exists between the people of Trans-Jordan and the people of Palestine, and the fact that the people of Trans-Jordan undoubtedly feel a deep sympathy with the three main aims of the Nationalists in Palestine, we must agree that it is very remarkable that Trans-Jordan has remained so tranquil during the last seven years as it has. Speaking as one who was High Commissioner for Palestine for seven years, I say without hesitation that that tranquillity was largely due to the influence and personality of Colonel Peake Pasha at the head of the Arab Legion.

I will now call on Colonel Peake to give us his address.

I HAVE been asked to come here to-night to talk to you about a very small State called Trans-Jordan. Although this part of the world has been populated from the earliest times and has played a great rôle in history, it is now little known. The chief reasons for this are, firstly, that it only came into existence as a separate Independent State under its present name after the war, and, secondly, because it has given no trouble in the post-war period, and has therefore received none of the limelight which has been thrown on its more turbulent neighbours. Its importance, however, must not be lost sight of; Ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Rome, the Crusaders, down through the days of the Ottoman to the British Empire, have all had to recog-

nize that there can be no peace and security in Syria, Palestine, and Sinai unless similar conditions prevail in Trans-Jordan.

The danger of an incursion by nomad tribes into the fertile fringe surrounding the north of Arabia has been a problem which has confronted every government which has been responsible for the welfare of those parts. In the past Rome, with her great fortresses and military roads, successfully kept the tribes at bay for several centuries, but eventually she was driven out of Arabia by the fanatical followers of the new religion preached by the Prophet Muhammed. Perhaps the very efficiency of the Roman system was the chief cause of her final collapse in Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan. For centuries she had prevented, by force, the surplus Beduin population from migrating to the cultivated areas, with the result that when once the barriers went down before Moslem arms, an irresistible flood was let loose which carried the Beduin armies to the banks of the Indus, to the frontiers of China, and even into France.

The second reason for the importance of Trans-Jordan is that from the earliest times important trade routes have traversed the country. In the days of Ancient Egypt it was the spices from Southern Arabia which passed through Trans-Jordan. Later on, during the Nabatæan and Roman periods, a large amount of commerce from India to Rome came this way. In still more recent times the Turks found it necessary to occupy the country in order to build the Hijaz Railway, primarily for pilgrim traffic, and no doubt for strategic reasons also; we, within the last few years, have put part of the Iraq-Mediterranean pipe-line through this area, and are now engaged in constructing a tarmac road through it in order to connect Palestine with Iraq by first-class motor road.

Trans-Jordan only became important to the British Empire when the Turks entered the war against us, and thus threatened Egypt and our communications through the Suez Canal. It was then part of the large Turkish province known as the Vilayet of Damascus. I think everyone knows how Colonel Lawrence, with consummate skill, managed to turn the Arabs of Trans-Jordan and the Hijaz against the Turks, thus converting into allies a population which might, if against us, have been a serious embarrassment to the right flank of our army as it advanced through Palestine. And we must not forget the assistance given to us by Hussein, King of the Hijaz, and his sons Ali, Abdullah, and Faisal, who each raised large numbers of Beduin and Fellaheen for service against the Turks in the Hijaz and all along the railway.

In the beginning of 1918 I was sent with a party of Egyptian Camel Corps to join Lawrence. Our duty was to interrupt traffic on the Hijaz Railway as much as possible. In June we decided to destroy the important water station at Wadi Hasa, about ninety miles south of Amman. It was occupied by fifty Turks with two machine-guns, and our force consisted of about 100 Beduin under a Shareef, who was one of Faisal's most trusted leaders, and a similar number of Egyptian Camel Corps. The night before the attack we all assembled with our camels at a place about half a mile west of the station; then, as dawn broke, a single Beduin stood up and gave the call for action in a clear voice, "La Illah il Allah, Muhammed Rasul Allah," meaning "There is no God but God, and Muhammed is his messenger," which we heard vibrate through the still morning air. It was the Arabs' *réveillé*, dress, mount, and charge all in one. Instantly we all sprang on to our camels and charged into the station before the Turks could fire more than a few shots. We lost one man. After completely destroying the station and blowing up several miles of line we retired to a small spring in a wooded valley about five miles west of the station. The next morning we were awakened by the hum of aeroplanes, and soon bombs began to drop. Considerable damage was done, as the valley was ideal for this kind of warfare.

That night I had dinner with the Shareef, and we discussed making further inroads on the Turks. I was, therefore, surprised when I got up in the morning to find that the Beduin, with their Commander, had all left the valley. Then the aeroplanes reappeared, but, seeing no movement in the valley, as my men were hidden under the trees and had no tents, they flew off southwards, and soon after the sound of heavy bombing was heard. Later it transpired that the Shareef had anticipated another visit by the aeroplanes and had decided to move away secretly so that the enemy might unload their bombs on the Egyptian Camel Corps. Unfortunately for them, however, they forgot that aeroplanes can see over hills into the next valley, and consequently, being quite confident that they were safe, pitched their tents and thus offered a beautiful target. They suffered severe casualties. I met the Shareef later in the day, and it was quite evident from the coldness with which he received me that he thought I had played a very low trick by not attracting the enemy's bombs before they visited him.

During the spring of 1918 the British Army made two incursions into Trans-Jordan from Palestine. Neither was successful, the first failing because of delay caused by rain and mud, and the second

because the Beduin who had promised to assist failed to do so. In the autumn, when the final rout of the Turkish Armies in Palestine took place, those in Trans-Jordan surrendered to the British Force which advanced into the country over the Allenby Bridge. Arrangements were then made for small detachments of British troops to occupy certain of the larger towns until an Arab administration could be set up under Faisal, who had entered Damascus immediately after the Turks left the town.

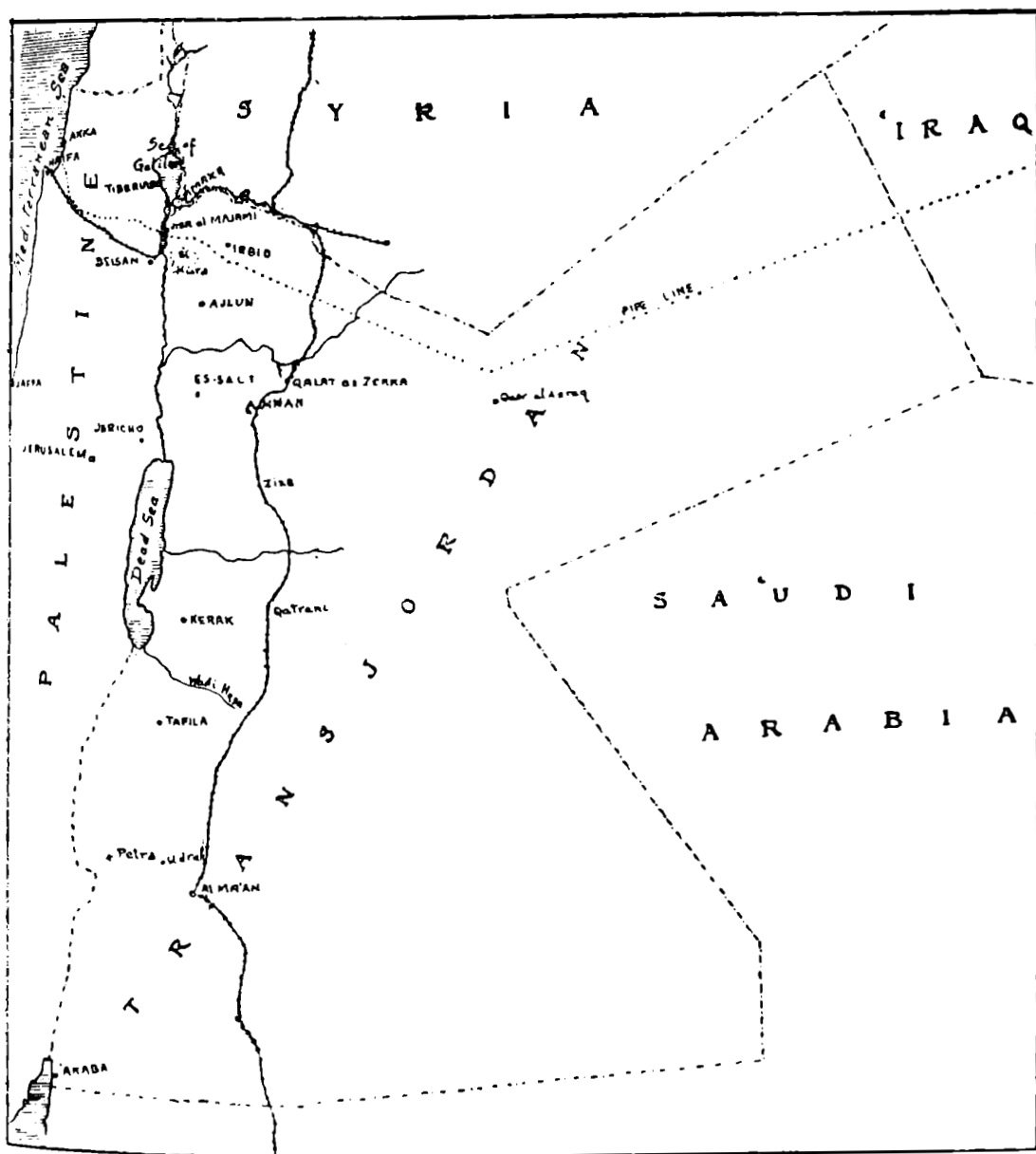
It was some time before Faisal's hastily constructed Government in Damascus could spare time to attend to Trans-Jordan, but about the middle of 1919 an administration was set up and British troops gradually withdrew. In the north of the country all went as well as could be expected, but in the south a difficulty at once arose. Both Faisal in Damascus and his father, King Hussein, in Mecca, claimed the sovereignty of the area, issued orders, and appointed officials. It might be supposed that this would lead to chaos and confusion, but this was not the case, as the officials had no intention of obeying either master, and luckily the people of the country, being thoroughly tired of war, remained quiet.

The class of official sent to this distant province in the south of Trans-Jordan was not very high, as may be seen from the fact that a decrepit old Beduin became Governor of Aqaba. One of his first acts was to put up on the wall of the fort the cypher telegram from King Hussein confirming him in his appointment, together with an exact decode of it. No doubt the simple old gentleman did this with the idea of showing his followers how much he was trusted by his Royal Master and how clever he was in being able to deal with such intricate matters of government. The Egyptian staff officer attached to the British Headquarters in Aqaba was not slow to profit by such simplicity.

As the negotiations in Versailles became more protracted and the Arab Government became more anxious about the result, the administration of the country rapidly decayed. The apparent leanings of the Powers towards a Zionist policy in Palestine also caused discontent and unrest, which the Arab Government was either unwilling or unable to allay. This culminated in a large number of tribesmen from the north of Trans-Jordan attacking a detachment of Indian soldiers at Semakh on Lake Tiberias. They were beaten off, but the Arab Government never gave a satisfactory explanation of this affair. Then in midsummer, 1920, came the final blow; Faisal was expelled from Syria by the

French, who at once took over the government of that country, but were unable to include Trans-Jordan, as that would have encroached upon the British sphere of influence.

I must here explain that France and England had agreed, during the war, to divide the Turkish provinces in Arabia between them,



Syria and Lebanon were to go to France and Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq to England. The British, on the other hand, having completely withdrawn from Trans-Jordan, were not in a position to set up an administration to take the place of Faisal's Government. The end of the Faisal régime, therefore, was the signal for the powerful sheikhs and chieftains to take over the government of the country. In the

northern quarter of Trans-Jordan, known as the Ajlun District, at least four separate Governments came into existence. In the centre the two towns of Amman and Al Salt still retained an official or two of the old régime, but they had no power and no one took any notice of them. The remainder of the country reverted to tribal rule, the more powerful sheikhs using their authority to raid their neighbours and to extort money out of such persons as were too weak to resist.

Throughout the country the results of the year's misgovernment were apparent; all the telegraph lines had been destroyed, the poles having been taken away and used as fuel, and the main road from Palestine was out of repair from the Jordan onward, so the journey had to be made on horseback. The railway also was out of action, since the washouts caused by the rain in March, 1920, had not been repaired; besides which the stations were all falling down, as the windows, doors, and roof rafters had been taken away and used as firewood. In addition to this, there were practically no records in any of the Government offices. One of the first things Arabs do when they get out of hand is to destroy all Government books and documents; by this means they hope that all record of their debts, unpaid taxes, and crimes will be lost for ever.

This was the state of affairs which confronted the High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Herbert Samuel, now Lord Samuel, when he went to Trans-Jordan at the end of the summer to inaugurate a new régime. Sir Herbert met all the leading sheikhs at Al Salt, a village about twenty-five miles east of the Jordan. During the meeting, two political refugees from Palestine were brought before him by some of the principal sheikhs and a petition was put forward for their pardon. Sir Herbert agreed to pardon them and allow them to return to Palestine on condition that they promised not to deal in politics again. Both gave the required promise. One of the refugees was Aref Bey al Aref, for the last ten years Governor of Beer Sheba District, in which part there has been less trouble than anywhere else in Palestine; so he has loyally kept his word. The other refugee was Haj Ameen al Hussein, ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, now once again a political refugee.

Sir Herbert left behind him six British officials, whose orders were to try and form some sort of administration. The antipathy of the people to our Zionist policy in Palestine was, even in those early days, very pronounced, as Major Somerset, now Lord Raglan, who was one of the six officials, was not allowed to proceed to Irbid, a town in the northern district, until he had signed a document promising that the

Zionist policy would not be introduced into Trans-Jordan. A short time after Sir Herbert's visit I was sent across the Jordan to report on such police and gendarmerie as might still exist in that area and on the public security. I was instructed not to enter the southern or Maan area, as it might offend King Hussein, who still continued to regard that part of the country as belonging to his Kingdom of the Hijaz. I found a strange state of affairs prevailing all over the country; in some places a few police and gendarmes of the Faisal Government were to be seen, but they had received no pay for months and their uniforms were in rags. It is not, therefore, surprising that their morale was low.

In the northern district Major Somerset, with great skill, managed to keep a semblance of order by playing off the four Governments against one another.

Public security, however, was not good enough to deter the people of a small village from firing upon me as I passed near them with my escort. Later, when they found out who we were, they excused themselves by saying that they thought we were a hostile force sent by the rival Government a mile or two away. When I told them what I thought about them they were quite unabashed and smilingly asked me to dinner. I accepted the invitation.

In the centre area, now known as Belqa, matters were far worse; almost the first day I was in Amman, now the capital of Trans-Jordan, I went out riding in the village before breakfast and saw a man with a drawn sword chasing another down the street. Imagining it to be a game, I took little notice of the affair until I saw the man with the sword hit the other a terrific blow on the head, which literally cleft his skull in two. Appeals to people standing about had no effect at all; the murderer dodged down a narrow street and, so far as I know, has never been arrested.

The most turbulent people of all were the tribesmen of the Beni Sakhr, who live part of the year just south of Amman. One of their sheikhs fired at, and maimed for life, a police officer, whose sole offence was that he had been a police officer under Faisal and still wore his uniform; another sheikh led an attack on a small village and took away all the cattle and grain he could lay his hands on; and yet a third sheikh calmly occupied, ploughed, and sowed the land belonging to a Christian Arab who was unfortunate enough to own land near by. But the palm must, I think, be given to the sheikh who stole a rifle from a policeman and then proceeded to test its accuracy by

firing at all who passed his tent. Eventually he killed a boy who turned out to be the scion of a rather powerful family, so he decamped to the desert and remained there for several months.

Further south the country was most unsafe; anyone wishing to ride through that part had to have a large escort. In the old Crusader castle called Kerak, several of the sheikhs of the strongest tribe formed themselves into a council and named it the Government of Kerak. They were such an impressive body to look at that a representative of an oil company who came to see the country was persuaded to pay £500 for oil prospecting rights. An imposing document was prepared in Arabic and sealed by each member of the Council, and the concessionaire departed with it in his pocket. A few weeks later he returned to the port of Kerak on the Dead Sea, bringing with him all the equipment for a prolonged stay, but to his surprise he was forbidden to leave the port. Complaints fell on deaf ears, the Kerak Council was seven hours' ride away, and so finally the disappointed concession-holder had to leave, protesting that he had been robbed, which was undoubtedly true but not likely to prick the consciences of the members of the Kerak Council of State.

Added to all these troubles was grave political unrest throughout the Arab world. The expulsion of Faisal and his Government confirmed the worst fears of all Arab political leaders. In spite of all promises it became apparent that they were not to be given independence. The only hope appeared to be King Hussein in Mecca, and to him messengers were sent. At the same time a steady flow of Arab politicians and displaced Arab officers began to arrive in Trans-Jordan.

Then, about Christmas, 1920, a Shareef arrived in Amman from Mecca, and it was given out that he had been sent to prepare the people to rise and follow one of Hussein's sons, who was being sent to recover Syria. Everyone was filled with excitement. Under these circumstances it was quite impossible to make any improvement in the administration, but in October I had been given permission to raise two small bodies of men, one 100 strong, to keep order in Amman and along the road to Palestine, and the other 50 strong, to help the British official stationed at Kerak. These two forces were the foundation on which the Arab Legion was eventually built. Service in those two little armies was at first not at all popular, and so daily I had to drill them and teach them in a small garden behind my house, as they were afraid of being laughed at if they were seen drilling in the open.

Shortly after Christmas we received information that a train was

expected from Damascus and everyone went to see it arrive, as it was the first one for several months. It had not been long at the station before it began to move off southwards. As this was not part of the programme, I asked where it was going, and was told that it was going to Medina, about 1,000 kilometres south of Amman. Next day I heard that it was a prearranged plan. Certain Syrian merchants had persuaded the railway authorities in Damascus to allow the train to bring merchandise and repair the railway as it came. No sooner had it arrived than an officer boarded the engine and, with a revolver in his hand, ordered the driver to take the train south. It was wanted, I heard later, to bring the Amir Abdullah, the second son of King Hussein, from Medina in the Hijaz, as he had been selected to lead the Arabs in war for the liberation of Syria. Among all the strange crimes that have come to my notice the theft of a complete train appears to me to be the most uncommon.

The train crept slowly to Medina, the railway track being repaired as it went along, and in March it came back, bringing His Highness the Amir Abdullah to Maan. Large numbers of ex-Syrian Government officials and officers immediately flocked south to join him.

While this was happening, Mr. Winston Churchill, who was then Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived in Cairo to preside over a conference to which British representatives from all countries in the Middle East had been invited. At one of the meetings a telegram was handed in announcing that the Amir Abdullah had arrived in Amman. Naturally he could not be allowed to use Trans-Jordan as a stepping-off place for an attack on Syria, so the Secretary of State decided to ask His Majesty's Government to authorise him to see Abdullah and offer him the Amirate of Trans-Jordan on condition that all ideas of attacking Syria were abandoned. This offer was made a few days later in Jerusalem, and Abdullah, who had always been a staunch friend of Great Britain since the time when he met Lord Kitchener in Egypt before the war, accepted the conditions and returned to Amman. Unfortunately many of the persons who surrounded the Amir at that time were unable to see things in the same clear light as their master, thus creating many difficulties for him and for us in the years that followed.

In order to help His Highness during the first few months while he was setting his house in order, the British Government agreed to give him £5,000 a month for six months. At the same time, negotiations were set on foot to get a grant of money with which to raise a force to establish security and enable the Government to begin collect-

ing taxes. Sanction for the expenditure of money did not arrive until the end of July, so the Amir's grant ended before the new force was able to make itself effective. I was told to raise this force, which was to consist of 750 officers and men. At first it was intended to act as a small regular army in support of the police, and was therefore called the Reserve Force. As it happened, however, the police and gendarmerie were in such a chaotic state that the Reserve Force gradually had to take over most of their duties.

Abdullah's first act on returning to Amman was to abolish all local governments and establish a central one, with a Council of Ministers responsible to him in Amman. From the first things began to go wrong, as the chief officials in the Government were Syrians, whose only interest in Trans-Jordan was to use its resources for embarrassing the French in Syria. In their eagerness to get money, the new Government was not always successful in its selection of those who could be coerced into paying by the meagre forces available. The first to resist were the people of a district called Kura, a hilly corner of the Ajlun District. The Government, therefore, while I was away, ordered the 100 trained men, whom I had raised eight months earlier, to collect the taxes by force. The result was disastrous. The force, under an entirely untrained officer, marched blindly into the area, where it was surrounded while passing through a narrow, deep valley. Eighteen of the men were killed and the remainder surrendered, losing all their horses and arms. As the Government were unable to do anything to avenge such a disaster, I set off to see the head sheikh, whom I knew well. After a lengthy and very friendly meeting, he agreed to hand back the prisoners with their horses and to send his followers back to their homes. In this way the danger of the trouble spreading was averted.

The disaster in no way deterred the Government from carrying on with its plans for creating trouble in Syria. The chief minister was a Druze with very extreme political views, who spent nearly all his time receiving malcontents from Syria. Among these was a man called Ibrahim Hanano, against whom there was a demand for extradition should he enter Palestine. As Syria had become too dangerous for him, he applied through the chief minister for a permit to pass through Palestine to Egypt, and this was given him in all good faith by a British official in Amman. No sooner did he arrive in Palestine than he was arrested. The next day when news of the arrest arrived in Amman it was considered a breach of faith, to protest against which

an angry crowd of almost 1,500 persons assembled in the main square of the town. I happened to be returning on foot from tea with an old Circassian, when I was suddenly set upon by twenty armed men, who seized me by the arms and proceeded to march me down the street, shouting, "Bring back Ibrahim Hanano, or we will kill you," several of the assailants at the same time drawing knives across their throats so as to be sure I understood. In vain I said that I had never heard of Ibrahim Hanano. I was pushed forward down the street until I arrived in the middle of a small bridge leading to an open space near the Roman Theatre. From there I saw a large number of men, all shouting, round the office of the chief minister. Then suddenly they saw me being slowly led towards them; in a moment there was absolute silence, as the whole mob turned to look at me.

Then the demonstrators opened to make way for me and ominously closed in behind. No sooner had I got to the centre of the agitation than the shouting again started, but this time it was at me.

At this moment one of my Arab officers, Fuad Saleem by name, seeing what was about to happen, rode into the midst of the crowd and ordered them to leave me, otherwise he would shoot. This was received with shouts of anger and the mob began to close in. Whereupon this officer fired and one man fell. For a moment everyone was stupefied, then many rushed to help me and I was escorted to my house. I shall always remember this brave officer with gratitude, and it is one of my regrets that I had to dispense with his services a year or two later for political reasons. He was killed in 1926 fighting against the French.

The chief minister managed to survive this affair, but when a month later the French High Commissioner was shot at by a band of brigands who escaped into Trans-Jordan, Sir Herbert Samuel stepped in and demanded his dismissal.

Shortly after this Colonel Lawrence was sent out by the Colonial Office with orders to give a first-hand report on the country. As a result of his visit, Mr. Philby, the famous explorer and writer on Arabia, was appointed as Chief Adviser to the Amir with the title of Chief British Representative; he arrived in Trans-Jordan in December, 1921.

The year 1922 started badly. In the Ajlun District the Government only existed with difficulty, while in the Kerak area the tribes were fighting among themselves. Added to this the Reserve Force was still only in the training stage, and having no barracks was split up, the cavalry being in the Jordan valley where it was warm and the

infantry being housed in the engine shed at the station. By the beginning of February the state of Kerak had become so serious that I had to collect the Reserve Force and take it there. As it was probable that the people of Kerak would try to prevent us from entering the town, I put all the men and horses into two trains and went to Qatrani, a station about twenty-five miles east of that place. Then, taking the cavalry with me, we made a forced march and entered Kerak before anyone expected us. The infantry followed the next day. The suddenness of our arrival and the arrest of a large number of curfew breakers the first night we were there put an end to all serious disorder in Kerak and gave us time to concentrate on the district where brigandage was rife.

One day a merchant bringing cloth to Kerak was assaulted and robbed, so I sent out an Arab sergeant with a party of men to arrest the offenders. To my astonishment he was back within twenty-four hours with the offenders and all the stolen cloth. Being curious as to how he had so quickly found the culprits I made enquiries, and found that he had gone to the camp nearest the scene of the crime, seized the head man, and hung him upside down by the feet over a fire until he had disclosed the whereabouts of the offenders. Although the sergeant had successfully arrested the criminals, such unorthodox police measures could not be tolerated, so I decided to dismiss the man as an example to the others.

The Reserve Force remained in Kerak until the middle of April, then, leaving sixty men as a permanent garrison, it set off for the Ajlun District, as the people of Kura still refused to pay their taxes and showed signs of creating more trouble. All efforts to make the head sheikh see reason by peaceable means having failed, it was decided to use coercive measures. Meantime, considerable numbers of disaffected persons from outside had joined the rebellious sheikh, and besides the rifles and ammunition taken the previous year, at least one machine-gun was known to be hidden in that area. It was, therefore, considered doubtful whether the Reserve Force was strong enough for the work in hand, so aeroplanes and armoured cars of the Royal Air Force, which had been stationed at Amman since the Amir arrived, were asked to stand by. This proved to be a wise precaution, as, when the Reserve Force started to enter the Kura, so many tribesmen opposed it that a few bombs had to be dropped before an advance could be made. The sheikh fought for one day but, seeing resistance useless, rode off and threw himself on the mercy of the Amir. He was put in prison,

but released a few months later, and is now a staunch supporter of the Government.

The Reserve Force was still in the north when a large party of Wahhabi tribesmen from Central Arabia, estimated at 1,500 men, invaded Trans-Jordan. They arrived within eight miles of Amman and killed thirty persons in a small village before anyone knew of their presence. There seems little doubt that they would have attacked Amman if an aeroplane had not passed over them; then fortunately they imagined they had been seen and retreated hurriedly. By the time news of this event reached Amman and aeroplanes had been sent over they had completely disappeared and were never seen again. In order to guard against another surprise attack of this nature, a party of sixty of the Reserve Force were sent to Kaf, a village in the Wadi Sirhan. As they had no wireless they were useless for this purpose, as we shall see later.

At the end of the year the Amir went to London, and there it was agreed to give independence to Trans-Jordan on certain conditions, such as the establishment of a constitutional government and the creation of such conditions as would enable His Majesty's Government to fulfil her international obligations.

The Government decided that His Highness should leave his capital with all possible pomp and glory. I was therefore asked to line the streets with the Reserve Force and to allow the band, the instruments for which had arrived about fourteen days before, to march in front of the Amir's car. At the last moment the big drum fell off the lorry bringing the band to Amman and was crushed under the wheels. It was therefore necessary to hire the town crier, who had a drum. The procession started after the usual delays, when suddenly the band burst into activity, emitting an incredible amount of tuneless noise. After a moment or two the Amir stopped his car and ordered me to come and sit beside him. His Highness, a humorist, was not going to suffer while I, the organizer of such a horrible noise, sat in comfort in a car behind. Luckily in those days Amman was very small, so we did not have to suffer for long. Then came the final guard of honour, on the right of which I saw with trepidation two buglers. As the ruler of Trans-Jordan descended from his car the Royal Salute was given, and to my horror the two buglers sounded, not the usual Royal Salute, but "Come to the cook-house doors." The culprits explained later that it was all they knew. Abdullah, who had been a soldier, undoubtedly recognized the call but, after his experiences with the

band, was probably beyond caring what happened, and so said "good-bye" to me very politely. On his return things were better. I had asked the bandmaster of the Palestine Police Band to come over for a day or two, and he had impressed upon the Arab Legion Band that noise was not all that was required, the audience had a right to expect some tune.

By the beginning of the year 1923 it was apparent that the police and gendarmerie were no longer any use. They had been recruited originally during the Faisal régime from the old Turkish gendarmerie, and from time to time reinforced with Arab recruits. Lack of money to pay them properly, together with an ever-increasing tendency to meddle in politics, had undermined their discipline and loyalty. It was therefore decided to combine this force with the Reserve Force and to name the two the Arab Legion. I was placed in command, and thus, for the first time, had a free hand to organize the public security forces throughout the whole country.

The Government, however, still remained very weak, as most of its senior officials were still engaged in stirring up trouble in Syria to the neglect of Trans-Jordan affairs. This led eventually to the Adwan Tribe, which lives near Al Salt, revolting. Knowing that a large number of the people sympathized with them, they went so far as to threaten the Amir, and when he refused to comply with their demands collected a large number of men just outside Amman. These were dispersed by the Arab Legion and armoured cars of the Royal Air Force, and the head sheikh fled to Jebel Druze. He returned to Amman in 1924 and surrendered to King Hussein, who was visiting his son. The Amir magnanimously agreed to pardon him, and the Adwan have ever since been his loyal adherents.

The rebellion made it quite clear that the people of Trans-Jordan were becoming tired of being exploited and taxed in order that certain Syrian officials of the Government and Arab Legion might further their ambitions in Syria. After the amalgamation of the Reserve Force and Arab Legion, certain of the officers allowed political considerations to interfere with their duties to such an extent as to endanger the efficiency of the corps. I therefore asked the Amir to allow me to dismiss the officers who were implicated most deeply in politics. He agreed, but expressed doubts whether this could be done without creating a mutiny. I therefore proceeded to the Arab Legion Camp where 600 men were in barracks to find out the feeling among the rank and file. I was assured that they would stand by me, so I returned to my

office in Amman and published an order dismissing the four senior officers of the Legion. The dismissed officers and their friends tried every device to get the men on their side, but there were no waverers, and although the town of Amman was in a ferment half the night, by the morning the excitement had died down. From then onwards, with one exception, officers and men left politics alone. Unfortunately the extremist officials of the Government were allowed to retain their post, which caused trouble a few months later. In 1924 Mr. Philby retired and Lieut.-Colonel C. F. H. Cox was appointed in his place.

In June the Amir went to Mecca to attend the pilgrimage, and while he was away a band of brigands left Trans-Jordan for Syria, where they shot at and wounded several French officers who were out at a picnic with their families. The brigands then returned to Trans-Jordan. This was the last straw. The High Commissioner decided to ask the Amir as soon as he returned from Mecca to dismiss and exile nine officials and to agree to financial control, since the treasury was in a state of chaos.

Matters were further complicated by a second and more serious raid from the interior of Arabia. The estimated number of raiders was 5,000 camelmén. This time they arrived within five miles of Amman before being discovered. Then they were attacked by armoured cars and aeroplanes and lost about 500 killed, wounded and prisoners. During their advance they had passed close to Kaf and then met the Arab Legion ration convoy going there, and had killed all the eighteen men accompanying it.

The Amir Abdullah returned to Amman the day after the raid and found the country in a great state of excitement. The next day he was asked to agree to the decisions made by the High Commissioner, and readily did so. From that moment started a new era in the history of Trans-Jordan. Her growing pains were over. She was henceforth to see a period of construction and increasing prosperity.

During the summer of 1925 Ibn Sa'ud's long-expected attack on the Hijaz took place. This resulted in the abdication of King Hussein and his retirement to Aqaba, from where a few months later he went to Cyprus. I always remember King Hussein as he was at Aqaba, a simple, kindly, very regal-looking old gentleman. He retained his sense of humour in spite of the adversities which came upon him in his old age. One day a young lawyer visited him, and he enquired his name. He was told it was B—— Samawi, which means "heavenly." "What!" said His Majesty. "A lawyer heavenly!"

Either he is a bad lawyer or his name belies him." He well knew the value of flattery and enjoyed snubbing that class of person. Once a particularly well-known flatterer said, "Your Majesty, I am so loyal to you that if you ordered me to jump out of the window I would gladly do so, but I would return to you at once by the door." "Yes," replied His Majesty, "I know you only say that because there are no two-storey buildings in Aqaba."

Ibn Sa'ud now became King of the Hijaz, but the Maan area which had been administered by King Hussein since the fall of Faisal reverted to Trans-Jordan. A year later a treaty was made with the new King of the Hijaz laying down the eastern and southern frontiers of Trans-Jordan. In this treaty Kaf was given to Ibn Sa'ud, so the Arab Legion detachment was withdrawn from there. The only serious event which took place as a result of this change was a rebellion in Wadi Musa and Petra. These people had not been interfered with by any Government since the Turks withdrew in 1917. They resented, therefore, the re-appearance of a governor and police, for it spelt taxation and the end of their independence. They started operations by suddenly attacking the police post and killing four men, they then sent the local governor away and told him to tell the Government in Amman that they would not allow a road or telephone line to be constructed to their village. The trouble was not ended until 500 legionaries had been sent from Amman, and then the sheikhs submitted. Again the Amir refrained from meting out severe punishment, consequently these people have given no further trouble.

In 1926 Lord Plumer, who had become High Commissioner, decided to reorganize the armed forces in Trans-Jordan. He therefore proposed that the Arab Legion should be responsible for internal public security only, while a new force, to be known as the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force, should be formed. This new force was to be an Imperial Force under the Royal Air Force and was to be available to help the Arab Legion if called upon. The Trans-Jordan Frontier Force came into existence on April 1, 1926, and soon after an advanced party went to Zarqa, where it was decided to place the headquarters. One camel company was at the same time sent to Maan.

A little later an agreement was made between His Majesty's Government and the Amir in which it was stipulated, among other matters, that there should be a freely elected assembly or parliament. The Arab, however, does not understand the meaning of the expression "free election" quite as we do. For one thing, no self-respecting

Arab Government would ever dream of allowing a person professing political views at variance with its own to become a member of parliament. I well remember a defeated candidate complaining bitterly that he had given over £400 to the voters and yet failed to get elected. I knew, but could not tell him, that he never would be elected until he brought his political views into line with those of the Government in power.

During the period 1924 to 1927 great improvements were made in the administration. Skilled Arab officials were seconded from Palestine to the Public Works and Medical Departments and also to the Post Office, while British advisers were appointed to the Ministries of Justice and Finance and to the Antiquity Department. The most important innovation was the scheme for reorganizing land tenure and taxation. The Turkish system was unjust and did not encourage the farmer to improve his land. Mr. Mitchell was placed in charge of the Land Department in 1927, and since then a large part of the country has been surveyed and settled. It is hoped that this work will be entirely finished in about 1947.

In 1930 a new branch was added to the Arab Legion. This became necessary as Ibn Sa'ud was constantly complaining that Trans-Jordan tribes were raiding into his country. Major J. B. Glubb was therefore sent to the Arab Legion to raise this force and to be second-in-command of the Legion. The efficiency with which he has carried out his duties may be judged by the fact that raids, which were a few years ago just as popular a sport in Arabia as football is in England, are now unknown. By employing Beduin to police themselves, using armed cars for their transport and wireless for quick communication, all the age-old fear of the nomad has ceased and can never arise again so long as they employ camels as their means of transport. We, in short, are keeping the Beduin at bay more efficiently and more cheaply than Rome was ever able to do.

The foundations laid during the years of construction have stood us in good stead during the last few years, when all the countries round have had trouble. But there are also other important reasons why Trans-Jordan has managed to keep quiet while Palestine, just across the Jordan, has been in a state of rebellion. Naturally the first thing which comes to mind is that there is no Jewish problem in Trans-Jordan and therefore there is no cause to revolt. This is true, but does not supply the answer why the people of Trans-Jordan, many of whom are closely related to the people of Palestine, have not helped their

friends as the people of Syria or distant Iraq have. I am convinced that the influence of the Amir Abdullah is one of the chief reasons why there has been no upheaval in his country. We have seen how, in the old days, he had never been vindictive; tribes and persons who made trouble were forced to submit, but once they had submitted they were treated with leniency and their grievances were removed. Thus former foes were turned into friends. Time after time he has gone against public opinion in adjacent countries in order to help us, and lately, when bands of brigands from Syria have attempted to stir up rebellion among his people, he has continually used his influence to keep his subjects from joining or helping these enemies of his country.

Another reason for the aloofness of Trans-Jordan is that public security is maintained by Arab officers, who know the people well. It has always been my policy to place specially selected Arab officers in charge of districts and then to give them the widest possible powers. Every officer knows that he is entirely responsible for the preservation of law and order in his area and that if he fails to keep it he will have to face a searching enquiry. On the other hand, in order that they may have the best opportunity of working up to the high standards expected of them, I have considered it only just to provide them with the best tools possible. Much care and attention has therefore been devoted to recruiting, re-engagement of time-expired men, training and promotion. But in all these duties the Arab officers participate. No man is ever recruited or re-engaged without first appearing in front of a board of three officers, two of whom are always Arabs. The Central Training School is now in charge of an Arab officer, and promotion to the various non-commissioned ranks is only possible after receipt of a first, second or third class certificate of education awarded by a board of Arab officers.

The whole policy for the last ten years has been to give Arab officers more and more responsibility as they become more fitted to bear it. As an example of how this is working it is interesting to note that in April, 1936, when the Palestine troubles began, there were seven British officers in the Arab Legion; when I handed over command on March 31, 1939, there were only four.

Before ending this account of the modern history of Trans-Jordan, I should like to say a word about education. The Arab is extremely keen on education. The poorest farmer's ambition is to send his son to school, and even the Beduin are taking an ever-increasing interest in attending classes in the desert. When I left Trans-Jordan ten Beduin

boys were on the point of qualifying as wireless telegraph operators for the Arab Legion. One Beduin indeed has advanced so far that he takes in and reads the weekly cinema review from Egypt, and knows the names and histories of all the latest stars. Although this is undoubtedly advancement, I cannot say that I entirely approve of the kind of literature chosen in this particular case.

The Government, however, does not pay sufficient attention to university education or specially selected youths. I believe it to be of the utmost importance to send young men to England to take degrees in, for instance, Law, Agriculture, Medicine, Engineering, Political Economy, etc. Not only will they get the best possible grounding in these subjects, but they will get them in England instead of at some Continental university. This will, I know, cost money, as parents cannot afford to keep their sons in England, and the Government, therefore, will have to provide the money. But it would be well spent. If this is done we shall gradually prepare men of the country to bear the responsibilities of government now for the most part borne by Englishmen. Then when the inevitable demand for complete independence comes we shall not hear the cry go up that if the English officials are withdrawn the whole administration will crash to the ground. Moreover, these men when they take over, having been trained in England, will be all the more disposed to regard England with gratitude and to make treaties of alliance and goodwill with her.

Much valuable time has been lost, but this should be no reason for not making a start now. The time is getting short in which to prepare the men of Trans-Jordan for the responsibilities of self-government; which I sincerely believe should be our aim at the present time: within the last month we have seen Trans-Jordan move forward on the road to independence. Soon she will demand and get more concessions until, probably within our lifetime, His Majesty's Government will deem this little country fit to carry on unaided, and thus realize the ambitions of all nationalists—complete independence.

The CHAIRMAN then called on Sir Aurel Stein, who had recently returned from Trans-Jordan, to make a few remarks.

Sir AUREL STEIN: It is indeed a very great pleasure to have heard now this address from Colonel Peake, whom I had the privilege of meeting last when he was in his glory at the head of the Arab Legion in Trans-Jordan. He has given us a graphic and vivid account of how

history has been made in that country by himself and by Major Glubb.

The work which kept me recently for three months in Trans-Jordan was done mainly in the desert, and not in the cultivated area where the bulk of the Arab Legion's activities take place. But I can fully support the testimony of others as to the wonderful way in which peace is kept in this country to-day, a country in which, so far as records go, law and order has never been maintained long in historic times. I was examining the *limes*, posts, and protected roads by means of which Rome and Byzance kept a measure of control over the area for some 500 years, and I find it marvellous that instead of the great numbers of troops which Rome must have employed, a comparatively small body of men is maintaining peace so much more effectively to-day. It is true that modern means of communication, armoured cars, and the help of the Royal Air Force have contributed to this. But I believe a greater contributing factor has been that skill in organizing indigenous forces and maintaining them in a high state of efficiency which I have seen displayed by Colonel Peake and by other officers whom I have known on the North-West Frontier of India dealing with similar conditions.

Once people like the Beduin can sow crops with some assurance that they can reap the fruit of their labours, the prospect of a lapse back into unsettled conditions will become distinctly distasteful to them.

Colonel Peake's statement of the longing for education that he found among the Beduin is very noteworthy. It is a fact paralleled by the way in which those Arab nomads, who conquered Syria and Egypt in the seventh century of our era, within a generation or two had adopted much of the civilization which Greece had left behind in those regions. That those young men trained for employment in the "Desert Patrol" as wireless operators can, as Colonel Peake describes, so quickly assimilate what they are taught of modern discoveries, illustrates this historical parallel which has always puzzled me. It seems to indicate that there is something in Arab nomad mentality which is ready to receive the stimulus civilization can supply.

A strong hand is still needed in regions where people are not yet weaned from the habits of so many centuries. One must wish, for the sake of Trans-Jordan and its people, that this work, in the hands of such "military politicals" (as we are accustomed to call them in India) as Colonel Peake, may be continued for a good long time to come.

Major JARVIS: I listened to this evening's lecture with rather more than the ordinary interest, because of the fact that for fourteen years I was Peake Pasha's next-door neighbour. We were accustomed, after the manner of suburban neighbours, to discuss things over the garden wall, though I do not remember that we went so far as to borrow one another's tools, as neighbours do here. I do not recall that he borrowed my lawn-mower or that he lent me his roller. The sort of exchanges we made were that I would send him a message that if he would let me have my two camel thieves I would send him back his murderer. (Laughter.) Or, in a lighter vein, I once gave him a couple of budgerigars which I found impossibly noisy; but he gave me one back in a present a short time after of one of his screaming peacocks. I must admit Peake won that round.

The natural modesty of the lecturer has prevented him from telling us how much he contributed to the happy state of affairs he describes in Trans-Jordan. There has been so little about the country in the papers, because Trans-Jordan has not been in the news. Nowadays a country only has news-value if it is suffering from rebellions or some other major tragedy, whereas Trans-Jordan has enjoyed twenty years of peace and growing prosperity.

One appreciates better the peace of Trans-Jordan when one compares it with conditions in her neighbour Palestine. And that peace should have been maintained with such success, under such circumstances, is a remarkable testimony to H.H. the Amir Abdullah and his *fidus Achates* of the last twenty years, Peake Pasha.

Sir RONALD STORRS: I thought I had nothing to say this evening until I got this ukase from our Chairman. But it is not altogether reluctantly that I rise to my feet. I was stung by what we have just heard from Major Jarvis, because they were *our* peacocks, that my wife and I gave to Colonel Peake! (Laughter.) And it gives an additional sting to learn that these noble birds were exchanged for a pair of ignoble budgerigars; I did not expect to hear that. (Laughter.) "Screaming peacocks" indeed! No wonder they screamed.

I would like now to ask the lecturer one question. The Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid dropped in Trans-Jordan one or two colonies of Circassians. Their villages provided a Rimsky-Korsakov, Russian ballet sort of element in the country, and they seemed to form a decorative and extremely clean part of the population—not that I would wish to make any contrast to the disadvantage of others—but as far as my memory serves I have the recollection that they are a very clean people.

I would be grateful if the lecturer could tell us something about these villages, and what use, if any, they are in the development of Trans-Jordan.

The LECTURER: There are eight villages of Caucasians in Trans-Jordan, who, as Sir Ronald Storrs said, were originally sent here by 'Abd al-Hamid, partly perhaps to get them out of Turkey and partly because they are always supposed to form a very loyal element in any population where they may be.

There are two types of Caucasians in Trans-Jordan—the Circassians and the Shishan. Both are white people, keenly loyal to the Government, and supply many most excellent recruits to the cavalry of the Arab Legion and of the Trans-Jordan Frontier Force.

There are still some of the colonists who came from the Caucasus, and these are of very fine physique and make good soldiers. But the climate does not suit these people, and later generations show signs of deterioration. They have, of course, a great reputation for beauty. Handsome no doubt they are, but I have seen beauties in other countries, and I do not think these people have the prerogative there. If they were free to choose I think possibly they might wish to migrate, to Canada or some other country where it is cold and where the climate would suit them, and where they might thrive better than as a minority under the Arabs.

The CHAIRMAN: Colonel Peake has given us a most interesting lecture; but it has not been an address that lends itself to much discussion, nor does it require many remarks from the Chair.

I agree with Sir Aurel Stein that the very remarkable state of tranquillity that Trans-Jordan has enjoyed is partly due to the wise employment of local forces for maintaining order. I feel it is also due to the loyalty and friendship with this country that has been consistently shown by His Highness the Amir Abdullah. And when in these days we see in the Near East or in Middle Europe too little either of consistency of policy or of loyalty, all the more praise is due to such loyal friendship as has consistently been shown by H.H. the Amir Abdullah to the British Government and their representatives.

In my opening remarks I said that one main cause of the peace which Trans-Jordan enjoys has been due to the wise policy and widespread influence which Colonel Peake Pasha has exercised, both within and without the Arab Legion. I am confident that I voice the wish of everyone present when I ask him to accept our thanks for his illuminating and interesting lecture.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Thirty-eighth Annual Meeting was held on June 14, 1939, at 8, Clarges Street, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart., G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN called on Brig.-General Sir Percy Sykes to read the Report of the Honorary Secretaries.

SIR PERCY SYKES: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The outstanding event of the year under review has been the acquisition of our new premises which, we hope you will agree, are worthy of the Society. We were obliged to leave our premises in Grosvenor Street, which were due to be pulled down, by September 29. Actually, with firm faith in the fortunes of the Society, the lease for the new premises was signed by General Rowan Robinson and myself on September 13. Thanks to generous gifts by the late Mr. Charles Crane, by Mrs. Alec Tweedie, Mrs. Sandford Storey, and other members, the move was accomplished without drawing seriously on our small capital.

Our new premises cost more than our old inadequate quarters, and on this account the Council raised the subscription for new members from £1 to £1 5s. I issued a holograph appeal to members, in the April number of the Journal, to raise their subscriptions voluntarily to the same amount. There is no question of appealing to members who are hard-up to make this increase, but perhaps the delay in responding fully to the appeal was partly caused by the long-drawn crisis and by the trouble to members of changing their Banker's Orders. Up to date, some 250 members, whom we sincerely thank, have led the way, and many others we hope will follow suit. It is the especial wish of our Chairman that all entrance fees should be placed to reserve, and were this done the financial stability of the Society would be materially strengthened. To prove its vitality, during a year of extreme tension, 102 new members have been elected.

The Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal for 1939 has been awarded to Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams conjointly for work of outstanding merit in the Hadhramaut. The Royal Air Force subscribed most generously to this medal and, in grateful recognition of their action, the Council has offered a replica of it to the R.A.F. Cadet College at Cranwell, which offer has been accepted.

The Dinner Club, like the Society, moves from strength to strength.

So popular is it that its membership has been increased from 100 to 120. Even so there is a waiting list. Thanks to the ability of Colonel Newcombe, its Honorary Secretary, eight meetings, some of outstanding importance, have been held.

Our losses by death, numbering ten, are heavy. Among them we especially regret Lord Brabourne, Sir Filippo de Filippi, Mr. Charles Crane, General M. E. Willoughby, and Miss Ella Sykes.

The resignation of Sir Edward Penton, owing to the stress of work, represents a great loss. He has indefatigably served the Society since its foundation, as Honorary Secretary and as Honorary Treasurer.

The Society owes a great debt to Major-General Sir William Beynon for his constant care of our accounts, which he audits month by month. Also we owe much to Miss Kennedy and Miss Wingate, whose capability, combined with enthusiasm, surmounts all difficulties. Nor must we forget to thank our Local Honorary Secretaries, more especially Mrs. Drower, Squadron-Leader Patrick Domvile, and Mr. Chapman Andrews, who have recruited many valuable new members. Grateful recognition is also due to the lecturers for our excellent lectures, and to the reviewers, whose joint labours give the Journal its very high standing.

In conclusion, the Royal Central Asian Society has passed unscathed through a very difficult period. We appeal to its members to make it still more useful in its task of spreading accurate knowledge of the problems of Asia, the value of which is being recognized in ever-widening circles.

The Honorary Treasurer's Report was read by Major E. AINGER:
Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

This year the Society's accounts for the year ending December 31, 1938, are only being published in the Journal and are not being circulated to members at the annual meeting. As a result, I shall have to give you a slightly more detailed account of the financial position than my predecessors have done in previous years.

I would like first to deal with the income and expenditure account up to December 31 of last year. On the income side we have received £2,020, which is made up of subscriptions, contribution from Dinner Club towards the office expenses, sales of Journals, etc. The major part of our receipts is made up of our *subscriptions*, which amount to £1,740.

Our expenditure has amounted to £2,110, of which the Dinner, costing £167, is a self-balancing item; £61 for the move is extra-

ordinary expenditure. This leaves our total normal expenditure for the year at £1,885.

You may be interested to have a slightly more detailed analysis of how this figure is made up. *General expenses*—that is, rent, insurance, lighting, and salaries—come to £925. The expense of publication and postage of the *Journal* amounts to £700. This figure is likely to remain constant even if we get an increased membership, for the cost of printing does not rise *pro rata* with the number of copies issued. *Lecture expenses* have amounted to £200, which is below the average of previous years.

In addition, this year there has been extraordinary expenditure on account of the move; this amounts to £190, but it has only created a charge against the Society's general funds of £60 because the bulk of cost has been met by the generous gifts of certain individual members of the Society, to whom we are extremely grateful.

To sum up the position as regards income and expenditure for 1938: we have spent £30 more than we have received from normal sources; your committee has met this expenditure by appropriating part of the £100 received as entrance fees for current use, a course which they consider sound, as we have a reserve of at least £300 in securities for meeting any new or unforeseen calls.

To come to the position for 1939: we have budgeted for a normal expenditure of £2,020, an increase of £175 on last year; this addition is accounted for by rent of the new premises, £125 extra, and £50 extra for lecture expenses, which were below the average last year.

Against this our net income is estimated at £1,870, leaving an apparent deficit of £148. There are several sources from which this *apparent deficit* can be met.

The Commissioners of Inland Revenue have agreed with the Society's solicitors in a letter dated March 7, 1939, that the Society is entitled to exemption from income tax on all subscriptions paid under covenant for seven years. Over 350 members have already signed such a covenant, and our auditors anticipate additional revenue from this source of £70 for 1939. If all members were to sign the covenant we could anticipate an increased annual revenue of over £200 per annum, and that would be obtained at no cost to members personally.

The second source from which we may anticipate covering our increased expenditure is from the generous response which has been made to Sir Percy Sykes' appeal for a subscription of an additional 5s. per annum from those who wish to make it.

From these two sources we anticipate being able to make our income and expenditure balance for 1939.

If they do so we shall be able to put any sums received from entrance fees to reserve; if we cannot do so, we shall use the entrance fees as we have this year to meet our current expenditure. As I have already stated, we do not consider this to be a dangerous course in view of the invested money we hold in reserve.

Although our financial position this year does not look so strong on paper as it is in fact, I very much hope that our next year's accounts will show our strength on paper also when they are compared with those we are submitting to you this year.

General Sir John Shea proposed and Colonel J. K. Tod seconded the adoption of the accounts.

The CHAIRMAN then put the following nominations before the meeting :

In accordance with Rule 16, the Chairman of Council retires. General Sir John Shea proposed and Sir Percy Sykes seconded the proposal that Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode be re-elected as Chairman of the Council for the ensuing session :

Passed enthusiastically. Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode accepted.

The Honorary Treasurer retires in accordance with Rule 17. Sir Edward Penton regrets that owing to pressure of work connected with his hospital he cannot offer himself for re-election. The Council has nominated Major Ainger as Honorary Treasurer :

Proposed by General Sir John Shea, seconded by Sir Percy Sykes, and passed unanimously.

In accordance with Rule 25, the three senior members of Council retire. The Council suggest Sir John Pratt, Colonel F. M. Bailey, and Air-Commodore MacNeece Foster to fill the vacancies :

Proposed by General Sir John Shea, seconded by Sir Percy Sykes, and passed unanimously.

In accordance with Rule 16, the two senior Vice-Presidents—Sir Charles Bell and Mr. G. E. Hubbard—retire. There was also already one vacancy. The Council has elected Major-General H. Rowan Robinson, Admiral the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and Air Vice-Marshal N. D. K. MacEwen to fill these vacancies.

In summing up the year's work, Sir PHILIP CHETWODE spoke of the devotion with which Sir Edward Penton had served the Society, first as its first Secretary and then as Honorary Treasurer. The results of his Treasurership could be seen in the quite sound financial state of the

Society after a most trying year. He congratulated the Society on its growing strength and thanked Sir Percy Sykes and Major Ainger, who had given their time and unremitting care for its welfare. He would like to see the reserve fund grow, and hoped that all members would read and mark the alternatives put before them by Major Ainger, and he was sure that they as he himself would do all they could to forward the Society's interests. All being well, a prosperous year lay before them.

The full statement of Income and Expenditure is given at the end of the Journal.

RURAL EDUCATION IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By HUMPHREY BOWMAN, C.M.G., C.B.E.

Meeting held in conjunction with the Indian Village Welfare Association on March 30, 1939, Mr. C. F. Strickland, C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Bowman, whom I knew many, many years ago at Oxford. After that, he served in the Education Service in Egypt, in the Sudan, and later was Director in Iraq, and for many years in Palestine. I met him again in Palestine, and heard his repute from officers of administrative and other technical services. What they said about him—and I found it quite true—was this: that there were very few men except Mr. Bowman who were on their feet instead of in a car, and that if you wanted to find Mr. Bowman the best place to look for him was a sandy and deserted village, where he would be on foot and wearing a big yellow topee.

That is not the characteristic of all services in all colonies, but it was a characteristic of Mr. Bowman, and that is why he is particularly well qualified to talk to us on rural education.

IN most countries of the Western world there seems to be a regrettable tendency for people to leave the rural districts and migrate to the towns. We need not here go into the reasons for this: they are partly social, partly economic, partly because the town offers attractions which the village lacks. The same tendency has in recent years begun to show itself in the East; it is certainly the case in Egypt, in Palestine, and in Syria.

Another tendency is to be remarked—and this, perhaps, has been partly responsible for the first—educators in the East have until recent years paid great attention to urban education, while they have almost entirely neglected education in the villages, in spite of the fact that the rural population in these countries far exceeds that of the towns. The great masses of the Egyptian fellahin are still illiterate, in spite of forty years of British guidance. Lord Cromer and his successors are as responsible in this regard as are the authorities in India for the illiteracy which, I believe, still prevails among the majority of Indian peasants.

In both Egypt and India we had colleges and universities before village schools; in both education began at the wrong end.

There are those who say: "Why teach the agriculturalist at all? You will only spoil him, make him discontented with his lot, and turn him into an agitator." These critics may speak the truth if the schooling provided is of the wrong kind. But if it is of the right kind you will make the peasant more, not less, contented; you will save him from

his eternal enemy, the moneylender; and you will give him a new pride—a pride in himself and in his village. And you will keep him on the land. To accomplish this, three factors are necessary for the educator to bear in mind:

(a) to persuade the Government and the local authority of the importance of rural education;

(b) to insist upon adequate funds;

(c) to lay down special conditions for the system of rural schools.

As to (a), in my experience I have generally found the Government amenable, but the local authority less so; (b) I have never succeeded in getting all I wanted, though I have had a fair response; (c) this will form the basis of my talk this afternoon.

First, we must remember that in Moslem countries boys and girls, after the infant stage, must be educated separately. This means two schools and two sets of teachers, male and female. In Egypt, where the village male teacher, if he is sufficiently old and respectable, is not regarded with so much suspicion as he is in some other countries, they got over the difficulty of the dual building at one time by using it for boys in the morning and for girls in the afternoon, one teacher doing full-time duty where a woman was not available. This meant, of course, that both boys and girls had only a half-day's schooling, and I am not sure if the experiment proved wholly successful. In most other Moslem countries with which I am acquainted, where education is optional, not compulsory, there is a strong demand for a boys' school and a less strong one for a girls'; the tendency is therefore to open one for boys first, and then, if there is money and a woman teacher available, another for girls.

The building is a very important problem. The site should always, if possible, be outside the village, a quarter of a mile or so away from the dust and noise, and (may I add?) smells, which are the invariable concomitants of the Eastern village; it should command a good view, and it should have ample space nearby for a playground and for agricultural practice. Vegetables, fruit-trees, and possibly cereals may be grown here; hence the necessity of a good water-supply from well or stream. There should be accommodation for poultry; rabbits and bees may also be kept.

The school itself should be built of local material, stone or mud-brick, in the traditional style; the rooms wide and airy; the furniture simple but strong. A standard plan of two or three types to suit different localities is advisable, drawn to allow the building to grow

room by room as the children grow up and the school becomes more popular.

The cost should be borne equally by the central or local authority and the village; the more the villagers contribute, the greater their pride in it will be.

The syllabus should have a strong rural bias, with agricultural theory and practice sharing the honours with ordinary school subjects. All should be taught in the vernacular; English may be included in a few schools where there is a special need for it, but it should, in my opinion, be excluded as a general rule.

Perhaps the most difficult problem is how to train the teacher. Two methods suggest themselves. I have tried both, and both have succeeded. One is to send for a year's intensive course a limited number of teachers to an agricultural school. In Palestine, where we were materially assisted in financing the experiment by the Near East Foundation, an American association which has done valuable work in improving the lot of the peasant all over the Near East, we selected fifteen teachers a year to go to the Agricultural School at Tulkarm. They lived in a hostel, and worked as a special class in all branches of agriculture, theoretical and practical; they continued to draw their salaries, their places in their village schools being taken by temporary substitutes. For one year these schools suffered to some extent, but in the long run they gained enormously, and out of the hundred or so teachers so trained there were very few failures and some remarkable successes.

The other method is to form a small training centre in or near the agricultural school. Students attend a two years' course here instead of at the urban training college, and spend about half their time in agricultural education and half in the theory and practice of teaching.

By these two methods, either separately or combined, you can build up a cadre of village teachers who are interested in rural life, and who, from their natural intelligence added to their training, not only can teach agricultural subjects to their pupils, but often become advisers in agriculture to the local peasants. I would add that wherever possible the cadre should be drawn from villagers rather than from townsmen; they are more accustomed to rural life and do not pine for urban amenities.

The same argument applies to women. Girl students from the country districts are willing to attend a rural training centre if they can be appointed to posts in their home villages. This in a Moslem country

is almost essential, as it is difficult for a Moslem woman to live alone. In the women's training centre, also situated in a rural district, the girls attended the baby welfare centre and the eye clinic.

But the village schoolmaster has other responsibilities. In most countries of the Near and Middle East village welfare is no less important than village education; indeed, it should be a branch of village education, extending to the adult as well as to the child population. In Palestine the Departments of Health and Education co-operated closely: if a nurse was available, she treated the schoolchildren daily for trachoma, that scourge of the East; if there was no nurse, drops were administered by the teacher. Sir John Strathearn told me once that after a cursory walk through an Arab village he was able to tell, from the state of the children's eyes, whether or not there was a school there.

A cleaning campaign was set on foot under the leadership of the teacher and his pupils; rubbish was cleared, pools were drained or oiled, manure removed to the fields, flies and mosquitoes diminished, eye disease and malaria improved. A small travelling cinema, worked by hand or from the battery of a car, provided films showing the ravages caused by the fly, the mosquito, the locust, and other pests; modern methods of cultivation of citrus and other fruits, vegetables, and cereals; methods of irrigation, drainage, road-making, tree-planting. We sugared the pill with a few films of life in other lands and an occasional "comic." This sometimes had unexpected results. A film of Arab horsemen in Algeria riding at full gallop in a cloud of dust towards the camera-man caused the audience on one occasion to stampede, with calls upon Allah to protect them from the horses' hooves!

We also instituted a system of travelling libraries. A number of boxes, each containing a variety of Arabic books, was circulated from village to village, each village retaining its box for a month or so and then passing it on to the next in rotation. The box was kept in the school, and the teacher was responsible for the care and circulation of the books and for passing them on to the next village. The adult population thus had an opportunity of retaining their literacy and improving their knowledge. Evening classes for young men were also held in the school. Unless some such system was adopted we found that a boy who had completed his school course lost his literacy after a few years from lack of practice in reading.

The wireless has also proved of great value. In Palestine receiving sets are provided by Government to the villages. The sets are kept in

the school—another responsibility for the teacher!—and are available both for school use and for all who care to listen. The Arabic programme, lasting an hour or so daily, given at a suitable time soon after sunset, contains a variety of items—news, songs, music, talks—and is widely popular. A similar programme in Hebrew is given for Jewish villages at a different hour.

Lastly, co-operative societies have been instituted in a number of villages, and here again it falls to the teacher, who is generally the local secretary, to organize and help to administer his village co-operative. Our Chairman, who probably knows more of this subject than any living man, can tell you far more about it than I can; but I have reason to believe that, in spite of many difficulties, the co-operative society has come to stay in Palestine, and I know that several of the Arab assistants in the department responsible are recruited from the ranks of the village schoolmaster.

It may be said that this is all very well for the settled population, but what about the nomads or Bedouin, who live in tents and who move from place to place in search of pasture? It certainly is a more difficult problem, but it is one, nevertheless, which must be faced by the educator in Arab lands. Among some of the desert tribes of Palestine we used to provide teachers who were attached to a particular tribe, and whose school was often in a tent. In some cases a more permanent building was provided, the tribe contributing what they could towards its cost. Here the boys could live for a greater part of the year in tents near by or in the school itself, wearing their own dress, eating their own food—in short, remaining Bedouin Arabs while receiving some general education. In Beersheba, where the Turks had built a good school shortly before the war for this very purpose, which, however, had been used mainly by Turkish and British troops as a barrack, we reopened it as a boarding-school for Bedu boys, sons of sheikhs and other leading tribesmen. Criticism, especially from my British colleagues, was not lacking. They said the Bedouin did not want schools; they were afraid that if their sons were educated they would want to live in the towns and lose that liberty and independence which is the lifeblood of Bedouin existence. But we tried the experiment; we gave them a special type of schooling. The boys wore Bedu dress; the teachers were men sympathetic with Bedu life and aspirations. After a year or two the success was so great that our chief difficulty was to find room for all who wanted to come; and I heard of no instance of a boy not returning to his tribe.

Before I close I would invite you to visit with me in imagination a model rural school in the wild hill-country of Southern Palestine, which I have seen develop from a very modest beginning to what I believe is one of the best schools of its kind in that part of the world, thanks, in large measure, to the enthusiasm of the local Arab District Officer. The villagers, who are all cultivators, themselves paid for the greater part of it, with some help from the Government. The buildings are divided into three sections: one for class-room instruction, one for carpentry, ironwork, and boot-making, and one for weaving. The villagers buy their boots and their cloth from the school; their furniture, ploughs, and other implements are made or mended by the boys. All profits go to the benefit of the school.

Below the buildings, which command a magnificent view over the surrounding country, and from which the Mediterranean can be seen fifty kilometres away, is the garden, where vegetables, flowers, and fruit-trees grow, well watered by irrigation from a cistern. Goats are kept out by a stone wall. Poultry and rabbits of various kinds are kept, while bees provide the best honey I have ever tasted.

The time of the boys is divided between lessons in the classroom and practical work in the garden or the workshops. One of the older boys is responsible for the cleanliness and feeding of the poultry, another for that of the rabbits, a third looks after the beehives. Others are engaged in the cultivation of the garden, the pruning of fruit-trees, or the irrigation of plants. There is a radio in the teachers' room, and the clock, which is regulated daily by wireless, gives the correct time to the village.

Over all presides the headmaster, a Moslem Arab wearing native dress, trained in agriculture and in several crafts, an excellent teacher, though without a word of English, an enlightened, loyal, and devoted servant of his village and of his country.

The picture I have tried to give you is not overdrawn. Here is a rural school of the kind to be followed elsewhere, not only in Palestine, but in neighbouring countries as well. With initiative and goodwill on the part of the governing authority and of the local inhabitants, I can see no reason why this—to my mind the ideal form of rural education—should not spread all over the Near and Middle East.

With village welfare as a primary duty of the teacher, the enthusiasm will spread to all who dwell there, and conditions will be so changed as to make life not only bearable, but enviable. Improved cultivation will increase prosperity; malaria and eye disease will

diminish and gradually disappear; infant mortality will decrease; literacy will spread; the burden of debt will vanish. Livelihood and contentment will take the place of poverty and misery; the peasant, instead of being lethargic and despairing, will become active and hopeful.

If these results can come from the right type of rural education, wisely administered and widely developed on an ever-expanding scale, surely it is the duty of all those concerned with the guidance of countries in the Near and Middle East to press forward with a system which will increase the prosperity, contentment and happiness of a large body of mankind.

The CHAIRMAN: We now have a little over half an hour for discussion of the extremely interesting account that Mr. Bowman has given us. I want to make three remarks to begin with.

First, that it was very lucky for the Arabs of Palestine that an officer of this kind and a Governor of the kind of Sir Herbert Samuel arrived before the educational system had gone, as in some other countries it has, in the wrong direction, in the direction of educating simply clerks and encouraging the peasant to educate his sons to be clerks. Fortunately, the right system was instituted, though with toil, and the disaster was therefore averted.

Secondly, it does seem to me that possibly in Arab countries you have not a very sharp division between urban and rural people, though the division does exist. That is the trouble of schoolmasters in some countries where the schoolmaster himself comes from the town. He may be of a different religion. Anyway, he is of a different outlook, and it is very difficult, therefore, to ruralize him. Even though you try to draw him from the village, you cannot make him remain a villager.

It is very fortunate that at so early a stage they had a man in Palestine who saw the necessity of special education for the rural people. The only doubt that occurs in my mind is this: Are you going to have a succession of such men? Can you be sure of Directors of Education who will take the rural outlook?

I think I had a little difference of opinion with Mr. Bowman on this point when I was in Palestine. It does seem to me that somewhere outside the Education Department you have to have a body that will find someone, or some institution, to carry on the work of rural welfare if the teachers are no longer stimulated to the extent that they were by Mr. Bowman.

Possibly such an institution may be found, or possibly a succession of ideal Directors of Education can be produced. I do not know.

After expressing his appreciation of Mr. Bowman's address and after stressing the vital importance of rural education, Sir GEORGE ANDERSON alluded to the position in India. He said :

Admirable though the efforts of Indian Governments have been, especially in the recent past, towards promoting rural progress, they are unlikely to achieve any real or lasting success until the two main conditions to their success have been fulfilled. There is need, in the first place, of a peasantry adequately and suitably educated to appreciate their benefits; and, in the second place, there is need of a resident and indigenous agency to guide their development. Spasmodic efforts from *without* are of little permanent value; what is wanted is a wide-spread movement from *within*, and that movement is dependent on a suitably devised system of rural education.

Unfortunately, the Indian system of education suffers from grave defects. It is, firstly, too urban and has too little contact with rural conditions; it is too sedentary and is insufficiently active; it is also too literary and linguistic. Even the primary schools are regarded mainly as the first rungs of the ladder leading to matriculation and beyond, and, owing to the excessively literary and linguistic trend of education, there are grave results. The colleges are congested by students, many of them ill-fitted for university education, with the result that the better-gifted students do not receive that education which they deserve. Again, owing to the prolongation of literary study, many pupils become averse from practical occupations and training; hence India is now faced by a problem not so much of unemployment as of unemployables. Yet again, the better talent of the villages is drifting into the towns in search of a purely urban form of education; and, such being the conditions of village life in India, it is unreasonable to expect them, on the completion of their education in the towns, to return and serve the countryside. Hence the countryside is bereft of leadership.

Efforts have been made, however, to correct these unfortunate tendencies. Let me explain, first, that in our Indian system of education there are two branches: the English or Anglo-vernacular branch, consisting of middle English and high schools, in which the study of English and languages predominates and in which the medium of instruction is still largely English; and the vernacular branch, consisting of vernacular middle schools, in which the medium is the vernacular. In recent years strenuous efforts have been made, especially in the

Punjab and the United Provinces, both to increase the number of these vernacular schools and also to bring them into greater harmony with rural conditions. School farms and gardens have been instituted; teachers with suitable qualifications and inclinations have been trained; the subject of rural science has been introduced; and many of Mr. Bowman's suggestions have already been adopted. But the trouble is that these admirable efforts may come to naught on account of the stigma of inferiority which is attached to these vernacular schools in comparison with their Anglo-vernacular or English counterparts. In Bengal, for example, there are only about fifty middle vernacular schools as against some 3,000 middle English and high schools.

Are there any remedies? One, at least, has been warmly supported by many authoritative bodies and persons. Release the schools from the bondage of matriculation; and divide the school system into several stages, each with its own objective and untrammelled by university requirements; and, at the end of each stage, divert pupils to practical occupations and to vocational training, which should be given in separate vocational institutions.

In the next place, the efforts to improve the vernacular schools should be fully maintained and plans should be made to give them a definite objective. In this respect the Indian Village Welfare Association has made a valuable contribution; it has suggested to the Government of India that training should be provided for all types of village social workers, non-official as well as official. If village colleges were instituted for this purpose, not only would they be firmly based on the middle vernacular schools, but they would also provide an incentive to the pupils in those schools. There would then be a well-rounded and complete system of rural education.

There are also hopes that Mr. Gandhi may restore the balance in favour of the vernacular branch of education. He has always been a protagonist of the vernacular medium; he is all in favour of making education more active and more practical; and he is well aware of the grave defects of the English system of education. Indeed, there seems to be little difference between the "basic schools" in the revised Wardha scheme and the improved middle vernacular schools such as that at Moga in the Punjab.

The CHAIRMAN: It is very good to have had a statement on a much more complicated problem that has to be solved on different lines, and also to have a statement on what I think Mr. Bowman will not mind my calling a somewhat simpler problem.

Mr. Bowman arrived in Palestine before Lord Macaulay. That is the point. In India it was not really Lord Macaulay but his followers who were at fault; but Mr. Bowman was in Palestine first. Rural minds might have been there first in India, but they were not, and consequently we have a hundred years of leeway to make up. The minds of the people are imbued with the idea that what you have to do is to be a white-collared clerk.

I accused Mr. Bowman once of bottle-necking the entry to the upper classes of his schools so as to let only a percentage go by to the university. Perhaps I was wrong.

A MEMBER: I should like to ask Mr. Bowman if the village scholars returned to village life after going to his rural school.

SIR ERNEST HOTSON: One great difficulty is that some enthusiast starts these good things, then he goes away and they drop. How are you going to keep the schools going? Mr. Bowman cannot be sure that his successor will take rural education up with equal keenness, or at all events *his* successor in turn.

As Sir George Anderson has said, it has got to be from the people of the country themselves. To begin with, it must be done from outside, in order to get them interested, but they themselves have to carry on; as long as it is done from outside the movement will never have any real life and you will never really get hold of the people. How are you going to provide for that?

Secondly, what is the inducement to the village schoolmasters to take on all this extra work? They may say: "We have so many hours of class work to do every day, and after that we are going home to enjoy ourselves. We are not going to bother." How are you going to induce them to do it? You cannot always count on the superior officers in the Education Department being so keen on these matters that the schoolmaster feels that his promotion will be stopped unless he carries on this policy.

I am afraid that even Sir George Anderson will admit that, now more particularly when the Provinces have so much more to do with education in India, so much more direct power over it, that there is very often a considerable lack of stimulus in the department itself in these matters. There is always a danger of apathy.

If literacy can be carried on for five years after leaving school there is a greater probability that it will continue afterwards, in spite of the apathy due to poverty in the villages.

PROFESSOR GIBB: With regard to carrying on the process, its success

would seem to depend to some extent on the interest taken in village education by that institution which constitutes the apex of the system of education in the Near East, the American University of Beyrout. I believe that Mr. Bowman kept in fairly close contact with the American University while he was in Palestine. How far is there co-operation between the local education authorities and the university in trying to draw their graduates towards the subject of village education and in showing the vital importance of this work? What effect have the social service campaigns of the university had in arousing enthusiasm for a higher system of education in the villages?

ANOTHER MEMBER: Is there any sort of definite standard in the practical curriculum in the schools to which the child must reach, for instance, in bee-keeping? Is there any certificate given? And is any use of these crafts made afterwards at home?

Mr. HOOD: With reference to the technical training in carpentry, iron-work and weaving; is there scope for local employment in these technical occupations, or do the boys who take them up migrate later to the towns?

Miss CARSON: Do the women tend to be over-impressed with those who have matriculated? Does it give the latter an advantage when looking for wives?

The LECTURER: The lure of the matriculation examination is certainly a danger. If you make matriculation too attractive, and only allow those who pass matriculation to have opportunities of success in after-life, it is fatal. We should make agriculture economically sound. Unless you can make country life economically successful the young people will inevitably drift to the towns. At present, however, education in Palestine is not, I am glad to say, dominated by matriculation. The average number who enter for matriculation is small. I was Chairman of the board of examiners for about twelve years, and we had an average of about 120 applicants a year, of which the percentages of passes was about 33. That number in a population of about 1,000,000 is no undue proportion.

It was asked, how far do the boys and girls who have been through a higher education return to the villages? I am not sure that it is not still too early to say. After all, the educational system has not yet been in force for a generation. But I think I can safely say that in the villages which have got successful schools, and where village welfare has been promoted, there is not the same desire to migrate to the towns. On the other hand, we never refuse a clever

boy or girl; if they are fit for it, he or she is never shut out from the chance of higher education because of coming from a village. On the contrary, the authorities offer scholarships to villagers. You must not prevent a villager from becoming a leader of his country if he is gifted, but you do not want the average boy in a village to become a townsman.

How far can we make sure that the present system will continue? It is very difficult to answer that. I would, however, emphasize that the education department in Palestine is not, and never has been, a one-man show. It is a company, an association, a brotherhood, if you like. The heads of the department and the inspectors are friends, and there are constant inspectors' conferences to bring them together, both in the districts and in Jerusalem. There are also frequent teachers' meetings, so that there is a continual and close connection between the directorate, the inspectorate and the village teachers themselves. I know that when I was there, no teacher was ever in a position to feel that he was unable to talk directly to me about his problems. I am sure that this co-operation is so strong that it will continue.

The inspectors, who in the early days were rather raw, became keen and efficient. But enthusiasm must always be stimulated if it is to continue. Provided enthusiasm remains at the head, and is encouraged in the staff of the department from top to bottom, there is no fear for the future.

There was a question about the American University at Beyrout. The welfare work initiated there has been very valuable. A class of young men go out in groups of five or six to one village or another and work there. The students of the university are drawn from all the countries of the Middle East, and include Syrians, Palestinians, Iranians, 'Iraqis and Egyptians, to the number of about 1,500 at any one time. They are encouraged by the university authorities to do this practical work; and on two or three occasions groups came down to Palestine by arrangement to study conditions in the villages with us. President Dodge was always ready to co-operate with us. In raising the standard of education in the Middle East the American University of Beyrout is doing valuable work. I have been in close co-operation with Americans in all the countries in which I have served. I found them most helpful in their sympathy, their willingness to co-operate and in the new ideas they brought to our work.

In connection with another question: Sir Arthur Wauchope gave an annual prize for the best garden in an Arab or Jewish school.

There was also a prize for the best tree plantation in a village. That way is better than examination, because it makes competition keen between the villages, and there is no emulation between individual children.

The question of technical work in villages is difficult. Our idea was not to train everyone as craftsmen, except the few who were naturally inclined. The idea was that they should not be ashamed to use their hands. A few professional carpenters or bootmakers were turned out, but all learned how to use their hands as well as their heads.

As to whether girls prefer men who have passed matriculation, the answer is, "Yes, I am afraid they do." It is a fact that in the Near and Middle East wives look for men who are better educated, and men also prefer better-educated girls. Perhaps this is natural.

On the other hand, this affects the town rather than the country population. In villages the tendency is for villager to marry villager: there is not much inter-marriage between village and town; so the point hardly arises except within a small class.

With regard to British propaganda, we might certainly do a little more. When I was in Palestine, I put forward a suggestion that a group of teachers should be invited to visit England. The thing should be done properly; they should be given an official welcome, and be taken to see Oxford and Cambridge, the Fleet, Aldershot, and all the other interesting places that such guests usually do visit.

My suggestion was turned down on the ground of expense, which seemed to me a case of false economy, when one considers the possible value of such a visit. Some years ago the Government of Malta sent twenty-five teachers over here, and they were received by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and were given an official luncheon. Of the expenses, 50 per cent. was paid by Malta and 50 per cent. by the teachers. They went back to Malta saying that there was no country in the world like Great Britain and no nation like the British. This sort of thing should be done far more than it is. It depends on the Government authorities to take the idea up, and it would be a good thing if we could do more of it.

The CHAIRMAN: We have been very much interested in the subject of the meeting this afternoon, and we feel grateful to Mr. Bowman for the clear and vigorous way in which he presented it. I will now ask you to join me in a very hearty vote of thanks.

THE TRAINING FOR CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN NETHERLANDS INDIA

By J. S. FURNIVALL

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on May 3, 1939. The Chair was taken by Mr. J. Clague, C.M.G., C.I.E., Adviser to the Secretary of State for Burma.

The CHAIRMAN: Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen,—It is a great honour to be asked to take the Chair at this meeting for this lecture by my friend Mr. Furnivall. There has been a great deal of discussion in recent years on questions of administration in colonial and other territories. Mr. Furnivall, who will speak on Training for Civil Administration in the Dutch East Indies, is peculiarly fitted to give us stimulating ideas on these subjects. He served in the Indian Civil Service in Burma for twenty-four years, from 1902 to 1925. He then retired from the service to work in a very practical way for the uplift of Burma, and left his mark on the literary and political life of that country. Throughout his career he has studied the subject of economics and lectured and written freely on the social and political aspects of the administration of Burma; his work, indeed, has been of value to all who are interested in political developments in the East. He thought that he might profitably compare other systems with those in use in India. He went to Java, where he spent several months, and he also studied in Holland. He wrote a very stimulating paper on Economic Uplift in the Netherlands Indies in 1938, which appeared in the *Asiatic Review*. His *magnum opus*, which has just been brought out by the Cambridge University Press, is a work on Netherlands India, and has been described by *The Times* reviewer as “an original study with a very long background of experience.” I shall not take more of your time, but will call on Mr. Furnivall to speak to us now.

I MAY assume, I think, that everyone here recognizes the high importance of providing a suitable training for administrators in tropical dependencies. This encourages me to hope that you may be interested in an account of the training of officers for civil administration in Netherlands India. I should, perhaps, explain that it is largely based on information kindly furnished by Dr. Meijer Ranneft, lately Vice-President of the Council of Netherlands India, and by Dr. J. H. Boeke, Professor of Economics at Leiden, the only university in Europe, I believe, which makes special provision for the study of tropical economy. It gives me much pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness—not in this matter only—to both these gentlemen. I think, therefore, that you may rest assured that my account of the Dutch system is accurate, and I hope that you may find it useful. I have, indeed, seen it suggested that the Dutch system of training is better than ours. But in such a matter comparisons are difficult. The Dutch

differ from us in their attitude towards the State, in their conception of a tropical dependency, and in their views as to the functions of administrators; they differ from us also in their attitude towards education. Many years ago, early in 1914, I passed through Germany on my way home from Burma, and in the same compartment with me there were two students returning to the university. They had no English, and my German has never got far beyond "the wife of my uncle's gardener" standard, but somehow I found myself trying to explain how a degree in natural science at Cambridge led up to an appointment as magistrate and collector of revenue in Burma. They couldn't understand. I dare say that my defective German was partly to blame, but the essential difficulty was that, even when they understood what I said, they could not believe that I really meant what they understood me to say. The whole story was topsy-turvy; it didn't make sense. What possible connection could there be (outside detective stories) between chemistry and crime? Dutch students, I think, would have been just as badly flummoxed, and Dutch Civil Servants, I feel pretty sure, would have murmured something sympathetic about the Burma climate.

I admit that I did not go straight from a degree in science to a post in Burma. During a year I followed the usual course prescribed for I.C.S. probationers. Most of you, I suppose, have some acquaintance with the course, but it may be well to sketch it, as this will throw into relief the distinctive features of the Dutch system. First of all, then, I would remind you that in British India the Civil Service comprises three distinct grades: the Imperial, or Indian Civil Service, the Provincial Civil Service, and the Subordinate Civil Service. I must enter a caution that, when I speak of India, my remarks have a special reference to Burma; but in substance they are, I believe, of general application. When I first went to Burma the Imperial Service was normally European, the Provincial Service Eurasian, and the Subordinate Service Native; but in theory, and to some extent in practice all three services were open to all three communities. Now one no longer finds Europeans in the Subordinate Service or in the Provincial Service, and the Imperial Service is more mixed. The Imperial Service (in Burma B.C.S., Class I.) is recruited partly in Europe and partly in Burma, but all must follow a course of training in Europe. The recruits are ordinarily university graduates of about twenty-two to twenty-four. European recruits, by virtue of their upbringing, have a background of Western culture, but their special studies have borne

no relation to their future work; some will have studied classics, others mathematics, and others natural science. Oriental recruits will have made some contact with Western culture through their studies, though in some subjects, such as Oriental Letters, the connection is not readily apparent; most are town-bred, and may have a very poor knowledge of their own land and culture, and even of its languages and literature. European recruits probably have no knowledge of the East; Oriental recruits may have very little understanding of the West. Seeing that their function is to link up West and East, and to apply the principles of Western civilization in an Eastern environment, one might expect the training to be directed towards remedying these defects. That is not the case.

The period of probation is one year; in practice, less than half a year is available for instruction. During this time the probationer must study the language of his province, certain codes of penal law, and, of late years, history. This does not allow him much time to become proficient in an Eastern tongue or to acquire a comprehensive grasp of Eastern history; as regards law, it should be noted that the student is not expected to study legal principles, but merely to familiarize himself with the penal codes as handbooks. Most people will agree, then, with Mr. O'Malley, in his book on the Indian Civil Service, that "a young civilian arrives in India somewhat poorly equipped for his work."* "The real training," he continues, "begins in India with practical work in the different branches of the administration." At intervals of six months during the first year or two the new recruit must sit for departmental examinations in the vernacular and in the various codes necessary for daily reference, and, as a condition of promotion, must pass these examinations by a lower and a higher standard. Thus the whole training of an officer of the Indian Civil Service is strictly practical and directly related to his everyday routine of duty as magistrate and revenue officer. That is what I ask you specially to note—its technical and utilitarian character.

When we turn to the officers of the Provincial and Subordinate Services the utilitarian note is struck even more firmly. These officers are normally graduates of a local university, and have therefore at least a tinge of Western culture. By reason of their upbringing they can usually (though not always) use the local language for conversation; but they may know nothing of the literature of their country, or of its

* *The Indian Civil Service, 1601-1930*, by L. S. S. O'Malley, C.I.E. (1931), p. 255.

history, or of its political and social economy. Yet, without any introduction to the cultural aspects of their work, they are posted for training in practical administration; and their training is regarded as complete when they have passed their departmental examinations. Thus in all branches of the administration the training is narrowly utilitarian, and administration is regarded as merely a matter of technique.

Here we have a notable contrast with Dutch views. First, however, we must notice a still more striking contrast between Dutch and British administrative practice. In the British administrative system even the highest service is open both to Europeans and Natives, and there is no difference in their training—except that Natives are exempt from learning their own language. In the Dutch system Europeans and Natives employed in general administration are grouped in separate services, each with its appropriate training. (To prevent misunderstanding, I should explain at once that in all the specialist services—law, medicine, engineering, and so on—Europeans and Natives form a single cadre, and that the specialist services are paid at least as well as the European Civil Service.) The courses of training for European and Native Civil Servants have, however, this in common, and in contrast with the British system, that they are primarily cultural. In respect both of Europeans and Natives the training is directed towards giving the student a cultural background for his subsequent career. The British system implies that tropical administration is a matter of technique, to be picked up by rule of thumb; the Dutch regard tropical administration as a skilled profession for which a preliminary study of principles is indispensable.

As regards European administrators, the Dutch view of their educational requirements was recently expressed by an eminent Civil Servant.*

In respect of language, history, religion, and ethnography, he said, a thorough (*grondige*) knowledge is of such outstanding importance that no compromise is possible; to turn loose administrators without a knowledge of such matters would be a danger to the State.

This view of their requirements has long been taken for granted in Dutch practice. Ever since the matter was seriously taken in hand about the middle of the last century there has been a growing recogni-

* Dr. J. W. Meijer Ranneft, *Geen Opleiding van Europeesch Bestuur in Indië*, Kol. Tijdschrift, xiv., p. 1.

tion of the *practical* importance of giving tropical administrators a complete education, cultural in the fullest sense, but with special reference to their administrative functions. The Dutch East India Company, as you will remember, collapsed in 1800, and its effects were taken over by the State. But until 1850, and even later, the traditions of the Company survived. Java, as Dr. Colijn, now Minister-President, has said, "was one vast Government business concern"; the profits no longer went to shareholders, but to the Dutch Treasury, and the officials, who still resembled employees on a plantation rather than administrators, were recruited mainly from lads who had been through a special clerical and commercial course at the Delft Academy. During the latter half of the century, when Liberal views on colonial policy were making headway, the Delft Academy, despite a series of attempts to broaden the curriculum, managed to preserve its monopoly. The judicial service, however, was separated from general administration, and recruits for this service were given facilities at Leiden University to study Oriental law and institutions. Then in 1900 economic depression caused a suspension of recruiting. This broke the monopoly of Delft, and, when recruiting was resumed, probationers were required to follow a three years' course in Indology in the School of Oriental Studies in Leiden University, newly opened as part of the "United Faculty of Law and Letters." This was a first step towards providing administrative officers with the wider cultural education which had so long been advocated. Administrators, however, still compared unfavourably in respect of educational attainments with their colleagues in other professions. At first an attempt was made to remedy the deficiency by allowing selected officers to attend a kind of "Staff College" for a course in comparative tropical administration and similar advanced studies. Civilians, however, still pressed for a complete educational course for all members of the service, and at length in 1922 the present curriculum was introduced. Before describing it I would ask you to note two points. One is that the Dutch have long regarded tropical administration as a profession which, like any other profession, needs special training. The other is that the importance of high professional attainments, and of a complete professional education, has been urged most strongly by practical men, the officers themselves.

The European Civil Service is recruited both in Europe and in India—two-thirds from Europe and one-third from India. There is no legal restriction as to race, but in practice only Europeans are appointed, as the Natives have their own Civil Service. The term

“European,” however, comprises many domiciled in India, as it includes all those who are of Dutch origin on the father’s side by legitimate or legitimized descent. Candidates from Europe must be not over twenty, and those from India not over twenty-one; they must have passed, either in Europe or India, an examination qualifying them for admission to a Dutch university. Four-fifths of the probationers are selected by competitive examination and one-fifth by nomination. The competitive examination is confined to modern languages—Dutch, English, French, and German—all of which are studied in the ordinary course of schoolwork. The nomination of candidates without examination is entrusted to Commissions, specially constituted.

All the candidates, whether recruited in India or in Europe, must follow a prescribed course in a university in Holland; those recruited in India receive a free passage to Europe, and all receive a stipend during the period of study, but this (£300 a year) barely suffices to pay the lecture fees. All other expenses must be borne by the student. For many years Leiden was the only university with the necessary facilities, but in 1925, as an alternative to what was regarded as the dangerous idealism of Leiden, business interests in Holland endowed a Chair of Indology in Utrecht. The official curriculum allows a wide range of alternative subjects, and the probationer’s choice of a university depends largely on his choice of subjects; about three-fifths go to Leiden and two-fifths to Utrecht. Dutch universities are not residential, and about half the probationers come daily by train to attend their lectures. The out-of-pocket expenses of students who live at home need be little more than their lecture fees and the railway fare, if any. Some probationers cannot afford to take part in the social life of the university, but most join various clubs and societies. In both Utrecht and Leiden there is an *Indologen-vereeniging*; in Utrecht it is primarily a study club, but in Leiden it has a social character, though only about half the probationers join it. Others prefer an association on a confessional basis, Romanist or Reformed; some of them join a more expensive “*studenten-corps*.”

The progress of the student in his course of studies is tested by examinations, but the conduct of examinations in a Dutch university would seem very strange to English undergraduates. There is no written examination, set by some anonymous examiner, which all the students must take at the same time and within a prescribed period; the examination is oral and individual, and each candidate takes it separately whenever he may feel sufficiently prepared. Probationers

for the Civil Service must take two examinations, one preliminary, the *candidaats-examen*, and a final examination, the *doctoraal*. The examinations are conducted by at least three examiners, one being the candidate's professor, and the two others representing respectively each branch of the United Faculties: Law, and Letters and Philosophy. The final examination does not carry with it a degree, and there is no academic title corresponding with the B.A. or M.A. in an English University; but success in the *doctoraal* examination qualifies the student to apply for promotion to the title of Doctor or Master by submitting and defending an approved thesis.

The course of the probationer at Leiden or Utrecht lasts about five years. The syllabus comprises two sections—one Letters, the other Economics. Both the preliminary and final examinations are divided accordingly, but the probationer does not take both sections in both examinations. He must take either the preliminary examination in Economics and the final examination in Letters, or, *vice versa*, the preliminary in Letters and the final in Economics.

The probationer who wishes to specialize in *Letters* must first take for his preliminary examination a two years' course in economics and law. In this he must satisfy the examiners in five subjects, all treated with special reference to Netherlands India, but treated—and this is a notable contrast with the British system—from the academic, educational standpoint and not from the practical, utilitarian standpoint. These subjects are economics, constitutional and administrative law, customary law, the outlines of civil, commercial, and criminal law, and history. Note that criminal law—the sole legal study prescribed for British civilians—forms only one branch of legal studies, and that in the study of criminal law the British civilian is recommended to annotated codes, handbooks for practitioners, whereas Dutch civilians are told that “for lack of any scientific treatise on Indian Penal Law”* they must use the standard *Introduction to the Study of Dutch Penal Law*. The British system aims at teaching the student how to use his codes; the Dutch system aims at helping him to understand them. After passing this examination the probationer has three years in which to study the three subjects prescribed for the final examination in letters—Malay, an Indonesian language, usually Javanese, and one optional subject. In his two languages the candidate must pass one by a higher standard, the other by a lower standard; in his first language he is expected to have a knowledge of literary history.

* University Calendar, p. 257.

The probationer who wishes to specialize in the other branch, *Economics*, must first take for his preliminary examination a two years' course in Letters. In this he must satisfy the examiners in five subjects, all treated with special reference to Netherlands India, but from the academic, educational standpoint and not from the practical, utilitarian standpoint. The subjects are Malay, one other Indonesian language, ethnology, Mohammedanism, and history. After passing this examination the student has three years in which to study the three subjects prescribed for the final examination in economics and law. He may take either economics or law as his first subject, in which he must attain a high standard, and in the second subject a lower standard will suffice. The third subject in this course, as in the corresponding course in letters, is optional.

In the selection of an optional subject for the final examination the probationers have a range of choice that is limited only by the discretion of the University authorities. In the past the favourite subject has been comparative colonial history, taken by about 20 per cent. of the candidates, and closely followed by penal law and customary law; about 5 to 10 per cent. have chosen Mohammedanism, ethnology, or tropical hygiene; others have offered archæology, Sanskrit, Chinese, Indian parliamentary history, comparative commercial policy, and Thomist philosophy.*

A curriculum which provides a choice of subjects ranging from commercial policy to Thomist philosophy is certainly not open to the reproach of undue narrowness, and, taking the course as a whole, you will agree, I think, that it is well designed to give the student a sympathetic understanding of the East. This, on the Dutch view, is a necessary foundation for the career of an administrator in the tropics. The course for I.C.S. probationers aims to give them practical help in the performance of their duties; the course for Dutch probationers aims at building up a cultural framework for their subsequent career.

But the contrast between Dutch and British methods of training does not end here. The Government in British India tries to ensure that the young officer is technically competent in administrative *practice*; it requires him to pass departmental examinations. There is nothing of the kind in Netherlands India; but, on the other hand, the Government encourages its officers to prosecute academic studies bearing on the *principles* of tropical administration. The *doctoraal*, as already explained, carries with it no title, and Government encourages Civil

* *Ind. Genootschap*, January, 1938, p. 35, n.

Servants to obtain a title by submitting and defending a thesis in which they treat from an academic standpoint some matter which has engaged their attention as practical administrators. Tropical administration is treated as a scientific profession, and provision is made for advancing it by research. Some of the treatises produced in this manner are of great value and have reactions on practical affairs; and, whatever the intrinsic value of the work, the writers must benefit by discarding for a brief space the bureaucratic blinkers which ordinarily circumscribe the vision of an official. It is of great interest that in a recent discussion on the training of probationers one point, on which all who took part were agreed, was the value of such studies.* The Dutch official, one feels, likes to understand what he is doing, whereas the English official is content to do what seems to him, from the standpoint of common sense, the obvious thing. For myself, I must confess to a mistrust of the obvious, of the short-cut and the easy solution.

I hope that I have now managed to give you a clear picture of the Dutch system of training Europeans for tropical administration. But I must remind you that there are two branches of the Civil Service, and to see either in its correct perspective one must look at both. In the training of Natives, as in the training of Europeans, we can see the conception of vocational education gradually taking shape. A hundred years ago the native officers ruled as native chieftains, and needed very little instruction. Gradually, and largely in response to pressure from the officers themselves, the course of instruction has been widened. At one time, as with the European Civil Service, higher studies were reserved for selected officers; now all are highly trained. Candidates must be under twenty-one, unmarried, and must have passed the "Mulo" examination (roughly equivalent to the matriculation examination in British India) in certain prescribed subjects, including Dutch and colloquial English). They are nominated by local officials and selected by the provincial governor (an officer corresponding to a divisional commissioner in British India). The selected candidates are sent to training schools, where they take a three years' course, which is a specialised form of the course in the General Middle Schools. The curriculum in the school at Bandoeng, which I had the privilege of visiting, comprises two European languages—Dutch and English—and three Oriental languages—Malay, Sundanese, and Javanese; the students are further given a background of Western social science by the study of jurisprudence, economics, history, comparative ethnology, and

* *Kol. Tijd.*, Mar. 38, p. 262.

economic geography; in addition to these cultural subjects, they obtain an insight into Western administrative practice by the study of practical administration, administrative accounts, agriculture, hygiene, and first aid; and they also take a course in physical training, which includes revolver shooting. At the end of the three years' course the students must pass an examination which appears to be of about the same standard as the intermediate examination of a university in British India.

Such a course ensures that every native who adopts the profession of administration shall have some acquaintance with the principles of Western civilization. But the Dutch do not trust merely to book-learning. Despite the Dutch tradition of non-residential schools, the probationers are required to live in hostels, and the hostel is an education in itself. In the Common Room at Bandoeng, for example, there are pictures on the walls, a piano, a large radio set, a library well stocked with books in Dutch and English, and there are two billiard-tables. The school has, of course, its own tennis courts and, like most schools, is rather proud of its football team.

Once the student has obtained his diploma, he is, like his European colleague, free of departmental examinations. He is appointed to be an Assistant-Officer, and in that capacity undergoes training in all branches of his official duties. At first he is probably a clerk, maintaining the register of correspondence and numbering the letters; but he is soon charged with the conduct of simple police investigations. On completing his training he becomes a police inspector, and from that post rises to the charge of a sub-district, a district, and possibly, if he has hereditary claims, a regency.

Now I think you will understand why it is necessary to look at both courses to see either in a correct perspective. For both Europeans and Natives the course has a cultural intention and a common purpose: to enable the students to make the best of both worlds, East and West. And because they have a common purpose they are different, complementary. The European probationer is trained in Europe, where those of mixed origin and of Indian upbringing—a considerable proportion—can strengthen their hold on European culture; but at the same time the syllabus is so designed as to lay the foundations of a sympathetic understanding of the Eastern world. The Native probationer is trained in India, but his surroundings in the hostel and the subjects in the appointed curriculum are such as to inoculate him, almost insensibly, with the guiding principles of Western culture. Thus the training of

both Europeans and Natives, as I have already said, is complementary; both must be looked at together, for both classes of students are given a cultural background closely related to their respective needs and special functions as administrators in a tropical dependency governed in accordance with the traditions of Dutch rule.

These traditions are very different from ours. Both Dutch and English would probably agree that the end of the State is to promote welfare in the widest sense. But the English tradition is that the State should promote welfare through the law and according to the forms of law. Let me recall the main features of the administrative system of British India. We have seen that the administrative services are ranked in three grades, one above the other. The pivot of administration in British India is the district magistrate and collector; below him comes the subdivisional magistrate; below him is the township magistrate and Treasury officer. In this scheme I would invite your special attention to three points: the services are graded vertically, with no racial distinctions within each grade; in all three grades the officers do much the same kind of work; and in all three grades they are primarily concerned with magisterial and revenue duties. On all three points the administrative system of Netherlands India shows a contrast. The services are graded laterally, with the European service alongside, but not superior, to the native service; the functions of European and Native officers are quite distinct; and neither European nor Native can be regarded as, in our sense, a magistrate or revenue officer. Perhaps, for the benefit of Dutchmen, I should make that clearer. With us the district officer, the collector, must himself count the money in the district treasury each month; the township officer is *ex-officio* Treasury officer, responsible both for collecting the revenue punctually and for safeguarding it in his sub-treasury; in Netherlands India no civilian, European or Native, ever has charge of a Treasury. With us the newly joined civilian is from the first active as a magistrate; some twelve months after his arrival in the country he may be a first-class magistrate, imposing sentences of two years' rigorous imprisonment. In Netherlands India the European civilian has probably twelve years' service before being vested with magisterial powers, and even then his cases are such as in British India, if they ever came to court, would go before honorary magistrates. With us, officers of the Provincial and Subordinate Services also rise to be first-class magistrates, though more slowly than officers of the Imperial Service; in Netherlands India officers of the Native Civil Service never, as such, exercise powers greater than in Burma might be entrusted to a

village headman. With us, even “as a revenue officer the civilian deals with a system of codified law; he must be acquainted with the procedure of civil justice, and must be prepared to meet the questions raised by skilled legal practitioners.”* “Law,” it has been said, “is the basis of our whole system of administration.”

That idea runs counter to the whole Dutch tradition of tropical administration. In Netherlands India Authority has never abdicated. It is exercised by the Native Civil Servants, and especially by the hereditary regents, working together with the European officers—called, significantly, Residents and Inspectors—for the welfare of the people by means of “gentle pressure”; in Java *zachte dwang*, *prentah aloes* ring in one’s ears like a refrain, and, despite repeated disclaimers, gentle pressure has never been eradicated. Quite recently it has, implicitly at least, been defended by the late Dr. van Vollenhoven in his treatise on *Staatsrecht Overzee*, where he defines Government (*bestuur*) as “the spontaneous and original [*zelfstandig*] promotion of the land and people by authorities high and low”;† this, he claims, must have precedence over the framing and functioning of law. We, in our concern for liberty, believe in allowing the tares to grow together with the wheat; the Dutch prefer to weed the field and train the crop. With us the administrator is a servant of the law, a magistrate; in Netherlands India the administrator is a servant of the State, an agent of policy, a policeman. But he is an agent of policy not merely for prevention and punishment, but also, and still more, for constructive purposes. Dutch rule, as compared with ours, is far more intensive. The European in British India is sufficiently equipped as magistrate and collector if he starts with a smattering of the language and learns to use his codes; the Native need only learn to use his codes. All the rest will come with practice. The European is probably more efficient if he knows the language and the people, and the Native if he knows something of the West. But in Netherlands India the European is nothing unless he knows the people, and the Native is working in dark glasses if he knows nothing of the West. That is why practical experience has led to the gradual evolution of such an elaborate training.

In the past our system in British India has, on the whole, perhaps, worked well enough. But our concern is with the future. It is generally recognized now that the functions of administrators are changing, and that there must be corresponding changes in their train-

* Official statement, cited O’Malley, p. 96.

† C. van Vollenhoven, *Staatsrecht Overzee* (1934), pp. 243-44.

ing. One hears it said, for example, that the civilian of the future will need a better acquaintance with the vernacular because he must persuade rather than command. Surely this argument goes much further. One does not persuade by glibness, but by sympathy, and, for the same reason, the civilian will need a wider, deeper understanding of the people. Then he may find himself still necessary to the people. Here, I suggest, we approach the bed-rock of the problem. Why should a poor country such as Burma go to the expense of recruiting Europeans for general administration? Why should it even send men for training in England? It will not do so if they are to be no more than magistrates and collectors of revenue. In the long run it will not, and should not, do so unless the people of Burma feel that they are getting good value for their money. Here, I suggest, we can learn something from the Dutch. We certainly cannot adopt the Dutch system of a dual administration, with Europeans and natives in separate compartments, nor can we abandon the English tradition of the rule of law; for good or ill we are committed to a different course. Yet I believe that we can usefully adapt to our own system the Dutch conception of a tropical dependency, and the Dutch view of administrative functions. Let us examine these more closely.

The Dutch analysis of the nature of a tropical dependency carries a stage further the idea which has found expression in England as the dual mandate—the idea that in respect of a dependency the mandatory power has a duty to the world and a duty to the people. The Dutch regard society in a tropical dependency as essentially dual in character, comprising two sections—broadly, European and native, or, as it is sometimes put, capitalist and pre-capitalist. Thus there is both a racial and economic conflict of interest.

This theory of tropical economy finds practical expression in the Dutch view of administrative functions; they regard it as justifying and even necessitating a dual administration. The two sections have many points of conflict, and on both sides there are extremists. Europeans, they hold, should best be able to restrain European extremists and to represent the reasonable European standpoint; Natives should best be able to restrain native revolutionaries and to represent the reasonable native standpoint. Both elements should therefore be represented in the administration, and the representatives of both sections will best be able to perform their functions if educated, so far as possible, to understand the other's point of view. Further, quite apart from this theory of tropical economy, the State in Dutch tradition has a far more

positive, constructive rôle than accords with our tradition that its chief function is to hold the ring for the free play of rival forces. They regard the administrator, especially in the tropics, as a social engineer, a welfare officer. The mechanical engineer must understand both the principles of mechanics and the materials with which he works. Similarly, the social engineer in a tropical dependency, who is concerned with applying the principles of Western political and economic science in an Eastern environment, should be educated, so far as possible, to understand both the principles and the environment. It is as dangerous, they hold, to tinker with the social order as to employ tinkers on the building of a bridge. They regard social engineering as a skilled profession, and try to ensure that their social engineers are duly qualified for their important functions.

In these views there is much that is generally applicable; certainly there is much that is applicable to Burma, the country that I know best. In Burma, as in Netherlands India, capital, industry, and commerce are largely in the hands of Europeans; there is a conflict of economic interests accentuated by racial difference. Until Burmans can take over the material development of their own country, production must remain largely in the hands of Europeans, and so long as that continues Europeans are as necessary to Burmans as Burmans are to Europeans. But they have conflicting interests, and there are extremists on both sides, equally dangerous to the welfare of the country. There is much, therefore, to be said for a combination of both elements in the administration. But, frankly, I do not expect many Burmans to accept this view. They do not appreciate the vital importance of the European element in the present state of Burma, but regard the economic position of Europeans with jealousy, and look on European officials as the agents and guardians of European interests. If it were explicitly recognized that one peculiar function of Europeans in the administration is to act as a brake on European extremism, and to restrain the unsocial tendencies of capitalist interests, then the more intelligent Burmans might come to place a higher value on their services.

But that point I regard as of comparatively small importance, and I would lay more stress on the need for training tropical administrators as social engineers. A hundred years ago Burma formed no part of the modern world; it was a relic of mediævalism, built of brick and rubble. When it came into contact with the West the rulers and people were ignorant of the forces, moral and material, dominating the modern world; the Government collapsed, and the social order, built up through

long centuries, was shaken to its foundations. Now, during the past fifty to a hundred years Burma has been wrought into the fabric of the modern world with ever-closer ties, but at the same time there has evolved a plural society, in which different sections embody rival economic interests, and the people of the country form merely one section, economically the weakest; it is a house divided against itself. Also, as part of the same process, the native constitution has disintegrated; the social order has broken into villages, and the village into individuals. After fifty to a hundred years of foreign rule the country is less able than before to stand alone. The problem is one of reconstruction. The bricks are fallen down, and it is our task to rebuild with hewn stone. For that, one essential need is a body of administrators educated as social engineers. If we can supply them, the people of Burma will soon realize that they are getting good value for their money.

But we cannot even pretend to meet the demand for men of this type and with these qualifications so long as we take no steps to train them. Practical experience is no substitute for education. I remember once meeting a little Chinese dentist and asking how he had learned dentistry. "Oh," he replied, "just by pulling out teeth." It amused me to think that he had learned his job at the expense of his patients—until it occurred to me that that was how I had learned my job. At present little more is expected of European probationers for the Civil Service than that they should acquire a smattering of the colloquial language and learn to find their way about the penal code. Native probationers who come to Europe are sent back almost before they have recovered from seasickness and while they are still suffering from homesickness. Presumably they do not come here merely to learn a few things out of books or, as one lad put it, to learn how to use a knife and fork, but in order to acquire a sympathetic understanding of the Western world. The Oriental is unlikely to acquire that while his digestion is still puzzled by European food. If the European during his training does not lay the foundations of an understanding of the world where he will live, and the Native during his training is not brought into vital contact with Western civilization, then neither is fit for the task of representing a distinct element in a plural society, and still less fit for the great privilege of spending his life as a social engineer.

DR. VESEY FITZGERALD: I did not expect to be called on to talk so early, but I did make a few notes while the speaker was giving his

very interesting lecture, for which I would like to thank him very cordially.

Perhaps my doubts on certain points would be answered in advance if we had the little pamphlet of suggestions to which he referred. But first, unquestionably, we cannot get away from the foundation principle of British Administration—namely, the Rule of Law.

Secondly, at any rate in India, and I doubt not in Burma also, the introduction of two Civil Services side by side would be met with a howl from the politicians. The Dutch system is not without critics, who say that its object is to keep the Native in a position of permanent inferiority and to deny him access to political freedom. I have heard the same criticism urged, rightly or wrongly, against the much-vaunted system of indirect rule in our African colonies. At any rate, it is not practical politics in India or in Burma.

But the principal part of Mr. Furnivall's address was on the question of training. First, have we any reasonable chance of increasing the length of the course for Indian Civil Service probationers?

[The speaker gave some account of the history of this question and proceeded:] From about 1890 onwards, recruitment has been entirely at the post-graduate stage—*i.e.*, of men who are supposed to have received at the universities a liberal education of the highest kind fitting them to tackle every type of problem with success.

Since 1937 all probationers alike take a one year's course. Can we go back and recruit our probationers at the school-leaving stage and give them a liberal education which would none the less be an education in subjects connected with their future career? I doubt it, and I doubt if it would be wise even if we were able to do it.

The Government of India would not stand the expense of a three years' course. It would only be feasible if you could persuade parents to allocate their sons to the Indian Civil Service when they left school, on the basis of a three years' course with the help of a scholarship which should not amount for three years to more than the cost of the present one year's course. We in this room are probably alive to the uncertainty which overhangs the future of the service. A young man leaving the university may be ready to face that particular uncertainty on his own responsibility, for he knows that for his generation there is no such thing as a certain career, it is merely a choice of uncertainties. But what parent or guardian will mortgage his boy's future to India or Burma in return for no higher contribution towards the cost of university education than the boy himself, if he is of the type we

want, can probably win by open scholarships and school-leaving exhibitions? It must be remembered that such emoluments will not be available to men recruited under Mr. Furnivall's scheme. Taking it all round, I feel there is little chance of getting away from the one year's Probationary Course.

I think that Mr. Furnivall was not altogether fair to that course as it stands. The main plank in it is the study of the principal vernacular language of the province to which a man is going, or, if he already knows that, of another vernacular of that province. This is the backbone of the course; and no man who has had, as I have had, the opportunity of comparing his own progress in a language in which he had such training with his lack of progress in another language in which he has not, can have any doubt of its value. The teaching of languages in England, moreover, has become more systematic in the last twenty years.

Indian history has been an integral part of the course ever since it started, though formerly a part that was apt to be neglected. Burmese history has only recently been added.

Law is taught, as Mr. Furnivall says, on the basis of the three Codes; but it is not entirely criminal law, for the Evidence Act contains a great deal of purely civil law and may be made the peg on which to hang more. Moreover, we still have compulsory lectures, though it is no longer an examination subject, in Hindu and Muhammadan Law. I emphatically dissent from the charge that we do not attempt to teach legal principles. The fact that a candidate is allowed copies of the Codes in the examination-room does not mean that he is not required to understand the law, but simply that he is not required to memorize it. Similarly, there is a strange idea abroad among non-lawyers that one can teach the principles of law—which such people call jurisprudence—without teaching the law itself. Dr. Hazel from his great experience as a law teacher disposed of this fallacy at the Chatterjee Committee.

Finally, as to what Mr. Furnivall calls "Social Engineering": I have sat on two committees recently at the India Office—the Chatterjee Committee and the Blunt Committee—at which the whole question of probationers' training has been thrashed out at great length. One result of those committees is that we now have a weighty and authoritative volume on Social Welfare in India which probationers are required to know and lectures which they are required to attend. A similar volume is, I believe, in course of preparation for Burma.

That we have no *systematic* instruction in the cultures and religions of India does not mean that we do not encourage students to take an interest in them, but is simply a result of the multiplicity of different religions and cultures involved. Incidentally I may remark that that blessed word Indology, when it is used to mean anything but Sanskrit studies, is usually merely a cloak for sciolism and confusion of thought. Possibly in Burma, with its more unitary culture and its one overwhelmingly important religion, something more might be done, though this is to some extent provided for in the Burmese History Syllabus. I maintain that we are working on the lines which Mr. Furnivall advocates, so far as the position allows us to do so, though of course there may be room for much improvement in detail; and in particular I lament the decision of the Government of India to cut out the optional subject from examination, and the fact that the Government of Burma did not take a stand of its own in that matter.

Mr. A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E. : I have had three points of contact with these questions: I was myself a product of our system of training; after I retired from Government service I was consulted about various systems that might be adopted; and I was training probationers when I was attached to the School of Oriental Studies.

I feel that the discussion of the question on this large scale leads to no results. It makes it appear as if India and Burma were one country. Burma—socially, politically, and historically—is quite a different country from India. Another difficulty is that India is changing every year. The India I served in no longer exists: it is a new country. And the India of the future will be entirely different from the India we have now.

Mr. Furnivall and the other speakers have been advocating the study of the manners, customs, languages of the country before the probationer goes abroad. With regard to languages, the probationer will do best to learn them in their own setting in the country itself. There are many service men in India to-day who have officially talked a vernacular language all their lives and never understood it in its social and intimate aspects. The real spirit of the vernacular is quite different from the picture in the textbooks, and they will never learn to speak fluently and in its current bearings except in the country. From a language point of view the Indian Civil Service was better educated when a younger type of men went out, confessing that they knew nothing of the Indian languages, and gave themselves humbly into the hands of the *munshi*. For the literary language a little ground may usefully be

covered in England, but the sound and spirit of the living tongue can only come from workaday contact with the people.

History: I have not yet read any history of India which gave the real history at all. They give elaborate accounts of the rise of the empire, but they throw little real light on the nature of the present difficulties; the real causes and real effects and their impingement on the present conditions in India. Englishmen naturally write from their own point of view. Indian history in the view of a native of the country is entirely different. And the view of Indians will vary according to their background. Hindu India has one point of view; Muslim writers will produce books which Hindu Indians will not read. But one must get those different points of view. To teach people the sort of history which passes for history in the textbooks puts people at a disadvantage when they reach India. The generalizations are too wide; the scope is too limited; prejudices are created which are difficult to get rid of.

So many religions mean so many ways of looking at things. I realized when I first went out that if I was to do justice, I had to study, not only from books of instructions, or what people said, for they contradicted each other, but from what I could learn of their course of behaviour. I had to form my conclusions from people's actions if I was to be just. I had to weigh motives and allow for points of view. As in the law courts, so in public life: we are apt to overlook realities in favour of paper records and plausible speeches.

All our past experience is now getting out of date. To call India a Dependency now might in India nearly cause a riot: under the new Constitution it is not a Dependency. Punjab is not a tropical colony.

There is a shifting of the balance of power. The Civil Service brought out from England is ceasing to be in a position to frame policies. It will soon cease to be a steel frame for the administrative services. And I seriously think that in the course of a generation it will have shrunk to such small proportions that there will only be Englishmen left in a few of the big administrative posts. And there are Indians who would deny even that. Conditions are changing so fast that there is no possible parallel to be drawn between the past of the I.C.S. and the future. Parliament has said that what is aimed at in the new Constitution is the establishment of a representative and responsible government in India. The I.C.S. under such a policy is only a body of experts to do office work and to help others to frame their policies. It is useless to make comparisons with other systems;

we must build up according to current needs not only administrative but also psychological. That can best be done on the spot. As a preparation it is better to have a sound education and a spirit of practical sympathy and understanding rather than an elaborate syllabus of out-of-date knowledge and old-fashioned theories. They will hamper a man rather than help him.

Mr. F. B. LEACH, C.I.E. : My only excuse for speaking is that, like Mr. Furnivall, I spent my service in Burma, and after retiring from Government service I continued my interest in the administration of the country; not in his fields, but as a politician, which gave me an insight into administrative matters that I had not gained as a civil servant.

With most of Mr. Furnivall's views I entirely agree, but I would submit that the system of training must depend on the system of administration, and I am very doubtful if we could change from the present system to the Dutch one, which appears to bear resemblance rather to our system in the native States of India, and the Shan States in Burma, than to our normal administrative system in British India and Burma generally. But I agree that something more is required even under our present system. I cannot speak of the details nowadays, but when I went out in 1905, for all I had ever been taught I might not have known that the inhabitants of Burma were of Mongolian race and belonged to the Buddhist religion, instead of being an Aryan or Dravidian people whose religion is Islam or some form of Hinduism. I did not, of course, land in that complete state of ignorance, but what I knew I had picked up in the course of general reading, and I doubt whether the books of Rudyard Kipling, or Fielding Hall's *Soul of a People*, are altogether a good basis for a knowledge of Burma! More instruction may be available to-day, but it is not enough. More, I think, should be done in getting probationers into touch with people who have spent their lives in the country and who can give them talks, if not elaborate instruction on the Dutch lines, yet something that will be useful to them. A great deal more might be done in that way.

I think we must all feel very grateful to Mr. Furnivall, for although we may not agree with all the details of his scheme, yet we all agree that he has drawn our attention to the importance of those who are interested in our administration looking at other systems of administration in the East. In Burma it would have been a great advantage if we had not been tied to the Indian system. We might with advantage have studied the systems set up in Siam, Malaya, the Dutch East

Indies, Indo-China, etc., since the peoples and cultures of those countries are more akin than the Indian to those of Burma. But no; when the Burmese Government thought that something needed alteration they used to send someone to see what they do in Bombay or Madras. In all the time I was in Burma only once did we do otherwise, when we consulted the Federated Malay States with regard to the policy that should be adopted in the Shan States. Conditions in Burma are so completely different that there is not always much to be learnt from comparison with India; but from other systems there is a great deal to be learnt. We want to wake people up to the importance of looking at other systems and not thinking only that the administration of government in India is the last word on the administration of Oriental peoples. I do not wish to run the Government of Burma down, but it is too introspective.

Mr. J. B. MACKIE (*contributed*): The impressions given me by Mr. Furnivall's lecture and by his proposed course of training for recruits for the Civil Service is that he is still regarding the scope and duties of the Indian or Burman civil servant in the light of conditions which existed during the time of his own active service in Burma. With the introduction of constitutional reforms in India and Burma it is necessary before making any proposals for changing the course of training for civil servants to consider what their position and duties are likely to be in future. There seems to be ground for believing that Englishmen in the Indian and Burma Civil Service will not as in the past devote most of their service to the duties of a district officer, but are likely after a few years' service in the districts to be regarded very much in the light of a pool of entirely unbiassed and semi-specialist staff at the disposal of the Government or the provincial government for undertaking special enquiries or special duties where the Indian or Burman might find communal animosities overpowering, or where the Englishman's cultural background would make him particularly suitable for conducting such investigations. In this connection it would appear that the European in the Civil Service will have to be given opportunities for the special studies mentioned by Mr. Furnivall in the third section of his proposals. If this is to be the position of the European in the Civil Service, then it would seem that consideration will have to be given to the question of providing a different syllabus of training for the European and for the Indian or Burman.

In any case I feel that there are objections to making the course of special training in this country too long, and if, as Mr. Furnivall seems

to suggest, it was proposed that the particular subjects suggested by him for the final examination were to be taken in addition to and at the same time as his university degree course, I feel that there is grave danger of over-loading the candidate's syllabus.

With regard to the syllabus itself, I entirely agree with what one of the speakers said when he recommended that the learning of the language should mostly be left until the man reaches the country in which he is going to work, nothing more being attempted in this country than to give him a general grounding in the grammar. What usually happens when people learn an Eastern language in this country is that they learn only the literary language, which is of very little use to them when they arrive in the country and find to their disgust that no one can understand them. Seeing that most of their dealings in the local language will be with the comparatively uneducated countrymen, it is much better, it seems to me, that they should learn to talk to the countryman in his own language after their arrival in the country. Secondly, I notice that Mr. Furnivall has suggested tropical economy only as an alternative subject, with economics only as one of the optional subjects. I consider a sound grounding in economics in the conditions obtaining in India and Burma to-day an absolute necessity for civil servants, and I suggest too that it would be of the greatest advantage to them if they could also receive a short course of training in local government, the relations of local government with central governments and in local government finance, as these are subjects which are likely to play an increasingly important part in the life of the European civil servant in India and Burma in the future.

The LECTURER: Lack of time precludes more than a few disjointed comments. I fear that I have been misunderstood as recommending the introduction of the Dutch system in Burma. I do not advocate either any separation of the services or any departure from the principle of the rule of law, but merely that in adjusting our system of training to the conditions of modern India the Dutch system furnishes many useful suggestions.

As regards details, it is unfortunate that it has not been possible to circulate the abstract of my concrete proposals, as these meet many of the criticisms which have been put forward.

The proposed course would admittedly be more expensive. But local governments are quite willing to pay large stipends for long periods—*e.g.*, to students of domestic science—they would be equally willing to pay well for students of social engineering. There will be

no difficulty about expense if they realize that they are getting value for their money.

Mr. Yusuf Ali, I fear, is something of an anarchist in his disregard for principles. I advocate a study of administrative principles as a foundation for practice.

The CHAIRMAN: I think I am expressing the sentiments of us all in thanking the lecturer sincerely for coming here this afternoon. His lecture has been extremely stimulating, and has given us all something to think about. I shall ask you to express your thanks in the usual way. (Applause.)

APPENDIX

It may be useful to attempt an outline sketch of a course of training for the profession of tropical administration. The scheme is drafted with especial reference to Burma, but is capable of general application.

I. Imperial service (B.C.S. Class I.). Subjects for the final examination.

Compulsory:

- (i) Burmese language and literature, including an outline of the history of literature.*
- (ii) The History of Burma as part of the Tropical Far East.
- (iii) Criminal law, including procedure and the law of evidence, treated with reference to general principles and to the development of British law in India and Burma.
- (iv) Comparative Tropical Administration, including an outline of political theory, with especial reference to the Tropical Far East.

Or—

- (v) Tropical Economy; an outline of economic theory, with especial reference to the Tropical Far East, and in particular to Burma.

*Optional—*one of the following subjects:

- (i) Pali.
- (ii) Old Burmese and Old Talaing, including epigraphy.
- (iii) Anthropology and ethnology, with especial reference to the Tropical Far East.

* Probationers already familiar with Burmese should take as an alternative French, Dutch, German, or Italian.

- (iv) Customary law (*i.e.*, Burmese Buddhist law), treated with reference to its development.
- (v) Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy.
- (vi) Economics.
- (vii) Principles of jurisprudence.

This course would cover three or four years. Europeans entering for the first time an unfamiliar atmosphere would probably need four years; Burmans might cover it in three.

This would involve a change in the present age of recruitment. Candidates would be recruited by open competitive examinations in England and Burma; in England candidates should not be over twenty, and in Burma not over twenty-one. This would allow Burman candidates to take their degree in Rangoon; the disadvantage of the present system is that it keeps lads hanging around for a year or two before they are of age to sit for the Civil Service Examination.

Recruits should be required to follow the course in an approved university. Europeans might be allowed a stipend of £100 a year, and the cost of training would then be much the same as at present. Burmans might, as at present, be allowed £350 a year. This would involve an increase of expenditure, but, as the Burma Government readily grants scholarships for long periods for training in medicine, domestic science, and civil engineering, it should be equally ready to grant funds for an adequate training in social engineering.

Possibly for a year or two until the new arrangements were known there might be some difficulty, at least in England, in recruiting candidates; this difficulty could easily be surmounted by continuing the present arrangements so far as might be necessary to fill vacancies due to a deficiency of trained candidates.

There might be some difficulty in finding teachers in comparative tropical administration and in tropical economy. If so, with our imperial responsibilities, that is a reproach which we should exert ourselves to remove.

All probationers should, if possible, take a university degree at the end of the course, in addition to the final examination; this would probably require special arrangements with the approved universities.

II. The training of officers for the Provincial and Subordinate Services should be remodelled on similar lines.

III. Arrangements should be made to encourage the academic study of practical administrative problems by officers already in the service.

For example, we need urgently studies of the principles which should govern the relations of the central Government and local bodies, with a view to the rapid promotion of social welfare in tropical dependencies; studies on the application of democratic principles and of representative government in tropical dependencies; we in Burma ought especially to know what is being attempted in Malaya, Siam, Indo-China, Netherlands India, for the solution of our common problems; and in Burma, and in British India as a whole, we should try to profit by the policy of social welfare in Netherlands India during the past thirty years. The problems, social, economic, and political, in relation to plural societies are innumerable and as various as life itself. So far we have been content to solve them by quack methods. There is no adequate machinery for the organization of knowledge and thought in relation to tropical dependencies; how they may best be organized is in itself a problem that needs study.

TURKISH INDUSTRIALIZATION

By J. B. MACKIE

IT is not my intention to make any attempt to deal with the political history of Turkey or with the position which Turkey has occupied at various times since the war *vis-à-vis* her neighbours in the Balkans or on her eastern and northern frontiers. Still less is it my intention to dwell at any length on Turkey's present position in the greater groupings which appear now to be taking shape under the lead of Great Britain, in the hope of placing some curb on the aggressive ideas of Germany. That is a task which I must leave to others more closely acquainted than I am with the recent history of the Middle East and better versed in the correct estimation of the importance of the various cross-currents which make it difficult for the ordinary man in the street to form a proper appreciation of the real meaning of many of the moves and counter-moves which are constantly taking place. It is my object to set before you as far as I can a picture of the immense strides which Turkey has made in the direction of industrialization since the foundation of the Republic and, in particular, during the past few years. My duties have brought me into close touch with these developments, and on my return to this country it has come as a great surprise to me to find how few people, even among industrialists, have any proper appreciation of what is going on in Turkey and of the complete change which has taken place since Mustapha Kemal set about his immense task of restoring the morale of his fellow-countrymen and of making Turkey a country able to stand on its own feet and free from foreign political or economic domination. Until a very short time ago financial, industrial, and commercial circles in England continued thinking of Turkey in terms of the old Ottoman Empire, and while doing so failed entirely to take any serious notice of the great and fundamental changes that were taking place and of the opportunities for doing business which these changes brought with them.

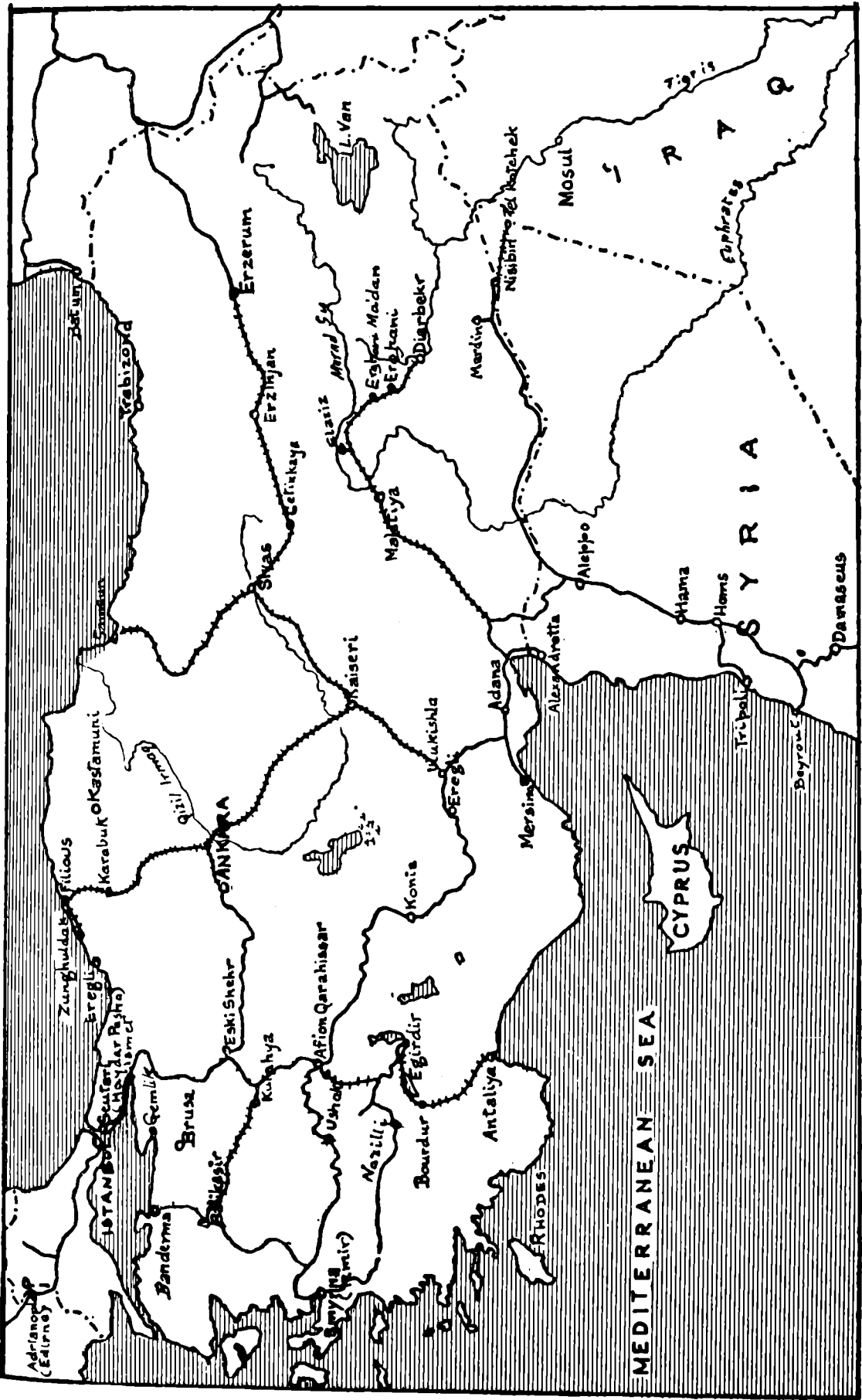
It is unnecessary for me to make any attempt to describe the economic position of Turkey at the end of the Great War. The country was exhausted financially, economically, and morally. It had

been at war for almost twenty years either with other Balkan states or with Italy or with the Allies; it had lost province after province as a result of these wars. A very high proportion of its man-power had been killed or incapacitated, its financial resources, never very great, had completely vanished, its morale had gone. Furthermore, Constantinople and the Straits were in Allied military occupation and the Greeks, whom the Turks had always despised as being mere shopkeepers and moneylenders, were, with British support and encouragement, invading and occupying the most fertile and profitable parts of the country. It was in Turkey's blackest hour that Mustapha Kemal came out into the open, rallied his countrymen, drove out the hated Greeks, and eventually founded the new Turkish Republic. His object has been throughout to keep Turkey for the Turks only. The Armenian menace had been effectively removed during the war, the Greeks were got rid of by means of an enormous exchange of population, the Turks remaining in the European territories left in Greek hands being exchanged for the Greeks in Turkey, while the Arabs who had always been a source of trouble and of weakness to Turkey had been taken away as a result of the Great War. The only non-Turkish minorities of any consequence that now remain in Turkey are the Kurds and the Jews. The Kurds have given a good deal of trouble, away in their mountain fastnesses in the far east around Lake Van, but they are gradually coming to heel, and the process of pacification is likely to be accelerated when they are in railway communication with the rest of Turkey and when it is found possible to extend the industrial revival to that area. With regard to the Jews, it is greatly to the credit of the new Turkey that there has been no Jewish persecution or repressive legislation, and the large Jewish element in Istanbul and elsewhere continues to live and trade without any undue restrictions. In his attempt to build up a new Turkey, therefore, Mustapha Kemal had to start from scratch. The Turks, left to themselves and regarded hitherto as good fighters but lacking both inclination and ability in matters of industry and commerce, had to be weaned away from their old ways and taught new methods and ways of living.

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed in 1923 and one of the most important gains made by Turkey thereby was the abolition of capitulations. There remained, however, certain restrictions on Turkey's complete sovereignty, one in respect of the Straits—*i.e.*, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus—while the other, which from an economic point of view was far more serious, took away from Turkey for a period of

years the right to make use of the tariff for the protection of her home industries. This was not actually included in the Treaty, but took the form of a commercial agreement between Turkey on the one hand and the British Empire, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Roumania, and Jugoslavia on the other hand. By it, Turkey agreed for five years to apply to goods coming from those countries the Ottoman Customs Tariff of 1916 and not to put into force any embargo on the import or export of goods except in a few specified instances. Until 1929, therefore, the new Government was handicapped by this agreement in that it was not in a position to raise the tariff either for revenue purposes or for the protection of its industries. Naturally, therefore, during this period there was little industrial development, and the Turkish Government, while biding its time, had to devote itself to other urgent problems. Naturally, one of these was the overhaul of the administration and the re-establishment of orderly government throughout the country; but that is not the direct subject of this talk, although it is of the highest importance as providing the background indispensable to the economic reorganization which has followed.

Turkey had been always essentially an agricultural country, its principal products being wheat, barley, figs, raisins, sultanas, and tobacco. Its industries had been confined principally to the manufacture of cigarettes by the foreign-owned Tobacco Regie, the manufacture of carpets and pottery usually as cottage industries and by traditional methods, a few textile mills, and the extraction of coal in the Zunghuldak area on the Black Sea coast. Even before the war the Turkish Government had realized the necessity of giving some help to industry, and a law with this object had been passed in 1913, but owing to the war it had remained more or less a dead letter. It was, however, revived by the Republican Government and further revised in 1927. The principal assistance given by these laws consisted in free grants of Government-owned land for factories, sidings, etc., up to a maximum of 10 hectares, compulsory acquisition under the Land Acquisition Acts of land owned by private persons who were unwilling to sell, exemption from certain inland revenue taxes, exemption from Customs duties on plant and machinery and certain raw materials, and reduced railway freights on plant, machinery, and products. Finally, Government departments, municipalities, monopolies, and companies benefiting by this law were required to buy their requirements from locally produced or manufactured products, provided they could be obtained in sufficient quantities and at a price not more than 10 per cent. higher than the



— Railway lines existing before foundation of Republic.

— Railway lines constructed by Republican Government.

cost of similar products imported from abroad. It is claimed that over 600 factories of various kinds and sizes have been established since 1927 and have taken advantage of the provisions of this law.

While doing what it could to help private enterprise in this way and while awaiting the time when, freed from the restraint of the commercial agreement, it would be able to make a real step forward in support of industry by means of the tariff, the Turkish Government devoted its attention principally to communications and food, which means, in effect, agriculture.

In 1923 there existed in Turkey 4,018 km. of railways, of which 2,705 km. or 67·5 per cent. were German owned, 703 km. or 19·8 per cent. French owned, and 610 km. or 12·7 per cent. British owned. Between the years 1923 and 1935, 2,600 km. of new line were built by the Government, while in 1934 the French, in 1935 the British, and in 1936 the German-owned lines were purchased, the purchase price in each case being paid by instalments over a long period of years, so that the whole of the Turkish railway system is now State owned. Turkey is now well supplied with railways to serve both economic and strategic requirements. Of the pre-Republic lines, the longest was, of course, the German Baghdad line. This ran from Haidar Pasha on the Asiatic shore opposite Istanbul via Eski Shehr, Afion Kara Hissar, Konia and Adana, to near the Iraq frontier, not a great distance from Mosul. There was also a branch from Eski Shehr to Ankara. The French and British lines both began at Smyrna and served its rich hinterland. The lines which have been built by the Turkish Government are as follows :

1. From Ankara via Kaiseri to join the old Baghdad line at Ulukishla, thus giving direct access from Ankara to the south-east.

2. From Kaiseri via Sivas and Amasia to Samsun and from Ankara to Filios and Zunghuldak on the Black Sea. These two lines have provided through rail communication between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean coast, a thing which had hitherto been lacking.

3. A line from near Adana via Malatia to Diarbekr.

4. A line from Sivas via Erzinjan to Erzeroum, where it joins a derelict line from Tiflis, which was built by the Russians before the war.

5. A line from Balikesir on the Smyrna Panderma line to Kutahia on the old Baghdad line between Eski Shehr and Afion Kara Hissar.

Work is in progress on a line from Afion Kara Hissar to Antalya, which will, when completed, give a second through connection between

the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, while another line is projected—I do not know whether work on it has yet begun—from Diarbekr to Lake Van to open up the eastern vilayets. This line will be of considerable assistance in effecting the pacification of the Kurdish areas. Incidentally, while speaking of the railways, I may say that the supply of engines, etc., has hitherto been in the nature of a German monopoly, and it is therefore the more pleasing to have read in one of the financial papers a few days ago that British firms have just obtained a very large order for engines for the Turkish railways.

With all this rapid development of railways, roads have received but little attention and, apart from some of the larger towns, roads as apart from fair weather tracks are still almost non-existent. I am told that work has been done on the old caravan road from Trebizond to Tabriz in North-West Iran, but I do not know what condition it is in. Work is also in progress on the Turkish section of the Trans-European motor road, and this section is due to be completed shortly, up to the Bulgarian frontier.

In agricultural development attention was devoted in the first place to wheat. Turkey is potentially a big wheat-producing country, but so low had its agriculture fallen that in the years 1923, 1924, and 1925 not only was the country not self-supporting in wheat and flour but it actually imported these products in those three years to a value of £T12 million, 19 million, and 19 million respectively. This was a state of affairs that was obviously unnecessary and which the country could not afford to tolerate, and energetic steps were taken to remedy it. The cultivators were encouraged by the abolition in 1923 of the unpopular tithe and its replacement by an octroi on supplies actually coming into the market. There had been an Agricultural Bank in existence since 1888 which possessed special privileges. The Republican Government placed funds at its disposal to be used in granting loans in cash or in the form of seed, etc., to the cultivators. During the past six or seven years its loans have amounted annually to over £T30 million. Government also set up an Agricultural Institute in Ankara, and agricultural stations where improved seed is produced have been opened in various parts of the country. It has also constructed at the principal production centres and at the ports silos which have a total capacity of almost 100,000 tons of grain. Finally, in order to maintain the price of wheat at a level regarded as fair to both the producers and the consumers, the Agricultural Bank has been authorized to buy and sell grain at prices fixed by Government, Government itself bearing

any loss that may be incurred as a result of such transactions. The result of these efforts may be seen in the fact that imports of wheat and flour fell rapidly after 1925 until they disappeared entirely in 1930, and there has been an export in every year since then, amounting in 1934 to as much as 87,000 tons. There has also been a large increase in the production of barley, but this has not resulted in a very appreciable increase in exports owing to large quantities being used in the local breweries. General agricultural development and, in some places, an improvement in irrigation facilities have also enabled the Turks to treble in about ten years their production of rice.

Striking though these results are, perhaps the most striking agricultural success inaugurated during this period was the introduction of the cultivation of sugar beet. Prior to 1926 there had been no sugar produced in Turkey, and imports had been in the neighbourhood of 60,000 tons per annum. The Turkish Government's industrial policy has been declared to be that of giving assistance in the establishment of those industries whose raw materials are obtainable in quantity in Turkey and for whose products there is an assured market within the country. Sugar entirely fulfilled these conditions, and it was therefore decided in 1925 that a sugar industry must be created. In 1926 there was a small production of a mere 570 tons and imports were still over 60,000 tons, but since then four factories have been erected having a total capacity of about 75,000 tons per annum, and since 1934 there have been no imports. The amount of assistance which the establishment of this industry has given to agriculture may be estimated from the fact that production of sugar beet now amounts to well over 300,000 tons per annum. Of no less importance has been the saving in foreign exchange.

During this period, also, Government laid the foundation of its future industrial policy by making over the control of the existing Government-owned factories to a new bank created for that purpose in 1925, and which was later absorbed by the Sumer Bank, about which I shall have more to say shortly. These four factories were the boot factory at Beykoz, the woollen factories at Hereke and Feshane, and the cotton textile factory at Bakirkoi. These factories, which originally supplied only Government's own requirements for the army and other services, have been re-equipped and reorganized so that now, after supplying all Government's requirements they have a large surplus for disposal in the market. At this period also a start was made with the development of the cotton textile industry, but it will be more con-

venient to defer consideration of this until we come to the next stage of industrial development.

We now come to 1929, the year in which the commercial agreement signed with the victorious Allies at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of Lausanne expired, and Turkey was at last free to make use of her tariff for the protection of her own industries. Full use has been made of this freedom, and behind the tariff wall a remarkable industrial expansion has taken place, based on a carefully designed policy known as the first five-year plan. The Republican Government, realizing that local finance was insufficient for the rapid development desired and not wanting to introduce foreign concessionaries, even if at that time such persons would have been anxious to invest money in industry in Turkey, decided to embark on a policy of "étatisme." *Étatisme* is not the same as communism, for private enterprise is encouraged, and certainly in its agricultural policy the Turkish Government does not aim at collective farms but rather at enabling every peasant to own his own farm. It is a form of state socialism living alongside private enterprise. Government has established a number of special banks each devoting its attention to certain aspects of development. Each of these banks is supplied with capital by Government, and with this capital it maintains a staff to make all the preliminary enquiries regarding developments which are envisaged, to prepare the plans and specifications for the buildings and plants required, and to supervise the placing of contracts and the erection of plant and to supply working capital. Each factory has its own management, which is, however, very closely controlled by the bank. Orders are as a rule placed through the controlling bank and payments are also made by it. The first bank of this kind to be established was the Sumer Bank, which, as I have already mentioned, absorbed an earlier Government foundation which had taken over control of certain Government-owned factories. The Sumer Bank is charged with the control of general industrial development, while the Eti Bank is responsible for mines and electrical development, and the Deniz Bank with the development of ports, shipping, salvage services, etc. On these banks has fallen the main burden of carrying through the first and second five-year plans, though certain factories, notably the sugar and glass industries, have been financed and managed by the Ish Bank, the only large Turkish private bank which, with its headquarters in Ankara, has a network of branches in all the principal towns of Turkey, as well as in Alexandria, Hamburg, and London. In Turkey

emphasis is laid on the fact that these five-year plans are not to be regarded in the nature of relief works designed to carry the country over a difficult crisis period, but as the main pillar supporting the new Turkey on the economic side. In deciding on the position of the various factories, it is not only economic considerations that have been reviewed. In some cases they have been erected in positions which appear to have comparatively little economic justification. Often, notably in the siting of the iron and steel plant at Karabuk, strategic considerations have outweighed all others, while another object has been to spread industrial development over the country and open up areas which, had economic considerations alone been heeded, would have remained backward and discontented. There is little doubt that in paying attention to considerations of this nature those responsible showed wise and enlightened statesmanship.

I will now set out the scope of the first and second five-year plans, giving such information as I can regarding the source of the plant required for the various factories, the source of their raw materials, and giving some idea of the extent to which the requirements of the country will be met by local production when the plants now in course of construction are completed. Before doing so, however, I ask that you will take particular notice of the fact that except in one very important instance this country does not appear among the suppliers of plant and machinery required for the execution of the first five-year plan. This is, no doubt, partly due to the absence until comparatively recently of facilities for export credit guarantees, but also in part to the lack of interest shown by British manufacturers in Turkey and the lack of appreciation in this country of the importance of the developments which were taking place there. Another factor which was not without influence in diverting orders to Germany was cultural. German industry maintained close touch with Turkey and gave extensive facilities for the technical education of Turks in Germany. The result is that almost all the technical staff responsible for producing plans and specifications for the new factories are German trained, and not unnaturally specify plant and products which they know and on which they have received their training. Furthermore, while they can talk German very few know any English, and they naturally prefer to deal with persons with whom they can negotiate direct instead of through intermediaries. I understand that the British Council has under consideration some plan whereby the technical education of young foreigners in this country can be facilitated, and I hope that it will be

possible to include Turks in their arrangements. And here I should like to pay tribute to the efforts of Sir Percy Loraine, who, while he has been our Ambassador in Turkey, has thoroughly grasped the commercial situation and has laboured unceasingly to interest the City of London and British industry in Turkey. His task has been a difficult one, he has met with many rebuffs and disappointments, but he has finally achieved his object, and the considerable orders which British industry has obtained from Turkey during the past few months can fairly be claimed as being to a large extent the rewards of his persistence.

The principal features of the first five-year plan are grouped under six heads—textiles, cellulose, ceramics, semi-coke and coal, iron and steel, and chemicals. Sugar is not actually included in the five-year plan, as it was already in an advanced state of development. It will be convenient now to take each of these heads in turn and see what has been done. In the textile industry, as we have already seen, the existing Government cotton mill at Bakirkoi has been extended and reorganized, three others, at Kaiseri, Eregli, and Nazilli, have been erected and are already in operation, while a fourth is under construction at Malatia and is due to commence operations at the end of this year. A factory for the production of woollen yarn has been erected and is in operation at Brusa. The largest of these mills is that at Kaiseri, which uses the shorter staple cotton grown in the Adana region and in the Smyrna hinterland, and manufactures principally the cheaper qualities of shirtings and other bazaar cloths. The Eregli and Nazilli mills use the longer staple locally grown cotton with a certain amount of imported cotton. They turn out better quality cloths, and at Nazilli, a good deal of printing is done. The Ministry of Agriculture is making great efforts to extend the local production of long staple cotton, and it is expected that Turkey will shortly be entirely self-supporting in all the grades of raw cotton required by both Government-owned and privately owned mills. The plant for Kaiseri and Nazilli mills is of Russian, and that for Bakirkoi, Eregli, and Malatia mills is of German origin. British industry did, however, manage to get the order for the supply of the printing machinery required at Nazilli. The woollen yarn mill at Brusa will use to some extent local wool, but will for the time being import also merino wool pending the production of a sufficient quantity in Turkey. The merino sheep has now been introduced into the country, and it is hoped that in a few years' time large quantities will be available locally. The

plant for Brusa is German, with the exception of a few odds and ends which are of British origin. Based on the average consumption of cotton yarn and cloth in Turkey in recent years, it is estimated that Turkey should now be in a position to manufacture locally somewhere about 80 per cent. of its requirements of cotton yarn and cloth, and almost all its requirements of woollen yarn and cloth, except for the finest qualities, which will still have to be imported.

Under the heading of cellulose there are the paper factory at Izmit, the cellulose factory at Izmit, and the artificial silk factory at Gemlik. In all these cases the plant and machinery are of German origin. Previous to the construction of the paper factory, Turkey imported about 20,000 tons of paper per annum. All kinds of paper are now being manufactured, and the output is almost sufficient to cover the requirements of the country. At present it has to rely largely on imported pulp for its raw materials, but the cellulose plant which is now under construction alongside it will be in a position to provide a considerable quantity. Turkey has abundant supplies of wood, though the forests have been neglected for generations, and it is only since the Republican régime began that any attention has been paid to them and replanting and proper exploitation taken in hand.

The artificial silk factory at Gemlik was opened in 1938 and is, for the time being, entirely dependent on imported raw materials, but it is hoped in due course to obtain cellulose, sulphuric acid, caustic soda, and chlorine from local plants. The products of these factories will, of course, compete to some extent with the real silk business which has been established for a very long time in and around Brusa. It is also intended to use its product for the production of mixed cotton and rayon cloth at Malatia.

The ceramic industry is represented by the glass works at Pasha Baghche on the eastern bank of the Bosphorus. Its plant is of French origin. The factory now manufactures bottles, glasses, and window glass. Supplies of sand are obtainable locally, but it is dependent entirely on foreign sources for its supplies of soda ash. Before the establishment of this industry Turkey imported about 10,000 tons of glass and glassware per annum, and these requirements are now almost entirely provided for by the Pasha Baghche factory.

I have already referred to the establishment of the sugar industry. There are now four factories erected and in production—at Alpullu, Eski Shehr, Ushak, and Turhal. In every case the plant is of German origin.

The iron and steel plant now under erection at Karabuk is the only plant erected under the first five-year plan which is of British origin. It is greatly to the credit of the contractors, the Export Credits Department, and the British Embassy in Turkey that this contract was obtained for this country in the face of the keenest conceivable German competition. In view of the fact that the coal mines are situated on the Black Sea coast and that for some time at any rate a good deal of the pig-iron will have to be imported, the most favourable economic site for the works would have been on the coast close to the mines, but Government decided against that site for strategic reasons, and an inland site not far from the coal mines has been decided on.

The manufacture of semi-coke at Zunghuldak serves two objects—it gives employment at the mines, which are now almost entirely under Government control, the French company which controlled the largest of these enterprises having been bought out by the Government in 1936, but much more important is the part which it plays in assisting the development of the forests by providing a suitable fuel to be used instead of wood. Wood has been for generations the principal source of heat for house warming and for cooking, and as a result the forest resources had been seriously depleted. A vigorous selling campaign is in progress in the attempt to displace wood by semi-coke and enable Government to reserve the supplies of wood for other more useful purposes. The semi-coke plant is of German origin.

For the chemical industry two factories are to be erected—one, on which work has already begun, will be at Izmit and will produce caustic soda and chlorine, and the other, on which work has not yet begun, will produce superphosphate and sulphuric acid, and will, I understand, probably be erected at Chatalagzi on the Black Sea. Germany is supplying the plant for both of these establishments.

The exploitation of the copper deposits at Ergani was an important feature of the first five-year plan. Work could not begin on a serious scale until the railway reached the mine in 1937, but it is expected that the production stage will be reached very shortly.

I have now given you the main outlines of the first five-year plan. There is now in operation a second five-year plan, whose object is principally the development of mineral resources, electricity, ports, harbours, and shipping, and it is satisfactory to note that in this second plan Great Britain is playing a much more prominent part. Sir Alexander Gibb is acting as consultant in the matter of harbour development, a British firm has been appointed as consulting engineers in

connection with the development of the copper mines at Morgul, while substantial orders have been placed in this country for ships and railway engines, and I am informed that British firms are likely to get orders for the bulk of the machinery required for the various mines which are to be developed.

Development on this huge scale has obviously entailed very large financial commitments, and it is surprising that the Turkish Government has been able to raise the money required and still balance its Budget without resort to foreign loans. The Turks take great pride in their having been able to avoid foreign loans; but, although they have not actually gone to foreign countries and floated loans in the market, they have financed the capital cost of their plants very largely by means of long-term credits which amount to much the same thing. In 1934 Turkey arranged a credit of \$8,000,000 in Russia, repayable without interest in twenty years. This was partly used in the purchase of plant for two cotton mills. Similarly, in 1930 a loan of \$10,000,000 was received from an American corporation in return for the matches monopoly, while credits have more recently been opened in England and Germany and many plants have been purchased on long-term credits. Government has also been able to make use of the savings of the Turkish people. In the old days there was no incentive to save and very little money to save. The Republican Government and the banks have, during recent years, made great efforts to encourage savings, with the result that deposits in the foreign and the local banks have risen between 1920 and 1935 from £T1½ millions to £T72 millions, and the number of depositors from 1,800 to 158,000. Even so the burden is a heavy one, internal taxation is high and oppressive, and the cost of living bears hardly on the people. But still, the Turk is definitely better off than he was in the old days, and he lives in the hope that when the factories now coming into production begin to pay their way it will be possible to reduce prices or taxation and that he will then benefit from the hardships he now has to endure.

With this remarkable development of industry there has recently been brought into force legislation dealing with conditions of labour. Strikes and lockouts are now illegal and settlement of disputes by arbitration is compulsory. The regulations cover the hours of work, the payment for overtime, and the employment of women and children. Legislation of this nature has never before existed in Turkey.

The Turkey of to-day is far from being the Turkey of the Ottoman Empire and of the popular story books. The country is fully launched

on a policy of industrial and agricultural development, which has reached a stage at which there can be no going back without the most disastrous results. Hitherto the driving force has come from Ataturk, whose clear-seeing mind knew exactly what his object was and by what road it was to be obtained. Furthermore, he had the unquestioning devotion of his fellow-countrymen, who were prepared one and all to follow his lead and give him their full support. It is this more than anything else that had made this rapid development possible. His principal assistants have played their parts nobly, but there has not been much time to train staffs and to establish a sound industrial and commercial tradition. Those who will now have to carry on the work are not all Ataturks, do not all possess his singleness of purpose, and cannot all carry with them that devotion which can make the people grin and bear the hardships of heavy taxation and high prices. Great care will now be needed to ensure that the work begun by Ataturk is carried through to a successful conclusion. Above all, for such success Turkey needs lasting peace, and the realization of this fact makes the Turkey of to-day a firm ally of this country in any steps which will help to produce in Europe a state of affairs in which trade and industry can flourish in an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity.

A hot discussion followed on this paper, which was given at a members' meeting, Brigadier-General Sir Osborne Mance in the Chair.

REPORT OF A DISCUSSION ON THE PALESTINE PROPOSALS

Report of a discussion on the Palestine Proposals, held at the Royal Society's Hall on Wednesday, April 5, 1939, at 5.15 p.m., Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair.

MAJOR-GENERAL H. ROWAN-ROBINSON: It is my privilege to open the debate, and I propose to do it in this way: I shall refer, to begin with, to the work of the Conferences, and then I shall read out what are supposed to be the Government proposals at the end.

I would like to preface my remarks by saying two things: one, that I am pro-Arab by study and belief, but that I am voicing in no way the opinions of the Arabs nor do I represent them in any way; secondly, that though I am strongly opposed to political Zionism, I have a great admiration for the work done by the Jews in Palestine and I do not feel that a successful future for Palestine is possible without their aid.

The trouble between Jew and Arab, as you know, has ranged very largely over the two questions of the MacMahon Correspondence and the Balfour Declaration. A Committee was appointed by the Government to go into the matter of the MacMahon Correspondence with the Arab delegates, and the proceedings of the conference have been reproduced in a White Paper issued by the Government during the last month. Those of you who have not got it should get it, I suggest, because it is of particular interest.

I turn first to the matter of the MacMahon pledges, which have been so much discussed of late. I am not going to describe them because we have not got a map here that is really suitable to illustrate the various theories, but I would suggest to the audience that they should get another White Paper issued by the Government, also last month, which gives the details of the correspondence in accurate translations of all the letters, and which has a most excellent map from which you can make your own judgments in the matter. I feel quite sure that anyone who reads that correspondence and studies that map will come to exactly the same conclusion as I did—namely, that the British Government made a definite promise to the Arabs of eventual sovereignty in Palestine. Of course, that point has been much debated,

and the White Paper will show you the two cases placed side by side. In it, that for the Arabs is greatly strengthened by juxtaposition with the weak case presented by the Government.

Lord Grey, as Foreign Secretary, was responsible for the MacMahon pledges, and he was much upset when he heard of the Balfour Declaration. I will read you that Declaration: "H.M. Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

There are three points specially to remark about the Balfour Declaration. The first is that the word "national home" has never been defined and none of us knows what it means. The second is that it refers to the Arabs as the non-Jewish population of Palestine. It would be almost as sensible to describe the British as the non-Jewish population of Britain. The third point is that there is to be no interference with the civil and religious rights of the population. Well, as the idea of the Balfour Declaration was to impose Jewish domination on Palestine, how could that be done without interference with the rights of the people when the Arab population numbered 93 per cent. to the Jewish 7 per cent.?

So it is one of the most astounding State documents that has ever been issued. Lord Grey, speaking on it in the House of Lords, said: "I am sure that we cannot redeem our honour by covering up our engagements and pretending there is no inconsistency, if there really is inconsistency. I am sure that the most honourable course will be to let it be known what the engagements are, and if there is inconsistency then to admit it frankly."

The Government did not take that excellent advice. They concealed the MacMahon Correspondence for the next twenty years. They have only just published it in the last month or so.

I will just run through a few statements in confirmation of my view of the intention and sanctity of the MacMahon pledges. The first is contained in what is known as the "Declaration to the Seven": "It is the wish and desire of H.M. Government that the future government of these regions should be based upon the principle of the consent of the governed, and this policy has and will continue to have the support of H.M. Government." That, I think, is extraordinarily clear.

I now turn to Allenby's Declaration in October, 1918. The British at that time had been persuading Arabs to desert from Turkish ranks and had been enlisting Arab prisoners of war to serve with Feisal's army. You may be quite sure that the bait that they offered those people to desert—which was a very dangerous thing—was not Jewish domination in their native land.

This is Allenby's Declaration: "I reminded the Emir Feisal that the Allies were in honour bound to endeavour to reach a settlement in accordance with the wishes of the peoples concerned, and urged him to place his trust whole-heartedly in their good faith"—*i.e.*, the good faith of the Allies. On that comment is also needless.

Finally, I mention the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918. "The object aimed at by France and Great Britain in the East in prosecuting this war is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of National Governments and administrations deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations."

That seems to me to be a series of unquestionable affirmations of the fact that we eventually intended to give sovereignty to the Arabs in Palestine. Nevertheless, our Committee were not convinced by them, and came away without reaching a satisfactory agreement with the Arab delegates.

It would seem at first sight, as the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, the greatest legal expert in the country, was the President of our Committee, that its failure to agree with the contentions of the Arabs was a strong point against the latter. But if you turn to page 4 of the White Paper you will find that there was no real legal authority behind our Committee, because the Lord Chancellor definitely said at the beginning of the Conference that he was not there in any judicial capacity, but "with the sole function of expounding and advocating the views of the Government." As, therefore, he was appearing as an advocate of views which the Government had held contrary to the general aspirations of the Arabs for the last twenty years, it can be seen that the opinion of the Committee was far from being of serious importance.

I now turn to another aspect of the case, which is that the Arabs believe the mandatory and the mandate to rest on no proper foundation. They base their view on two articles in the Covenant of the League:

Article XXII.: "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 mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone."

That seems to me to put Palestine and Iraq exactly on the same footing. Yet the Arabs are still fighting for an independence which Iraq has enjoyed for the last seven years. The article goes on to say: "The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory."

Actually, we did not ask the Arabs whether they wanted us or not, and when the mandate was prepared we did not consult them in any way. It was drawn up mainly by the Zionists—that is, by a party representing 7 per cent. of the population of Palestine.

Article XX.: "The members of the League agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and if a member of the League has undertaken any such obligations, it shall be his duty to take steps to procure his release from these obligations."

It is clear from the former Article that, if you recognize communities as independent nations, you cannot force an alien domination on them against a large majority of the population. Therefore, as mandatory, we should have demanded release from the Balfour Declaration.

Those are all the documentary points that I am producing. But the main justification of the demands of the Arabs is that they are the natives of the country; up to a percentage of 93 they were the occupiers and owners of the land, and they naturally object to being put out of it.

I am now just going to read over the proposals submitted to the Arab and Jewish delegations. They envisaged the eventual creation of an independent Palestinian State. That is a very important matter and a great move forward.

But it is qualified by the statement that independence was to come only after a transition period, the length of which would depend on the extent and success of Arab and Jewish collaboration in the next few years. The Palestinian State would then be linked by treaty with Great Britain and would have a National Assembly and a federal system based on separate Jewish and Arab counties with agreed safeguards for the National Home.

During the transition period there would be three constitutional

stages. In the first stage, advisory and executive councils would be set up. In the advisory council, the Palestinian representatives would out-number the British, while in the executive councils the numbers would be equal. The High Commissioner would have the right of veto.

During the next period there would be a legislative council with Arab and Jewish members elected in proportion to population, and certain Government committees would be controlled by Palestinians.

Finally, the third stage would see the gradual development of this process until the Government was in effect in the hands of the Palestinians.

During the next five years Jewish immigration would be governed by economic capacity and would in any case not exceed a total of 75,000. Immigration quotas would be fixed after consultation between the administration, the Jews and the Arabs. Thereafter, during the remainder of the transition period, immigration would be permitted by agreement between the three parties, and the High Commissioner would be empowered to regulate land purchases by the Jews and to demarcate the areas in which such purchases would be permitted, restricted, or prohibited.

Those are the proposals, and I must qualify them by reading you this: "These proposals were submitted by H.M. Government on March 15th to the Arab and Jewish delegations. They were put verbally at formal meetings separately to Arabs and Jews. It was stated that they were open to discussion but not major alterations as regards their main principles; but, if they were not accepted as a basis for settlement and the British Government were therefore compelled to make a unilateral statement of policy, that statement would not necessarily be the same."

That is an interesting statement of policy and a tremendous advance on anything we have had. I have only one objection to it, and that is the objection which the Arabs, I think, have made—*i.e.*, to the transitional period not being given an exact limit. I understand that the Jews refused the proposals *in toto* and that the Arabs accepted them with the exception of the particular clause that I mentioned. The Government, it is believed, are now preparing a White Paper in which they will give their decision.

I am a little anxious about one thing, and that is that the moment these proposals appeared I saw in the paper that Mr. Kennedy, the American Ambassador, visited Mr. Chamberlain. It immediately

occurred to me that already the five million Jews in America were getting busy, all Zionists.

On the next day in the House, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald was asked certain questions on the subject. He replied rather evasively and did not seem nearly so happy as he had been when speaking earlier. He said that these proposals were in no way final, that the Press had rather mixed them up, and so on. Personally I have the greatest confidence in Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, but I do feel that a tremendous pressure is probably being brought to bear on the Government to reverse this decision of giving the eventual sovereignty to the Arabs.

I am sure we all rejoice in friendship with America, and I am sure that in this difficult stage the world is in we would be delighted to feel that they were on our side and that the Jews were on our side, too, throughout the world.

But I do very much feel also that there is no end, however desirable, for which we can barter British honour, and I do feel British honour is very deeply engaged in this matter we are discussing to-day.

Mr. BAKSTANSKY: As I am the first to take part in this discussion, let me begin by saying how much, I feel sure, the whole of this gathering is indebted to the speaker for his able outline of what, he said himself, I think very properly, was the Arab case.

I was, however, a little surprised at his astonishment that the five million American Jews are hostile to the Government's proposals. What did he expect them to do? To receive the news of what they regard as the betrayal of their people calmly, without any murmur or protest?

I want to put before you briefly and frankly the Zionist case. I hope you will forgive me if I do not dwell at too great length on the MacMahon Correspondence, primarily because I have been several times to meetings of this Society at which the question has been discussed at great length. There has now appeared a White Paper, the result of the deliberations of a committee upon which the Jews were not represented. That matter has been gone into very thoroughly. It is true that for twenty years this correspondence was not published, but now it is public property.

Whilst the United Kingdom delegation expressed an opinion and came to a certain conclusion in regard to the words used in the "specific reservation" of the MacMahon Correspondence, it states quite emphatically that on the basis of the general reservation Palestine was in fact excluded from the war pledges to the Arabs. That

was the purpose for which this committee had been appointed—to study the MacMahon Correspondence and report thereon—and its verdict is clear: that Palestine was not promised to the Arabs.

I could quote statements of leading British statesmen and every British Colonial Secretary since the Balfour Declaration, all of whom adhere to the same view that Palestine was excluded. There is a great deal of evidence to show that the Arab negotiators at the time of the MacMahon Correspondence and those who appeared on behalf of the Arabs at the Peace Conference, and especially the late King Feisal, did not understand that Palestine was to have been included in the zone of territories promised by Sir Henry MacMahon to the Arabs.

I am satisfied that the case for which we have stood for twenty years has now been vindicated by the Report of a Committee on which we were not represented.

I should now like to outline the Jewish point of view in regard to the Government proposals.

It has been suggested in some organs of the Press that the Zionists appeared at the recent Conference as extremists. I am sure the sympathy of everyone in this audience will go out to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in the difficult task which he has had to deal with, but is it true that the Zionists appeared at the Conference as extremists? Our point of view can be summarized more or less as follows: we said to the Government that we are prepared to consider almost any solution which is proposed subject mainly to two conditions which we regard as basic and which we hope may be regarded by British public opinion as not unreasonable. Firstly, that the principle of mutual non-domination shall be upheld—*i.e.*, that neither the Jews nor the Arabs shall dominate each other in Palestine. Secondly, non-crystallization—*i.e.*, that it should not be sought to impose artificial restrictions on further Jewish development in Palestine.

If I may say so, I am delighted to see in this gathering the Vice-Chairman of the Royal Commission on Palestine. If he takes part in the discussion I hope he will correct me if I am wrong when I suggest that those two principles are not irreconcilable with the verdict of the Royal Commission.

On the Jewish side, the Royal Commission found that it was the primary object of the mandate to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish national home. They also said that the Jews at the time of the Declaration were given encouragement for the belief that the promise related to the whole of historic Palestine. On the economic

side they were satisfied that Jewish work in Palestine resulted in a considerable improvement in the standard of life of the whole population.

They also dealt very sympathetically with the Arab case, and came finally to the conclusion that they had been confronted with a conflict arising out of two rights, and it was on that basis that they came to their recommendation for the partition of Palestine.

I would submit to this gathering that the Government proposals to the Palestine Conferences violate both of the principles to which I have alluded. They do not provide for mutual non-domination, but they ensure that in the future the Arabs shall dominate in Palestine. The proposals also seek to curtail and, in the near future, crystallize the Jewish National Home. We believe that there are really only two alternatives in regard to Palestine. Either you are going to adhere to the mandate in spite of all that has happened, and you will acknowledge that the mandate is workable, as we think it is; that you are going to regulate immigration by the economic absorptive capacity principle, but that you are going to meet the fear of domination by saying that irrespective of numbers, either present or future, the political system in Palestine should be such as will prevent either Jews or Arabs from dominating each other.

That would be the best solution. But if the Government feel that the mandate is unworkable, then the Government ought to return to the analysis and to the constructive thought of that British impartial and authoritative Commission, the Peel Royal Commission.

Mr. GEORGE MANSUR: Let me thank the two speakers for giving our case. Both of them have dealt enough with the MacMahon Correspondence.

I say personally that our case does not entirely rest on the MacMahon Correspondence, but on our natural right to remain undisturbed in our own country. You do not like to be disturbed in your own countries, and all of you are now standing firm because every week nations are being disturbed in their countries. You want to fight for their liberty and freedom although your independence is not being threatened. In our country we fight for our liberty and freedom too.

The MacMahon Correspondence has taken place between Arabs and British. The Jews were not a party in this treaty.

As far as America is concerned, we would tell the British public, "Give the mandate to America and we will settle our affairs there." If America is keenly interested, let her take the mandate over and treat the Jews in the way she thinks fit.

A further point I would like to make. If the British Government could not with might force its policy on Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues, how would it be possible for the Arabs to seek co-operation with the Jews, who are all the time crying and shouting for a Jewish State in Palestine? They want Palestine for themselves, and we want Palestine for our people and for our future generations. Therefore do you imagine that there is a possibility of co-operation on such lines? It is an impossibility.

The British Government must either be for justice or injustice. It must either follow up the mandate, which has been worked out and made solely between the British and the Jews—the Arabs never being consulted—or if it finds that our demands are right and just, it should call the bluff of the Jews and say, “You have no right in the country. We have given you the Balfour Declaration, but if you want to enforce it according to its spirit and principle, you will find that it is like the pound of flesh of the Merchant of Venice. The country is the blood. You can take only the flesh but no blood. If there is any possibility of taking away flesh without blood, then do it.”

But this country is the life of the people of Palestine. They will suggest we Arabs can go here and there. If they, who are living miles and miles away, claim our country for themselves, why should not we Arabs of Palestine stick to our own country and defend our own existence?

If the British Government for the sake of Imperial interests did give that Balfour Declaration in order to secure the support of the Jews, and now is sending troops over to the country to quell and suppress the Arab revolt, if the Jews are justified in what they are doing, why should not we Arabs be justified in defending our homes and existence? You love your country. We love our country too.

Mr. ANTHONY CROSSLEY: This morning as I went to the House of Commons the first person I met was Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. I said to him that it was hard luck that the first person he should meet after his illness should be an Arab. At any rate, I am here as Secretary of the Palestine Arab Committee of the House of Commons. I want to make two comments only in answer to the last speaker about the MacMahon Letters. The first is, I would like everybody to read the agreed translation in the White Paper. They would then form a judgment, and it is their right to do so. But I trust their judgment when they have read this paper.

The other, and I think I can say this on behalf of the Palestine

Delegation, all we want of those documents is that they should be submitted to a judicial body of this country—to, for example, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. If they were submitted to such a judicial body I believe they would accept its decision.

I really got up because I wanted to tell you something of the great difficulties which we in Parliament have to meet in trying to help the Arab case. All the guns are on the other side. The Back Benches of the Conservative Party are full of ex-Privy Councillors with biased records on this particular controversy. Colonial Secretaries, Mr. Winston Churchill—they are all to a man strongly in favour of the Zionists.

Again, the newspapers are, most of them, actually under the influence of the Zionist side. *The Times* recently refused to print a letter by the late Chief Justice of Palestine, Sir Michael McDonnell. . . . Most of the leaders of the Opposition Party and many of our own members have large numbers of Jewish constituents; and so with the leader of the Opposition Liberal Party—many of his party are Jewish.

However, you may be pleased to know that our Committee is steadily growing in Parliament. It is steadily becoming more powerful, and I believe it has had not a little influence during the negotiations of the last month or two.

I would like to suggest two possible ways out of the deadlock which has been reached. Between the English and the Arabs it very nearly was not a deadlock. Of course, whatever the last speaker said, fundamentally the Jews objected to these Conferences, not because they were not able to sit there but because they objected to the terms of reference of the Conferences themselves. But very nearly it succeeded as between the English and the Arabs.

It broke down really on one point. It is perfectly true that two or three points of difference were set out in the official Arab answer, but really it broke down on one point. They said, "Give us a definite period." They would be willing to compromise on the length of that period. They would be willing to compromise on the stages that led up to the final period. But what they did want was that on such and such a date in the future they should know they were going to have an independent State. They would be willing, I believe, to agree even to the present proposed figures of immigration if they could get that date. That is where they have broken with the Government.

But there is another way out, and it has been in the minds of some

of the other Arab delegations which have been at the Conference. There is the possibility that the English Government might lay its hands on its heart and say, "We intend that there shall be an independent Arab State, and that Jewish non-co-operation shall not be a main reason for the refusal of that State. We cannot give a definite date now, but we promise that in five years' time another Conference shall be held to review the progress made towards the State and to fix a date then."

That is, I believe, a possible way out of this deadlock to-day. I do not put it at more than that.

Mr. ZISSU: I hope you will permit me to say how interested I was in the Arab speaker. Sincere words like that coming from the heart might perhaps lead to a better understanding than the more dogmatic arguments which one has heard.

When I came here to-day I was not so much expecting a political argument. I was expecting something more in the nature of an examination of the facts and of the country, a country which many of us know so well.

There are in the Palestine problem three factors. The first one, I should have thought, would be the British factor. When I saw the name of the first speaker I did expect that factor to be brought out very fully; I was rather afraid I might not qualify to put either the Arab or Jewish case, because I have always represented neither one nor claimed to represent the other, but rather a territory—a territory which, I am sorry to say, is not very well shown even on these maps.

The Palestine problem is being discussed at length, perhaps too much so, but only half of Palestine has ever been taken into consideration. When we speak generally of Palestine we have this in mind (pointing to map). Palestine goes very much further. The territory that goes below that shown on the map is called usually the Negeb. It has a far history which has been entirely forgotten. It was taken out of oblivion by a very distinguished member of our Society, Colonel Newcombe, who has done more than anybody to enhance knowledge of the geography of Palestine. It was then characteristically well administered by another member of our Council, Major Jarvis, who was Governor of the Province next door. For the last few years it has been nursed by the youngest and most unworthy member of this Society.

The problems in Palestine have always been bound up with the conquest of land. The Arabs have the land and do not want to give it up. The Jews have perhaps a right, perhaps not—I think they have—

to acquire land, but at any rate in half the country, and that half is the southern half, any land is free there since no inhabitants exist. Therefore no problems in connection with inhabitants arise there. Perhaps a solution might lie in that part of Palestine. The case has been put very well by Major Jarvis why the country could be opened up again, and I think there could be no possible objection to a successful reclamation being carried out in that part of the world which should afford possibility for immigrants to find a large new home without disturbing anybody, in this country which now is derelict and deserted. Also by this opening up of the country the neighbouring countries and regions would be benefited, and, I think, the Empire.

MISS NIXON: One thing I would like to say with regard to the last speaker. My work in Palestine last year took me down into the Negeb. I was doing some relief work down there. I was speaking to the Sheikhs of the tribes whose belongings had been pretty well destroyed by the great flood. I said, "Supposing you had a land where there was not too much water and not too much sun, and where you would have two crops a year, would it not be beautiful?" They said it would be like heaven.

I said, "Supposing somebody said to you, you could go into that beautiful land and leave your land here?" The Sheikhs veiled their eyes and answered in one sentence, "Unto every man his own land is like unto Damascus."

A MEMBER: Those Sheikhs, how much time do they spend in the Negeb in a cycle of fifteen years?

MISS NIXON: He had been there for over fifty years.

A MEMBER: They always travel round.

MR. EBAN: Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank you very cordially for your courtesy in asking a non-member to address this meeting.

The lecturer in the course of his remarks spoke of the honour of this country being involved in the settlement envisaged for Palestine; and I think this meeting might very well spend a few minutes considering the relative equity of the Arab and Jewish positions.

I think that one contrast ought to present itself to the mind of any audience, and that is the contrast between the landlessness of the Jewish people and the vast territory potentialities at the disposal of the Arab world. That factor becomes more relevant when we consider that the same Peace Settlement which gave the Jews the Balfour Declaration liberated vast territories from the Turkish autocracy and made them available as sovereign Arab States. Have the Allied nations a right to

pour out their man-power for Arab liberation and no right to demand from the Arabs that they make available one tiny corner for the settlement of Jewish landlessness?

Mr. George Antonius has a very crucial phrase. He says that Jewish development cannot proceed without "the dispossession of the Arab population." He concedes that Zionist aspirations in themselves are generous, and that it would be an act of cruelty to disappoint them if they could be furthered without dispossessing the Arabs. Our reply is that Zionist development involves no such dispossession, and hence there is no warrant for this act of cruelty.

People spoke earlier on about the Arab giving up his country, and the phrase has a very primitive appeal. But presumably the statistical results of dispossession ought to be a decrease and not an increase of the Arab population of Palestine. In fact, we have noticed a spectacular Arab increase only in areas of Jewish colonization, and we are forced to say that dispossession is scarcely a fair description of this process of Arab increase. I think that point becomes relevant if we consider the future from the general Arab point of view. We insist, as we have always insisted, upon the thesis that objectively there is no conflict between the interests of the Arab people as a whole and the Jewish people in Palestine.

Whether the Arab thinks of his future in terms of a widespread Arab Federation, whether he thinks of a closely linked alliance of sovereign States, whether he thinks of a developing agriculture or a rising industrialism, in any of these concepts we claim that the Jewish interest can be so adapted as to make the Jewish contribution beneficial to the whole of the Arab world.

This is our appeal to the Arabs: "Fundamentally you can only take up two alternative attitudes towards the Jewish national home. The first is to engage in mortal combat to thwart its development. That is the method which has so far been used exclusively. Is that in your interest? What does that bring you except impoverishment and the arresting of hopeful development? It merely stimulates the national home to strike out into thirty new places of settlement and to extend its economic interest still further.

"The other alternative is that of co-operation with the national home and seeing what advantage can be derived from it from your own point of view. We recommend that the approach of co-operation be tried, because there is no limit to the results which Jewish and Arab initiative can jointly achieve."

Mr. PILKINGTON: Unlike almost every other speaker, with one exception, I came here neither pro-Jew nor pro-Arab. I have a great admiration for both races. I believe both races have given great gifts to the world in the past, and I believe and hope that they will do the same in the future. I think the rebirth of these two races after the war was one of the great historical facts of our time, and we were privileged to be in some measure instrumental at that rebirth.

I am not going to dwell very much upon the MacMahon Correspondence. Colonel Newcombe said that we had to keep the promises that we then made. But the fact is that we made conflicting promises at that time, and to-day it is more important to view the situation as a whole, as it exists to-day, and to try and find a solution which will fit into the facts as they now are.

It seems to me that the most important fact with which we have got to deal is this fact of nationalism. Nationalism is to-day the most important political force, and here you have got these two races, reborn after the war, both driven by this nationalist impulse. We have tried for some twenty years to make those two races live together in amity and friendship in the small land of Palestine, and we have failed.

We sent out the Peel Commission. The Peel Report, reviewing past history and facts, said that it was impossible to carry on on the old method of these last twenty years.

We then sent out the Woodhead Commission, and they reported that no particular form of partition was practicable according to their terms of reference, which ruled out substantial minorities.

Now I am very briefly going to suggest a solution which I have mentioned before in this Society when I was called on once, quite unprepared, by Lord Lloyd. Briefly it is this: I believe that, if you give thought to this force of nationalism, you are driven to the conclusion that only by some form of partition are you going to get a lasting settlement in Palestine. The type of partition I would suggest is this.

I would give to the Jewish State the Maritime Plain, which the Jews already densely populate. I would give them also all Southern Palestine. The advantage of that is that you then give to the Jews ample space; you give them a land where they can use their drive and their initiative; you put them in a State which has natural boundaries round it—the sea, the Carmel Ridge, the Dead Sea, and Wadi Araba, and on the south-west corner Egypt. Also, you give them access to Jerusalem from the south. I rather agree with the Jewish point of view—what is the good of Zionism without Zion?

What about the Arab point of view? You give the Arabs a compact mass of territory, including Galilee, joined to all the other Arabian lands in Syria and Transjordan on the east, and you take away from the Arab State this Jewish element, which, it seems to me, in any creation of the future will be a tremendous handicap in any Arab State that you possibly may create.

There are two great obstacles to this solution, and they are these. First of all, you are putting a large minority of the other race into each of these two States. But if you are going to have a minority at all it is better to have a minority in each State, so that you can effect an exchange. And I believe it is possible to effect an exchange if it is set about with sympathy but with strength.

The second great drawback to this scheme is the question of the infertility of the Negeb. But it seems to me that if the Negeb is going to yield any fruitfulness at all, it is going to do it owing to Jewish drive and initiative. After all, think of Tel Aviv; it was a sand dune before the Jews came there. It seems to me a great deal more could be made out of the Negeb by more wells, flooding, and dry-farming.

Unless you recognize the basic principle of nationalism you are not going to get any solution which will have any chance of being enduring.

Mr. PHILBY: I think Sir Percy Sykes must have been keeping me till near the end in the hope that most of you would have gone away before I had occasion to make my remarks.

I am rather glad of that, for the last speaker but one has given me the right cue. He said the only way you must treat the Arabs is to engage them in mortal combat. Who is coming to whose country? Have the Arabs gone into the Jews' country, or did the Jews come into the Arabs' country, not to turn them out but to build a home of their own in it?

Don't you remember that, when Joshua crossed the Jordan to go into Palestine, he had orders from on high to smite the Philistines? May I suggest that that is to some extent what the Jewish immigration to-day into Palestine means? I am rather surprised that nobody has mentioned that this afternoon.

Major Rowan Robinson in his statement of the case did not bring to your notice the most important fact—the fact that the Arabs are to-day engaged in fighting not the Jews but the great British Government. Why? They rose against the great British Government because they were dissatisfied with the policy they were pursuing in their own country. Then the British Government had to consider the matter

seriously and called these Conferences, and after a certain passage of time and arguments about it, the British Government put forward certain proposals. The Arabs have rejected those proposals and are continuing fighting, because they know that, if they do not continue fighting, they will not get anything better. Colonel Newcombe suggested that something better is in pickle for them.

We have come here to consider the Palestine proposal. I would remind you it is nearly three weeks since the Conference broke up without achieving any result. It was called off as a failure. The British Government had announced that if the Conference failed they would, on the following Tuesday, produce their proposals and impose them. Three weeks have passed, and they have not imposed their proposals nor even produced them, and we do not know what they are. I must say General Rowan Robinson made a very good effort to discuss them, but he does not know any more than I do or you do what those proposals are, so we are really only beating about the bush.

However, I want to go to the very root of the matter. For twenty years the British Government has deliberately refused to publish the text of their promises made to the Arabs, who were represented by King Husain. Now—forced by the present situation, by the Arabs rising in revolt—they have produced them, and they have attempted to come to some sort of agreement with the Arabs as to what they meant. They failed to come to an agreement. That was inevitable, because the British Government maintained that on a proper construction of the correspondence Palestine was, in fact, excluded. That is an absurd contention. The whole force of the British Government is behind that contention. I say it is absolutely ridiculous and it is wrong.

It is a question of right or wrong. I ask you, is there no way of resolving it? There is. Let us go to the courts about it. The British Government says, "No. I am going to be judge in my own case; and you can fight or not as you like. We will shoot you down." What right has the British Government to shoot down the Arabs, who are fighting for their rights? I wonder if anybody here can tell me who said that? It was said only a week ago by Mr. Hitler.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to put to you one very important point. We have got to realize that there is a lot of mud-slinging going on in the world and it is up to us to keep our escutcheon very clean. Palestine is one of the biggest blots on our escutcheon. For twenty years we have made a mess of it, and now when the whole thing is

before us on the table we refuse to settle the matter on the basis of right. And the Arabs are in a quandary. They must go on fighting; there is no other way of getting anything like their rights.

It is their own home, remember. We have a right to prevent the Jews coming to England. We have a right to prevent any foreigners coming to England. Are the Arabs to be the only people in the world to be deprived of that very natural right?

I want to make one constructive proposal. This problem of Palestine is incapable of solution, absolutely incapable of solution, except on one basis, and that is that the Jews should come to an agreement with the Arabs. The British can do nothing, and the Jews without agreement with the Arabs can do nothing. We shall simply have to go on fighting and laying ourselves open to this horrible charge of injustice and breach of promise. Let us try to be constructive and make it clear to the Jews that if they do not want to come to an agreement with the Arabs we are not going to help them to go to Palestine. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am not going to wind up the meeting with a speech, but there are two points I should like to mention. I am pro-Arab and I am pro-Jew, so I have no feeling one way or the other.

The two points that have struck me are, in the first place, when the Arabs and the earlier Commissions came to court they had nobody in Parliament who could support them. There was one member, Mr. Crossley, I think, who did so. Now there are several members who have followed the case and are ready to speak and give the Arabs a square deal. I do not think before they had a square deal.

The second point is the Negeb scheme. Unless it can be proved that it is a paying proposition I do not think it is much use anyone going there, but I understand from Major Jarvis there are very few Arabs on this very large area, and surely if it were proved to be a possible agricultural country it might be possible to arrange matters there. I understand success turns on finding water.

The last word I would say is that Mr. Chamberlain, our great Prime Minister, when he addressed the delegates, said, "There is one word, and that word is Compromise, and that word I commend to both sides."

ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY IN EASTERN TURKISTAN, 1863-1881

By LOUIS E. FRECHTLING

THE history of the rivalry between England and Russia in Persia and Afghanistan during the nineteenth century is familiar to students of Central Asia. Beginning with the abortive Franco-Russian campaign planned by Napoleon and continued by Russia through the century to the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1907, the story of the friction between the two great Asiatic powers is now fairly complete. It is not generally known, however, that for a score of years the remote and isolated region of Eastern Turkistan was a field of contention between them.

The first move toward Eastern Turkistan came after the Crimean War. Prevented by the Allies from reaching the Straits, Russia turned to Asia as a region where conquests would be easier and where pressure might be applied on England through her most valuable possession, India. Campaigns were launched from the existing outposts in the Aral Sea region and in Siberia, and gradually the Tsarist legions closed in on the decadent khanates of Central Asia. Tashkent was occupied in 1865, and two years later Bukhara was humbled and Samarkand annexed. In 1873 Khiva was vanquished and in 1876 the submission of Kokand brought the Russians within striking distance of the passes leading southward through the Hindu Kush. Meanwhile the British were reaching out toward Central Asia from the south. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 had carried the British flag across the Indus and led to a new relationship with the Maharajah of Kashmir. When Lord Lytton governed India, the Khanate of Kalat was brought under British control and numerous acquisitions made along the North-West Frontier in the quest for a scientific boundary.

Within the contracting belt separating the two empires lay several other independent native states which inevitably constituted bones of contention between the two Powers. Afghanistan became embroiled, and after the wars of 1878-80 became a British protected state, acknowledged as such by Russia. The petty states in the Pamirs were absorbed by Russia after much international friction. Eastern Turk-

istan, freed from Chinese control after 1863, appeared destined to be drawn within the orbit of one of the Powers, but escaped through a set of peculiar and interesting circumstances.

Eastern Turkistan, or Sinkiang as it is known to the Chinese, had been a domain of the Manchu emperors since a methodical conquest in the first half of the eighteenth century. The area was divided into two provinces: Tien Shan Pe Lu, or the country north of the Tien Shan mountains, and the Tien Shan Nan Lu, the horseshoe-shaped Tarim River valley bordered by the Tien Shan on the north and west and the Kunlun range on the south. The capital of the former region was Kuldja* and of the latter Kashgar. The Manchu administration, although relatively just and economical, was hated by the indigenous population because of its heretical nature. The natives were largely Turks, divided into Tartars, Kirghiz, and Sarts, who had been converted to Islam by Arab missionaries in the eighth century. They embraced the faith fervently, and several times during the Chinese occupation they had attempted to revolt. When a serious rebellion flared up in 1863 the imperial forces were depleted and their supply lines cut by the Taiping rebellion, then raging in the central Chinese provinces, and by Tungan uprisings in Kansu and Shensi. Powerless against the rebels, the Chinese garrisons locked the doors of their citadels and blew themselves up. Although anarchy succeeded the firm Chinese rule, gradually two native states coalesced around the persons of two exceptional leaders.

In the Kuldja region the revolt was carried out by invading Tungans from the east and by the nomad Kirghiz. After disposing of the Chinese, they fell to fighting among themselves. This gave the native Muslim agriculturists, the Taranchis, an opportunity to rise and expel the intruders from the central part of their country and to set up a crude form of government under Sultan Abul Oglan. But there still remained many scattered bands of Kirghiz on the edges of the Ili River basin, who moved to and fro across the Russian border in repeated raids on traders and farmers.†

In the old Tien Shan Nan Lu, chaos existed for a longer time. Then from the direction of Kokand came a band of seventy men led by Buzurg Khan, one of the group of khodjas who were *soi-disant* descendants of the first caliphs of Islam and hereditary rulers of Turk-

* Also known as Ili. The Chinese name to-day is Wingyuan.

† E. Schuyler, *Turkestan: Notes of a Journey* (2 vols., London, 1876), II., 178-88.

istan since the fifteenth century. Buzurg's chief of staff was Yakub Beg, a Kokandi adventurer who had risen from low birth to a position of responsibility in the army of the Khan of Kokand. Yakub's military ability, combined with the religious prestige of the khodja, was responsible for a slow but steadily successful invasion by the Kokandi party. In 1863 the party reached the neighbourhood of Kashgar and enlisted the support of a large section of the people. In the following year the fortress of the city was taken, and then the victorious army moved on to take the other large town, Yarkand, in 1865. Displacing his superior in a bloodless *coup d'état*, Yakub assumed titular leadership and proceeded to complete the conquest of the province by subduing the towns as far east as Aksu, Kuchi, Urumchi, Manas, and Khotan.*

Receiving from the Amir of Bukhara the title of Atalik Ghazi,† Yakub consolidated his hold over Kashgar.‡ His rule was theocratic and puritanical in nature, resembling the politico-religious system of the early caliphates. Strict observance of the Koran was enforced.§ The state assumed control of commerce and attempted to restrict the dealings of Kashgaris with the outside world. The new state seemed to stand firm on a foundation of a common religion, a common xenophobia, and a resolute and able leadership, while freedom from intervention by the Chinese was guaranteed, for a time at least, by the domestic difficulties of the Manchu Empire.

* A reliable biography of this interesting character has yet to be written. Information on his life will be found in T. D. Forsyth, ed., *Report of a Mission to Yarkund in 1873* (Calcutta, 1875), 194-213; D. C. Boulger, *The Life of Yakoob Beg* (London, 1878); A. N. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria* (Calcutta, 1882), 159-87.

† *Atalik* means "father, chief," and *ghazi*, "warrior of holy war." Later Yakub took the title of Badaulet (Prosperous One), and still later was created an Amir by the Sultan of Turkey. Public Record Office, *Foreign Office Records* (hereafter cited as *F.O.*) 65/905, R. Michell, Memorandum on Eastern Turkestan, 1874, p. 5.

‡ The state was generally called by the name of its capital, Kashgar. It was also known as "the territory of Kashgar and Yarkand" (*British and Foreign State Papers*, LXV., 58, treaty with the British Government, 1874), or as Yarkand (Yarkund), the name of the largest town in the territory. Forsyth, *Report of a Mission to Yarkund*. The Russians preferred the Turki names of Altishar (the six cities) or Jettishar (the seven cities), referring to the principal centres in the Tarim River basin. M. A. Terentyef, *Russia and England in Central Asia* (2 vols., Calcutta, 1876), I., 257.

§ Kuropatkin observed that Yakub "acted as though he would turn the country into one vast monastery." *Kashgaria*, 39. See also India Office, Record Department, *Letters from the Government of India, Foreign Department* (hereafter cited as *G.I. Letters*), XLII., Northbrook to Salisbury, June 21, 1875, No. 22, secret; enclosure, Forsyth, confidential report on Kashgar, September 21, 1874.

The establishment of a new political entity at the crossroads of Central Asia was not officially recognized by England and Russia for about six years, but ultimately the apparent stability of the state and its geographical importance commanded *de jure* recognition from St. Petersburg and London. The Tsarist Government could not entirely ignore developments in Eastern Turkistan, for it had important interests in the transit trade to China, in the direct trade with the area, in the strategic importance of Kashgar as a neighbour of British India, and in the religious significance of a virile Muslim state on the border of Russian Turkistan, where the indigenous population was largely Muslim.

Since the days of the Romans, the fabulous products of the Orient were transported over the old "silk road" from the western cities of China across the deserts of Sin Kiang, passing to the south of the Tien Shan mountains, and continuing westward to the Caspian. In the nineteenth century camel caravans and wheeled carts were still using the silk road as one of the overland routes from Russia to China, and in addition a second was employed running to the north of the Tien Shan through the Ili valley.* The channels of trade with China through Central Asia were particularly valuable to Russia because they furnished the best means of maintaining commercial relations with the East.† The British, the French, and the Germans, possessing large merchant marines, could trade with numerous Chinese ports, but Russia was compelled to transport her imports and exports overland.‡ After 1850, the Government of Russia took an active part in developing land commerce with China and negotiated a series of treaties to facilitate trade. A treaty with the Chinese Empire in 1851 provided

* L. F. Kostenko, *The Turkistan Region* (3 vols., Simla, 1882), I., 59.

† In the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries Russian traders exchanged merchandise with the Chinese at Kiakhta on the Russo-Mongolian border. Then trade shifted to the Turkistan routes because (1) Russian caravans could go directly to markets in Southern China, (2) the roads were better, and (3) Russian railways and ship lines were first established in Russian Turkistan. R. Michell, *Report on the Overland Trade between Russia and China: Its Decline and Future Prospects*, 1-5, 48-50. (This memorandum, prepared in the India Office, Political and Secret Department, in 1871, is a concise survey of Asiatic land-borne trade based largely on Russian sources.)

‡ In *F.O. 65* there are numerous translations of articles appearing in Russian newspapers and magazines which were forwarded to the Foreign Office from St. Petersburg, or were prepared in the India Office and sent across the quadrangle. Some deal with the problem of Russian foreign trade and with the peculiar advantages of the Oriental market. See, for example, an article from the St. Petersburg *Invalide* in *F.O. 65/872*, R. Michell, Memorandum on Eastern Turkestan, March 25, 1870.

that merchandise was to pass the western border of China duty free, that Russian factories and a consulate could be established at Kuldja, and that the Chinese Government should provide protection for caravans.* A later convention authorized a Russian station at Kashgar on the same terms as the one at Kuldja.† When in 1869 it became impossible to insist that Russian goods should enter China duty free, the Tsar's minister at Peking secured the concession that merchandise brought overland to Tientsin would be taxed a third less than the general foreign duty.‡ Under these favourable treaty stipulations, thriving Muscovite traders carried textiles and hardware to the East and returned with tea and silk.§

Chinese concessions were of little value, however, when the overland routes were closed after 1863, first by the widespread rebellions in Western China and then by the obstructive tactics of the independent régimes in Kashgar and Kuldja. Commerce over the shortest and most profitable routes was virtually paralyzed, and traders were forced to use more devious roads or discontinue altogether. Statistics available for Russian exports to China show that while for the years 1854-66 the annual average value of exports was over 7,500,000 roubles, it had fallen to 4,700,000 in 1869 and continued to decline.|| The drop in imports was just as marked. Tea that had once come to Russia by the silk road now found its way by sea to India and by caravan across Afghanistan to Russian centres. Despite severe tariff discrimination practised by the Turkistan Government against tea carried through India or originating there, the trade in the fragrant bricks continued.¶ When the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, it became profitable for European shippers to bring tea from China to Black Sea ports, whence it was transported inland. By 1870 Russian overland trade to China had fallen to negligible proportions.**

* Sir E. Hertslet, *Treaties, etc., between Great Britain and China and between China and Foreign Powers* (2 vols, 3 ed., London, 1908), I., 449-54.

† Hertslet, *Treaties*, I., 455-61.

‡ *Ibid.*, 478-83.

§ In the year 1862 a total of 2,044 camels bearing 1,800,000 lb. of tea worth £82,500 passed through Kuldja, while the trade through Kashgar was even greater—perhaps ten to eighteen million pounds. Michell, *Report on Overland Trade*, 49.

|| *Ibid.*, 8-12.

¶ Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, 35; Michell, *Report on Overland Trade*, 48-50; "Russian Trade with India," *Calcutta Review*, LIII., part 2 (1871), 204-26.

** The Russian Government was so concerned with the decline of the tea trade that a mission under M. Sosnovski was sent overland to China in 1874 to investigate its causes and possible remedies. F.O. 65/901, Lord A. Loftus (Ambassador at St. Petersburg) to Derby, March 18, 1874, No. 135, confidential.

The influential commercial interests of Moscow who worked for the reopening of the transcontinental routes also bemoaned the decline of trade with Eastern Turkistan itself. Stories, undoubtedly exaggerated but slow in dying, of the large population and rich resources of Kashgar and Kuldja led to expectations of a lucrative trade with these regions. Cotton and valuable metals were reported to be produced in large quantities, and for these the merchants wanted to exchange manufactured articles. If the commercial domination of made-in-Moscow products was not established, they argued that the English would seize the opportunity. The aspirations of Russian business men may have been and probably were legitimate, but since they were often convenient agents for Russian political plans, their activities had more than a tinge of *la haute politique*.* If not officially inspired to penetrate the veil which hung over Eastern Turkistan, then at least the traders were not prevented from making their way into its lesser-known parts. In the decade after 1865, Tsarist troops annexed the Central Asian khanates so rapidly that the more sanguine officers confidently forecasted the conquest of Kashgar and Kuldja at an early date. And from those regions Russian troops could threaten India.†

The annexation of Kashgar was also desirable in order to eliminate an active, militaristic state which might easily become the focus of a mighty Pan-Islamic movement rising before and behind the thin line of soldiers holding the Russian frontier from the Amur River to the Caspian. Heretofore attempts to band together the Muslim khanates in Central Asia had proved abortive, but the possibility of a fanatical uprising haunted the dreams of Russian officers in Turkistan.‡

Motives more real and pressing than those which led to the conquest of the steppe area and the Uzbek khanates seemed to dictate a Russian advance upon Kashgar and Kuldja. One factor which made such a move dangerous was the opposition of England, whose interests in the area were substantial.

* "The Chief of the province of [Russian] Turkistan is empowered so to conduct the foreign diplomatic relations and to wield the military forces as to give security to trade and to identify the interests of the trading classes with wider political considerations." Michell, *Report on Overland Trade*, 52.

† Cf. Terentyef: In the Pamirs and Kashmir "Nature has left open for us a broad gate to India. These are the regions which the Russian explorers ought to examine and towards which the attention of the Russian Government ought to be directed . . . in view of the immense advantages which we should gain from a discovery of England's vulnerable point." *Russia and England*, II., 114.

‡ F.O. 181/488, Buchanan to Granville, May 24, 1871, No. 705, most confidential. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, 4-5.

In the realm of trade, merchants in India and even in London were much impressed with the economic possibilities of Eastern Turkistan. To develop trade, elaborate surveys were made by Government agents,* a trade commissioner was stationed at Leh in Ladakh in 1867 to promote commerce to the north,† a mercantile organization called the Central Asian Trading Co. was formed in 1873 under official inspiration,‡ and envoys were sent to Eastern Turkistan in 1868 and 1870 to investigate trade prospects and obtain the co-operation of local authorities. In general, the tone of the reports was far more hopeful than the facts justified. They exaggerated the size of the population, the natural wealth of the country, and the purchasing powers of the natives. The first Englishman to visit Kashgar, Mr. R. B. Shaw, spoke of the country as a "kind of Eldorado hitherto closed to Europeans."§ There was a tendency to minimize the difficulties which faced caravans travelling between Kashmir and Kashgar. The routes were mere paths which climbed dizzily over passes as high as 17,000 feet, crossed primitive bridges, and taxed the powers of men and beasts to the utmost. Nevertheless, the drive for trade on the far side of the Karakorum went steadily on, since British manufacturers needed new fields for exploitation.||

Commercial missions and merchants were also useful to the Government of India as sources of information on the topography of Turkistan, the political condition of its peoples, and the progress of the Russian armies. A colony of British Indians and a consul in Kashgar

* Long reports and tables of statistics on Central Asian trade, prepared by the Commissioner at Leh and the Agent at Kashgar are to be found in *G.I. Letters* from 1867 to 1881. See also R. H. Davies, "Report on the Trade of Central Asia," *Parliamentary Papers*, House of Commons Report, No. 65 (1864), XLII., 397,433. "Trade of India with Eastern Turkistan," *ibid.*, H.C. Report No. 384 (1868-9), XLVI., 481-541.

† "Appointment of a Commercial Agent in Ladakh . . .," *Parliamentary Papers*, H.C. Report No. 147 (1868-9), L., 705-30. For removal of restrictions on Indian trade with Turkistan, see the treaty between the British Government and the Maharajah of Kashmir in 1870. C. U. Aitchison, ed., *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads relating to India and the Neighbouring Countries* (13 vols., 4 ed., Calcutta, 1909), XI., 272-7.

‡ *G.I. Letters*, XXXVII., Northbrook to Salisbury, July 21, 1874, No. 132, political; enclosure, R. B. Shaw, Trade Report of Ladakh for 1873.

§ *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand, and Kashgar* (London, 1871), 68. See also Forsyth's report of his first mission to Kashgar; *Parliamentary Papers*, H.C. Report No. 60 (1871), LI., 619-66.

|| In 1873 the Chambers of Commerce of Bradford and Derby memorialized the Government of India to promote trade with Kashgar. *G.I. Letters*, XXXIII., Northbrook to Argyll, May 1, 1873, No. 37, secret, and June 9, 1873, No. 50, secret.

were desired as a window into Central Asia and a vantage point on the flank of the Russian advance toward India. Some British strategists even looked to the establishment of British representatives in Kashgar as a step toward the assumption of a protectorate over the country, with the Atalik Ghazi occupying the same relationship to the British Crown as the Amir of Afghanistan.

The interests of Russia and England in Eastern Turkistan were real, intensive, and intimately connected with the broader policies being pursued throughout the continent. As in Afghanistan, their interests collided there, and the conflict was resolved only after a long diplomatic duel.

In the first stage of the rivalry, from the assumption of power by Yakub in 1865 until 1870, neither power made much progress in the state. The ruler adopted a policy of almost complete isolation in consonance with his hopes of establishing a Muslim state free from foreign interference. Those outsiders who did penetrate into his realm were dealt with coldly: caravans of merchandise introduced by Russian traders were confiscated, Englishmen making tours of commercial exploration were closely watched and their movements circumscribed, and a Russian officer was treated in the same fashion.* At the same time the new ruler took steps to obtain recognition as an independent sovereign from the Tsar and the Queen. Envoys were sent to Russia and India with invitations that recognition be accorded, but were unsuccessful. The Russian Chancellor stated that recognition was impossible, for although Yakub might have established a *de facto* government, "Russia had treaties with China and could not enter into relations with a successful insurgent against the authority of the Chinese Emperor."† British feelings were decidedly warmer toward Yakub, but the Indian Government preferred to withhold recognition rather than risk an unfavourable Russian reaction.

By 1870 the Atalik Ghazi had conquered as far east as Urumchi, and having established his authority in that direction he gave his attention to the northern border. He moved in the direction of Kuldja as if he meant to add it to his dominions, but before he could cross the Tien Shan mountains the Russians anticipated him and seized the only practicable pass, the Muzart. Later they occupied the whole Kuldja

* F.O. 65/872, Michell, Memorandum on Eastern Turkestan; Terentyef, *Russia and England*, I., 260-1; Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, 60-4.

† F.O. 65/874, Loftus to Granville, October 16, 1872, No. 288, quoting Gorchakov to Forsyth, 1869.

area.* Confronted with this evidence of Russia's enmity, Yakub modified his policy, and in the period 1870-77 he endeavoured to induce the British to come to his support while at the same time he treated the Russians with courtesy. A Kashgar envoy was sent to India in 1871 and gained an interview with the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, who promised to dispatch a mission in return. Before the mission could start, however, a Russian party under Baron Kaulbars arrived in Kashgar in the summer of 1872. The Atalik Ghazi was presented with a draft of a commercial treaty providing that Russian merchants should have the right of free passage into and through the country, that the import duty should not exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and that Russia could establish consulates in Kashgar.† The treaty secured for Russia commercial privileges hitherto refused, but Yakub accepted rather than experience any further evidence of Russia's hostility.

In the following year another Kashgar envoy, Sayyid Yakub Khan Tora, appeared in India, was warmly welcomed by Northbrook, and was given every assistance in travelling on to Constantinople.‡ On arrival there, he approached the Porte and reported that his master acknowledged the religious authority of the Sultan-Caliph, spiritual head of all Islam. Taking the opportunity of opposing his long-time enemy, Russia, the Sultan instructed Kashgar's ruler to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain and Britain's ally, Afghanistan, while turning a deaf ear to any proposals from the Russian side.§ He conferred the title of Amir-ul-Mulmin (Commander of the Faithful) on Yakub Beg, sent 200 rifles and three cannon to him, and delegated three Turkish officers to accompany the envoy to Kashgar and train the troops there.|| As the envoy returned through India, he was joined by

* F.O. 181/497, Loftus to Granville, November 13, 1872, No. 322; Terentyef, *Russia and England*, I., 246.

† Aitchison, *Treaties*, XI., 297-8, note, text in French and English.

‡ G.I. Letters, XXXIII., Northbrook to Argyll, March 14, 1873, No. 30, secret.

§ For some years before and after this visit the Sultan was much interested in the policy of organizing a "kind of Mohammedan league or confederation of states in defence of Islam and against Russia." British Museum, Department of Manuscripts, *Additional Manuscript* 38,971 (*Layard Papers*), f. 36, Sir A. H. Layard (Ambassador at Constantinople) to Lytton, June 14, 1877. See also G.I. Letters, XXXVI., Northbrook to Argyll, January 2, 1874, No. 1, secret; and enclosure, Forsyth, confidential memorandum, October 21, 1873.

|| F.O. 65/878, Sir H. Elliot (Ambassador at Constantinople) to Granville, August 14, 1873, No. 284; and enclosure, Pisani (Agent of Embassy) to Elliot, August 13, 1873. The Russian Embassy kept a close watch on the envoy, and a highly coloured report of England's intentions to annex Kashgar was sent home. F.O. 65/903, Loftus to Derby, October 28, 1874, No. 387; enclosure, précis of a

a large British mission under Mr. (later Sir) T. D. Forsyth, and together they made their way over the Karakorum Pass to Kashgar. In the party were British and native surveyors, a commercial expert, and an ethnologist and historian, who gathered a large mass of data on the country.* On the basis of the information thus obtained, a radical re-orientation of British policy toward Kashgar was effected, a reorientation that led to unfortunate results.

The mission was sent ostensibly to encourage trade between Kashgar and India, and to that end a treaty was negotiated whereby the British received the same concessions in Kashgar as the Russians had obtained the previous year.† While making the treaty, however, the mission came to realize that the prospects of any substantial increase in Indo-Kashgar trade were meagre. One of the members noted that Mr. Shaw, who was responsible for many optimistic reports on Kashgar, "has hardly done justice to the natural obstacles of the country, nor clearly pointed out the impracticable difficulties of the passes as a trade route at any time. And whilst laying stress on the very natural anxiety of the Atalik Ghazi . . . for an alliance, he has enlarged on the grand prospects of a commercial intercourse with a country whose markets had been already, in the time of the Chinese rule, stocked by Russian merchants."‡ The more expensive measures of trade promotion were therefore judiciously abandoned.

More striking results were brought back by the surveying section of the mission, several of whose members explored the passes leading from Russian Turkistan into Kashmir. Their reports, which were the first to rouse the Indian Government to the necessity of watching the

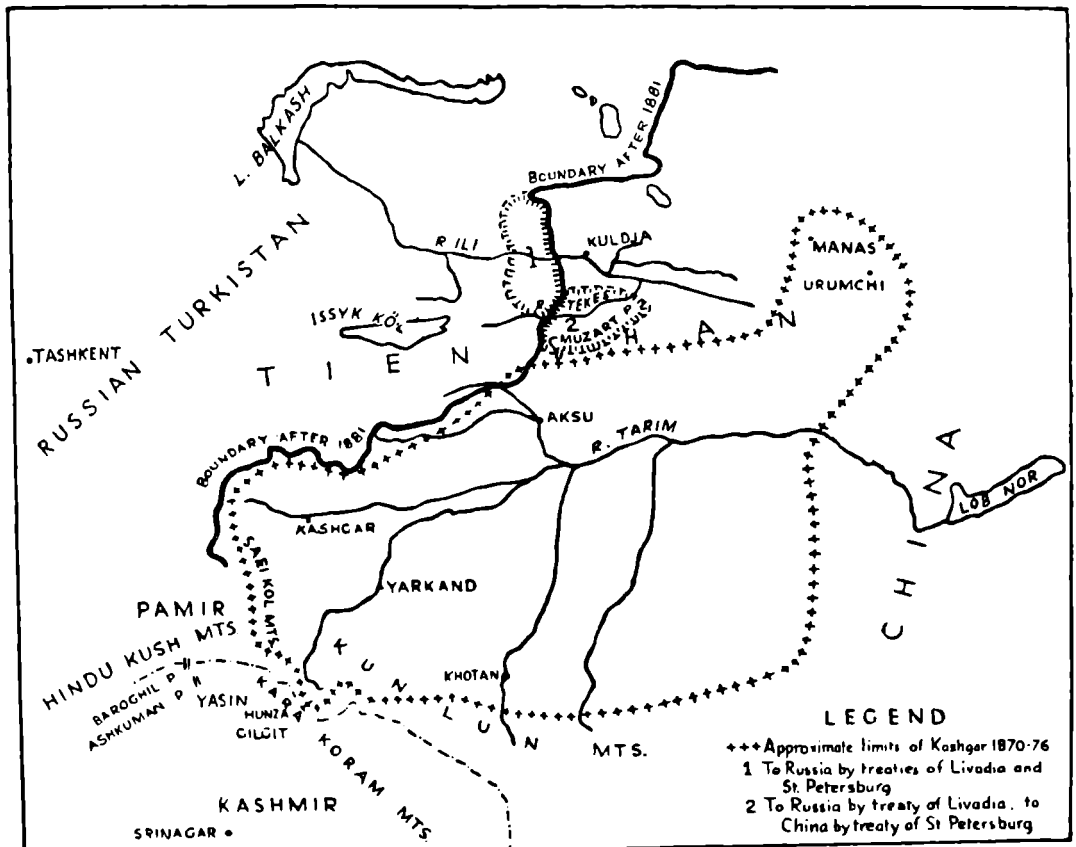
dispatch from General Ignatyev (Ambassador at Constantinople) to the Tsar, June 14, 1873. One of the Turkish officers recounted his experiences in Kashgar to a British Commissioner in Peshawar in 1878. *Parliamentary Papers*, C. 2470 (1880), 21-3, LXXVIII, 95-7, statement of Muhammed Yusuf Effendi.

* The mission's observations are found in Forsyth, *Report of a Mission to Yarkund*.

† Aitchison, *Treaties*, XI., 303-7. The treaty was not ratified until 1876. *Ibid.*, 299.

‡ H. W. Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar* (London, 1875), xv.-xvi. See also Forsyth, *Report of a Mission*, 480-1; *G.I. Letters*, XXXVI., Northbrook to Salisbury, April 17, 1874, No. 25, secret; and enclosure, Forsyth to Aitchison, February 2, 1874, No. 139. Russian commerce enjoyed great advantages in Kashgar. The cost of transportation of a camel-load of merchandise from Moscow to Yarkand was 75 rupees, while from Manchester to Yarkand it was 168 rupees. India Office Record Department, *India, Foreign Proceedings*, vol. 772 (May, 1874), Captain E. Molloy (Commissioner at Leh) to Punjab Government, February 20, 1874, No. 16.

northern frontier, emphasized the practicability of the passes through the Hindu Kush and the Karakorum for troops and even for wheeled artillery. Of the way from Kokand through the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, one explorer remarked that "this route offers easy access to India, the nature of the country throughout making her most approachable in that quarter."* Another noted that "by the Chitral or Gilgit routes . . . and crossing either the Baroghil or Ashkuman Passes, the



Reference: Russian map in FU.65/1164

traveller goes through a gate by which without being for one day away from human habitations, he is practically landed in Central Asia in a single march."† In view of the information thus communicated, Northbrook decided that the Indian Government could no longer leave the defence of the northern border to nature alone.

* *G.I. Letters*, XLII., Northbrook to Salisbury, June 21, 1875, No. 22, secret; enclosure, report by Lieut.-Colonel T. E. Gordon, July 14, 1874.

† *Ibid.*; enclosure, report by Captain J. Biddulph, 1874. Biddulph was sent in 1876 to explore the Ashkuman route. A glacier prevented him from reaching the crest of the pass, but he returned believing in its practicability. *G.I. Letters*, LII., Lytton to Salisbury, June 11, 1877, No. 17, secret; enclosure, report by Biddulph, November 15, 1876.

The third part of the mission's report and the one which time proved most erroneous was the information that the Amir's Government was well established in Kashgar and was expected to endure indefinitely. Forsyth made the deduction from the firm control which Yakub kept on the country, from the improbability of Russia's turning in her direction while occupied with Khiva, and from the fact that China seemed to be making no effort to reconquer the lost provinces. The mission might be excused their views, since the Chinese conquest was only just getting under way far to the east. It is more difficult to understand the blindness of British agents who spent much time in Kashgar after Forsyth returned. The most influential and the most convincing of the agents was Mr. Shaw, who as late as April, 1876, when the Chinese had advanced to the easternmost posts of Kashgar, declared that China could not reconquer Kashgar. "A small army, even if secure of its base of operations in Kansu, would be unequal to the task; and a large one could not be fed in the desolated regions which lie between."*

With its actions based on these reports, the Government of India began to feel its way toward the establishment of relations with Kashgar which would make that khanate a part of the belt of buffer states around India. In the middle of 1873 the Indian Government, having secured Russia's recognition of Afghanistan as a state outside her sphere of interest and having agreed on the extent of the Amir's possessions, suggested that a further step be taken toward Indian security by reaching an agreement with St. Petersburg on the northern and western limits of Kashgar.† Again in the following year, when the Chinese reconquest of Kashgar became a remote possibility, Northbrook put forth the proposal that, in view of the fact that both the Russian and the British Governments had recognized the independence of Kashgar, it would be advisable

. . . for both Governments to use diplomatic action at Peking to prevent, if possible, the Chinese Government from attacking the Amir. Should such joint action be impracticable, it might perhaps still be desirable that a representation on the subject should be made

* *G.I. Letters*, XLVI., Lytton to Salisbury, July 3, 1876, No. 131, political; enclosure, memorandum by Shaw, April 10, 1876. See also *ibid.*, XL., Northbrook to Salisbury, February 5, 1875, No. 6, secret; enclosure, Shaw to Aitchison, November 29, 1874, No. 27.

† *G.I. Letters*, XXXIV., Northbrook to Argyll, September 15, 1873, No. 75, secret. *F.O.* 65/878, J. M. Kaye (India Office) to Hammond (Foreign Office), August 14, 1873.

to the Chinese Government by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Peking. It is of importance to British interests in the East that the independence of Kashgar should, if possible, be preserved.*

Neither proposal was favourably entertained by the home Government, which doubtless was mindful of the protracted negotiations with Russia over the Afghan border and was more engrossed in other areas. Through the remainder of his term Northbrook continued to encourage communication and trade with Kashgar. More significantly, arms were sold to the Amir through the Central Asian Trading Co., with the tacit approval of the Indian authorities.†

Since Lord Northbrook is always identified with the "masterly inactivity" school of Indian strategists, it is surprising to note that his prosecution of British interests in Kashgar was very active, much more so than that of his successor, Lord Lytton. This was due, in part, to the inaccurate topographical information furnished by the explorers and surveyors of the Survey of India, information which exaggerated the practicability of the passes into Kashmir. In the later 1870's some of these inaccuracies were corrected through exploration trips carried out by native surveyors,‡ but not until the following decade was it definitely established that through Kashmir "the approach to India by any serious military force" is an "impossibility."§ Secondly, Northbrook's policy toward Kashgar may be explained as an integral part of the programme of the stationary school of strategists, who wished to maintain a ring of buffer states on the frontiers of India and at the same time to refuse any forward movement of the British army.

Lord Lytton's attitude stands in direct contrast to that of Northbrook. He could not conceive of any circumstances in which a British force would be sent over the mountains to Kashgar, only to meet the

* *G.I. Letters*, XXXVIII., Northbrook to Salisbury, October 2, 1874, No. 61, secret.

† *Ibid.*, XLII., Northbrook to Salisbury, July 19, 1875, No. 28, secret; enclosure, Shaw (Agent in Kashgar) to Aitchison, March 21, 1875, No. 56. But compare with *Parliamentary Papers*, C. 2164, 15 (1878), LXXX., 469, W. Doria (Chargé at St. Petersburg) to Derby, June 10, 1874; *ibid.*, 17 . . ., 471, Loftus to Derby, June 22, 1874.

‡ In 1876 "the Mullah" explored the upper reaches of the Indus and crossed the Hindu Kush into Wakhan. In 1878 a Muslim known as M— S— crossed Gilgit and Yasin to the upper Oxus. C. E. D. Black, *A Memoir of the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890* (London, 1891), 140-1.

§ Sir T. Holdich, *The Gates of India* (London, 1910), 189. See also pp. 3-4, 185-9.

Russians there at great disadvantage.* Furthermore, he set aside as a "remote contingency" any attempt by Russia to invade India from the north. He did not, however, minimize the importance of holding firmly the near end of the passes through the Pamirs and the Hindu Kush, in order to prevent the penetration of Russian influence. This he accomplished, not directly, but through the Maharajah of Kashmir, whom he met at Madhupur in November, 1876.† That ruler was encouraged to obtain the allegiance of a number of petty chieftainships lying between Kashmir and the principal passes. He was to attempt this by peaceful negotiation, although at the same time Lytton promised that "in the event of the Maharajah's action ever involving him in military operations (which was not very probable), the British Government would be prepared to give him countenance and material assistance." It was agreed that a British officer be stationed in Gilgit to watch the northern border, and that the Maharajah should construct at his own expense a telegraph line connecting Gilgit with Srinagar, Jammu, and the British Indian system. To secure Kashmir's acquiescence, the Viceroy presented him with five thousand stand of arms and a complete mountain battery.‡ In the following years the Maharajah's authority was extended slowly to the foot of the Hindu Kush.§

In the meantime, Russian policy was forwarded with less vacillation and much more success. Better informed than the Indian Government of the political and military situation in Eastern Turkistan,|| the Imperial Government planned more astutely for the protection of Russian interests. While the British were placing their faith in the power and endurance of the Kashgar state, Russia backed China to win. An imperial conference presided over by the Minister of War and including the Governors-General of Turkistan and Siberia and the head of the

* *G.I. Letters*, LVII., Lytton to Cranbrook, September 9, 1878, No. 79, secret; enclosure, minute by Lytton, September 4, 1878.

† Subsequently Lytton wrote that the arrangement was "more or less confidential" and was made "quietly" with the Maharajah, since the British public would not sanction further annexations by the Crown. Lady Betty Balfour, *Lord Lytton's Indian Administration* (London, 1899), 184-8, Lytton to Lord Cranbrook, April 9, 1878.

‡ *G.I. Letters*, LII., Lytton to Salisbury, June 11, 1877, No. 17, secret; and enclosures.

§ *G.I. Letters*, LIX., Lytton to Cranbrook, February 28, 1879, No. 49, secret.

|| See, e.g., the report of a mission sent to Kashgar in 1876, ostensibly to settle the boundary toward Kokand. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria: Historical and Geographical Sketch of the Country, Its Military Strength, Industries, and Trade* (translated from the Russian, Calcutta, 1882).

Asiatic department met in St. Petersburg in March, 1876, and laid down a political programme which accurately foreshadowed the events of the following years and was carried through with no appreciable deviation. Holding that the Chinese were more desirable neighbours than Yakub Beg and more likely to win in the coming struggle, the conference decided to aid the former by furnishing sorely needed supplies of grain. Russia would keep Kuldja from the Manchu power, however, until an agreement was reached whereby the Tekes River valley remained within the empire, commercial privileges were granted to Russian traders, and an indemnity paid to Russians for losses suffered during the rebellion in China.* The provisions of the subsequent treaties with China compare remarkably closely with this *projet*.

About 1870, the Chinese Government faced squarely the problem of the revolts in Eastern Turkistan. It was deemed a vital imperial necessity that the disaffected areas be reconquered, not for their economic value, which was negligible to the Chinese, but rather for the more powerful motives of national and dynastic prestige. A capable leader, Tso Tsung-tang, was given the task of reasserting Manchu dominion over the Tungans, Kashgaris, and Kuldjans. Moving slowly but irresistibly westward, the army reached Manas and Urumchi in 1877, and there met Yakub's forces for the first time.† The early skirmishes were won by Tso Tsung-tang, and before a decisive battle could be fought, Amir Yakub was killed.‡ With him died the Kashgar state, and while rival claimants disputed the throne, the Chinese pushed onward and subdued all of Kashgar by the autumn of 1877.

There remained only Kuldja to round out the reconquest of the west. The Tsung-li Yamen (Chinese Council for Foreign Affairs) dispatched an envoy named Chung How to Russia in late 1878 to demand the return of the occupied territory. After eight months of negotiation, a treaty was signed at Livadia which was an easy victory for Russian diplomacy. Russia engaged to return slightly less than half of the Kuldja territory to China, while retaining the fertile valley of the Tekes

* *F.O.* 65/957, Loftus to Derby, September 26, 1876, No. 444, secret; and enclosure, Hon. F. A. Wellesley (Military Attaché) to Loftus, September 18, 1876, No. 20, secret. This was one of the highly confidential Russian documents which Wellesley obtained through judicious bribery.

† See *F.O.* 17/826 for a volume of reports from China, India, and Russia on the Chinese reconquest, 1877-9.

‡ There are varying reports of the time and cause of the death. Several accounts agree on May, 1877. Death may have been by poison, but the best evidence points to his being killed by a chance blow from a beaten servant.

River and the passes leading into Kashgar. China was to grant extraordinary commercial privileges, including a free zone thirty miles wide along her western boundary, lower duty on Russian merchandise in Central China, and the establishment of Russian consulates in seven Western Chinese towns. Thirty-six posts along the border were named as new points of entry of Russian trade. Lastly, China was to pay an indemnity of five million roubles (£795,393) for expenses incurred in the Russian occupation of Kuldja and for losses of Russians to Chinese brigands.*

When Chung How returned to Peking with the treaty in late 1879, he was met by savage criticism instigated by the ultra-conservative element in high Chinese circles, which viewed any diplomatic or commercial intercourse with western barbarians as the spoliation of China's ancient heritage. They made opposition to the Treaty of Livadia the rallying-cry for anti-foreign sentiment and attempted to raise the country to resist Russia by war. Tso Tsung-tang, the conqueror of the west, made belligerent pronouncements and prepared his troops for an invasion of Russian Turkistan. Chinese coast defences were strengthened. And the unfortunate Chung How was sentenced to be decapitated. Affronted, if not alarmed, the Russian Government concentrated available troops in Turkistan and Kuldja and made a more potent threat by sending a fleet to cruise in Chinese waters.

In desperation, the Chinese summoned their trusted adviser, Colonel Charles George ("Chinese") Gordon, from India. After surveying the situation, Gordon's advice was to yield Kuldja completely and preserve peace. If China chose war, the Russians would be in Peking within a few weeks, and the Manchu dynasty would fall. Advice from the British legation was in much the same tone. Where previously the minister, Sir Thomas Wade, had been endeavouring to prevent any Russian annexations in Turkistan, he now took the opposite tack and counselled the Chinese to submit rather than risk war. To the Tsung-li Yamen he declared: "Were I a Chinese minister, I should say, 'Let

* Since Russia was apprehensive of the reaction of other Powers to the treaty, and since the Chinese were embarrassed at its scope, the Treaty of Livadia was kept secret for almost a year after it was signed. The British finally obtained a copy in September, 1880, through the Chargé in St. Petersburg, who secured it from a later Chinese envoy. *F.O.* 65/1104, Plunkett to Granville, September 22, 1880, No. 406, secret; and enclosure, text of treaty, annex, and *réglement de commerce*. The text has never been published. The summary which appears in H. Cordier, *Histoire des relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales, 1860-1902* (3 tom., Paris, 1901-2), II., 185-7, is much abbreviated and does not include the accompanying protocols.

the Russians keep Kuldja, which they have got and which has been voted ever since China annexed it last century a burden to the state, and declare yourselves ready to pay if necessary even a larger indemnity.' '* British statesmen feared that if war came, the Manchus would lose their precarious grip on the empire, English commerce would suffer, and other Powers, notably Germany and Japan, would seize the opportunity to annex Chinese territory.

Now thoroughly chastened, the Chinese Government instructed the Marquis Tseng, minister in London, both to save China's *amour propre* and to prevent war by resuming negotiations at St. Petersburg. There he received the advice and assistance of the British *chargé d'affaires*, Mr. W. Plunkett, who, while avoiding any semblance of official mediation, counselled the envoy to settle the problem as quickly as possible. Baron Jomini, who conducted the negotiations for the Russian Foreign Office, realized that he held the predominant position and consequently played tantalizingly with Tseng.† Whenever in the conversations the Marquis did not readily accede to a Russian demand, Jomini would threaten to transfer the negotiations to Peking, where the Russian fleet would be a near and constant menace. This the envoy hoped to prevent by accelerating the negotiations, and above all he wished to avoid war. To Plunkett he said that he "would in the end make every conceivable concession to Russia sooner than allow her to commence one."‡

Working busily as an unofficial mediator and assisted by his French colleague, Plunkett persuaded the Russians to reach a settlement with Tseng. This was finally accomplished, because Russia's traditional policy toward China was a peaceful and conciliatory one. When it was brought home to Jomini that if he insisted on concessions of too onerous a nature, as in the Treaty of Livadia, China would be permanently alienated, he modified his demands. The result was embodied in the Treaty of St. Petersburg, signed February 24, 1881. Between the new agreement and that of Livadia there were few significant differences. The Chinese did recover most of the Tekes valley and the passes through the Tien Shan, but Russia retained the western part of the Kuldja territory. China was also able to whittle the Russian demand for seven new consulates down to two, with the proviso that

* *F.O.* 17/831, Wade to Granville, June 29, 1880, No. 91, confidential. See also *F.O.* 17/829, Wade to Salisbury, January 27, 1880, No. 14, secret, and January 30, 1880, No. 18, confidential.

† *F.O.* 65/1104-5, *passim*.

‡ *F.O.* 65/1104, Plunkett to Granville, October 17, 1880, No. 480, secret.

the other five would be established later by special agreement. Russia retained virtually all the commercial privileges set forth in the Livadia Treaty, including the free zone along the frontier, the remission of two-thirds duty on land-borne goods, and the opening of thirty-six new points of entry on the border. In addition, the indemnity was raised to nine million roubles (£1,431,660).* Only after he was assured that the Government approved the treaty did Marquis Tseng return home, and shortly after the document was ratified.

Historians who have written on the Russo-Chinese dispute over Kuldja, being usually Chinese or Sinophiles, have denominated the St. Petersburg settlement by Marquis Tseng as a "bloodless diplomatic triumph,"† and Lord Dufferin, the British Ambassador in St. Petersburg in 1881, has been quoted with approval as saying that "China has compelled Russia to do what she has never done before, disgorge territory that she had once absorbed."‡ Granting that the retrocession of Kuldja is without parallel in the history of Russian expansion in Asia, it is still unreal to ascribe that action either to the astuteness of the Chinese envoy at St. Petersburg or to the belligerent attitude of the Chinese patriots. The Russian Government always had the situation in hand and dictated the final settlement. That she was so lenient in the territorial arrangement was due in a small part to pressure by Britain, but more to considerations of commerce and finance. The commercial privileges obtained as a ransom for Kuldja were more valuable than a few thousand square miles of Central Asian mountain and desert. Russia had retained the Tekes valley by the Treaty of Livadia only because she had underestimated the national pride of the Chinese. And so Russia, securing open land routes to the Orient and a special position in Chinese trade, allowed to China the glory of a "diplomatic triumph."§

* *British and Foreign State Papers*, LXXII., 1143-57.

† H. B. Morse, *The International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (3 vols., London, 1910-18), II., 338. See also Cordier, *Histoire des relations*, II., 221; Chu Djang, "War and Diplomacy Over Ili," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XX., No. 3 (October, 1936), 391-2.

‡ D. C. Boulger, *The Life of Sir Halliday Macartney* (London, 1908), 351. Macartney was a secretary to Tseng at St. Petersburg. The author gives no reference for Dufferin's statement.

§ A recent writer attempts to explain the return of Ili to China by noting that the retrocession "can only be understood in connection with the halt in Russia's conquests in Western and Central Asia, which came after the Berlin Congress of 1878." Dr. Fuad Kazak, *Ostturkistan zwischen den Grossmaechten* (Koenigsberg, 1937), 65. This reasoning entirely ignores Russian expansion after 1878 in the Turkoman country and in Northern China.

The provisions of the St. Petersburg Treaty were carried out without incident in 1881, and by the end of that year Eastern Turkistan had ceased to be of importance in world politics. Not until the Chinese revolution and the dislocations produced by the World War did Eastern Turkistan, strategically placed at the heart of the continent, again become of international significance.

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY AND THE PERSIAN BUBBLE

By THOMAS BROCKWAY

IRAN has never been looked upon as a sphere of American interest, and diplomatic relations between the Shah's court and the State Department have been, generally speaking, somewhat distant. But during the last decades of the nineteenth century, the Persian Government and the American Legation at Teheran conspired in an effort to interest American capital in the exploitation of Iran's mineral wealth and the modernization of its ancient ways.

Nasir-u-Din Shah was convinced that Iran might regain its ancient splendour if the West could be induced to communicate the secret of its power, and to this end he surrounded himself with foreign military advisers, negotiated numerous treaties of trade and friendship, and in particular distributed concessions with a lavish insouciance. The West was by no means reluctant to examine Iran's natural treasures. In 1862 Professor Arminius Vambery found Teheran swarming with Austrians, Frenchmen, Italians and Belgians on various missions,* and during the sixties railway concessionaires arrived from France, Germany, Austria and Great Britain. The latter left no traces, and the egregious de Reuter concession of 1872 was abruptly revoked before it could fulfil its aim of transforming the Shah's agricultural empire into an industrial barony in Western hands. The fate of this concession in fact promised for a time to discourage Western investment indefinitely.

Nevertheless during the eighties a Persian Bubble was swiftly blown up by the Shah and his Ministers, by Western diplomats, promoters and investors. Thus Mr. Samuel G. W. Benjamin, arriving in Teheran in 1883 as first United States Minister to Iran, found himself in the atmosphere of a treasure-hunt. Deeply impressed by the claims and rumours of Persian resources, he promptly informed the United States Government that there were great opportunities for American capital in the exploitation of Iran's "wealth of coal, lead, copper and petroleum." In the same despatch

* *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 5-6 (1864).

Mr. Benjamin requested that the East Indian squadron be ordered to Bushire and that the Admiral and his suite journey to Teheran to do for American prestige what he, the Minister, could not do on \$5,000 a year.* Three years later the U.S.S. *Brooklyn* anchored at Bushire without influencing the course of Persian-American relations. From the point of view of investment, at least, the demonstration was needed in Wall Street, not in the Persian Gulf.

In 1885 the Shah's Government began an earnest campaign to interest American investors in Iran. The United States Legation was informed that American proposals of concessions would "receive most serious and favourable consideration," and that citizens of the United States would always be given preference over other foreigners.† Early in 1886 the Shah himself told Mr. Benjamin's successor that he was "very anxious to have progress and public improvements in Persia, and was particularly desirous of having aid, both pecuniary and personal, from Americans." He laid emphasis on his hope that American capitalists might be induced to engage in railway construction in Iran.‡

Nasir-u-Din had long before set his heart on a Transpersian railway running from the Caspian to the Persian Gulf, and this railway had already been the subject of a number of concessions, notably those granted de Reuter and M. Fabius Boital, a French engineer reputed to enjoy the "patronage of the friends of M. de Lesseps." Boital was then having difficulty in raising money for Persian railways, and the Shah made repeated overtures to the American Legation on the subject. He was prepared to guarantee the permanence of a railway concession to Americans, and would concede with it all the mineral wealth of Iran.§

The United States Minister, Mr. F. H. Winston, had grave doubts as to the security of property in Iran, but he unwittingly involved himself in the Shah's paper constructions by handing the Foreign Minister suggestions bearing on a Transpersian railway concession. Three days later the Foreign Minister called at the Legation to state that the Shah had granted Winston the concession, and added that for a similar concession de Reuter had paid his brother, then Foreign Minister, the sum of \$50,000. Winston could pay him 20,000 tumans,

* July 19, 1883, U.S. *Persia* 1.

† September 7, 1885, U.S. *Persia* 2.

‡ April 25, 1886, *ibid.*

§ May 12, 1886, *ibid.*

then about \$30,000, in cash, and the balance when an exploitation company was formed. Winston declined this handsome offer, but the Foreign Minister insisted on leaving the railway concession with him.* Whether Winston carried the concession with him when he left Iran shortly after is not recorded in the diplomatic record, but the Shah continued for a time to entertain hope that his railway would be built by American capitalists.†

Towards the end of the eighties occurred an almost feverish intensification of the concession-hunt. Reflecting the general Western scramble for position and profits in backward regions, concessionaires arrived to participate in what the American Minister described as "the era of progress now dawning upon Persia."‡ Among these were Belgians with a variety of schemes for Iran's industrialization, including beet-sugar production; Germans interested in road-building; Greeks from Baku seeking an olive-oil monopoly; and above all British concessionaires, zealously supported by the new Minister, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff.

From the Ministry of Mr. Benjamin onward, the American diplomats at Teheran indicated their interest in the Persian Bubble, and exhibited "dollar diplomacy" in reverse. This term has generally meant the dollar commanding diplomacy. Here it meant diplomacy commanding the dollar—but in vain. Despatches from Teheran met a cool reception in Washington, and the American dollar remained unmoved by the Shah's overtures duly transmitted under diplomatic seal.

At the height of the concession-hunt, the State Department denounced dollar diplomacy in Iran on the ground that American investors should first exploit less distant regions, and sternly warned its Minister at Teheran against "furnishing any ground for the idea that you are active either for or against any concessions to private companies whether American or otherwise."§ Thenceforth the activities of the American Legation at Teheran were restricted to the relatively prosaic task of protecting the interests of American missionaries.

The Persian Bubble excited no more interest in Wall Street than in Washington. An occasional American surveyed the investment field from the vantage-point of Teheran, and a resident of Bangor, Maine, incorporated a Persia Company and secured a sixty-year concession for the production of electricity throughout the Shah's empire. But this

* June 4, 1886, U.S. *Persia* 2.

† February 24, June 7, 1887, *ibid.*

‡ January 10, 1890, U.S. *Persia* 5.

§ July 28, 1887, *Persia* 1, *Instructions*.

concession, like many another, died in obscurity without brightening the Persian night. Ten million dollars were invested in Iran before the end of the century, but the export of American capital was limited to the meagre flow of financial support that went to the Presbyterian missionary establishment in the Persian north-west.

American investors were therefore unaffected by the bursting of the Persian Bubble in the last years of Nasir-u-Din's reign, and they were not pained by the discovery that it was virtually impossible to be certain of modest returns from investment in Iran. By the end of the century the American Minister at Teheran was no longer vaunting the riches of Iran, but, like other diplomats, was emphatically informing his Government that no business or investment successes need be expected in Iran.*

Nasir-u-Din's appeals for American capital built no railways, but the basic assumption that underlay his appeals has reappeared in Persian policy in the appointment of American advisers and administrators. That assumption was that the United States was far enough away to insure what was from the Iranian point of view a desirable degree of political disinterestedness.

* December 20, 1899, U.S. *Persia* 10.

DAMASCUS

THE United States is a country wherein I am always happy, and for which I have a great admiration, yet Damascus, which is the antithesis of everything proper to an American city, is near to my ideal of a town.

The stones of Damascus are more satisfying than those of Venice: Venice is too beautiful. The exquisiteness, the delicacy, the tracery of the carving in stone on the Grand Canal can be the product only of an exquisite civilization: such grace has within it the seeds of decay; but the fancy of the architects of the khans, the mosques, and the palaces on the Baradah was bridled by the desert at the gates. Islam also, since it entered Syria, must have lent its influence to maintaining the sobriety of Syrian architecture. Those solid walls, those square courts, those regular stones simply and truly laid are massive enough to give their buildings an appearance of age-long endurance, though they are not, like the monuments of the Pharaohs, so massive as to oppress. The ruins of Egypt are barbarous in their hugeness; but those of Damascus suggest a high civilization, a civilization of strength and dignity. How transitory, how vulgar, how unsatisfying appear the buildings of to-day beside the old!

It must not be supposed that the ruined palaces of Damascus are forbidding: their builders knew how to relieve a great wall of squared blocks with a grilled window, a stalactited doorway, or an engraved plaque to add the necessary grace, the occasional smile on the grim face: and, within the courts, a fountain with a mulberry tree or a vine carries one for an instant to the extreme Orient.

The Damascenes, like their buildings, are solid, beautiful, and smiling. They have the stocky build of mountaineers, and complexions queens might envy. There is more than a hint of the Tyrolese in these handsome lads and lasses; but they are more animated, more vital, although but few of them can have heard of "Phosferine," "Rye-Vita," "Wincarnis," and although they probably all suffer from night-starvation.

A pleasant habit of the Damascenes is that of having children: children of all ages swarm in the bazaars, litter the side-walks, worry the lives out of the trolley-car employees, and are everywhere as jolly and happy as children should be. They are also more hard-working than most children of the West. They help their fathers beat copper into trays and pots, mould the dough into patterned shapes for their fathers to shovel into the long ovens, drive the donkeys, blow the bel-

lows, turn the spinning wheels, hold the barbers' chargers, polish the mule chains, come dull from the fire, and yet find time to go to school, to sing songs at the tops of their voices, to steal rides on the backs of hackney carriages, to scrimmage amidst shouts of laughter with other urchins, to tickle their donkeys behind the ears, and to sit on steps stroking the cats—yes, the cats, fat, silky, and purring. By their cats ye shall know them, and know their land. This is a fat land; and the cats are fat. Compare the cats of Damascus with the cats of Basrah. It is not possible to put the bars of a prison so close together that a Basrah cat cannot squeeze between them.

The clothes these people wear! In Basrah, in winter, a peasant can afford no more clothes than this summer cotton drawers, cotton shirt, and cotton jacket; in Damascus, the peasant of the Ghutah piles on wool and silk as well as cotton, till he looks as fat as Sir Toby Belch. Happy people that can afford not to be cold!

I began this note by stating that Damascus was the antithesis of the American city: I must explain the reason. It is not only that the buildings of Damascus are finer, the children healthier and more numerous; it is not only that Damascus was old when Solomon reigned, while no American city has a history of more than three hundred years; it is chiefly that, in Damascus, most of the work is done by small craftsmen, while, in the American city, it is by big business. Also, in Damascus, one may see the craftsmen at work in their workshops open to the streets, while, in America, the work goes on in factories behind great walls and closed doors. What does the American boy know of boot-making? In Damascus, he has sat at the bootmaker's booth, and watched him beat, fashion, sew his leather. Can the American boy see how the dough is kneaded and the bread baked? No, but the Damascene can; and he can also see how the hair-like vermicelli is made on a hot plate, and slithered off by the expert hand of the vermicelli man; he sees the making of cakes, sweets, the cooking of meat and savory meals, carpentry, tin-smiths' work, tailoring, glass-blowing, the making of grape syrup, key-making. He can lounge at the farrier's as he nails flat, plate shoes to the horses' hooves; he can watch the masons shaping the building stones; he can spend an hour at the open shop of the bookbinder, and note how the pages are gathered on strings and bound in the leather he has already seen tanned by the tanner. A boy who has lived twelve years in Damascus is well on the way to being educated; but it is little useful that can be learnt in the streets of an American city.

V. H. W. D.

VON WREDE IN THE HADHRAMAUT

THOSE who are interested in the Arabian explorers may be glad to see something more about Baron von Wrede, the first recorded European to explore the interior of the Hadhramaut.

Recently, while in Hureidha in the Wadi 'Amd, I happened to be talking to some friends about von Wrede's adventures at Sif in the Wadi Du'an which brought his journey to an end and nearly cost him his life. In a not generally available short account of his journey written to Captain S. B. Haines, the first Resident of Aden, von Wrede thus describes the incident :

“ We rested the first night at Qurein, a considerable town on the right bank of the Wadi Du'an, and on the following day I arrived at Sif, about an hour after my companions who had preceded me.

“ An immense multitude of people had assembled in the town to celebrate the feast of the Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa bin 'Amudi, who was buried in Qeidun, situated in the vicinity of Sif. As soon as I had arrived among the crowd they all at once fell upon me very roughly, they tied my hands behind my back and carried me, with my face covered with blood and dust, before the reigning Sultan, Muhammad 'Abdulla ibn bin 'Isa 'Amudi. The whole of my captors raised a horrible cry and declared me to be an English spy exploring the country, and demanded my instantly being put to death. The Sultan, being afraid of the Beduins, on whom he, like all Sultans of the Wadi, is dependent, was about to give orders for my execution when my guides and protectors came in haste and quieted the Beduins' minds by means of the moral influence they had over them. In the meantime I remained confined to my room with my feet in fetters. I was imprisoned for three days, but provided with every necessary; on the evening of the third day my protectors came to me with the news that they had pacified the Beduins under the condition that I was to return to Mukalla, and that I should give up all my writings. At night I concealed as many of my papers as I could, and delivered only those which were written in pencil, with which they were contented. After my notes were given up, the Sultan wished to see my luggage, from which he selected for himself whatever pleased him. The next morning I set out on my return to Mukalla, which town I reached on September 8, after a journey of 12 days, and thence took a boat to Aden.”

I told the gist of this story to my friends, one of whom immediately said he had seen something about the matter in the journals of his late father, Seiyid Ahmed bin Hassan al 'Attas, Mansab of Hureidha. He searched and in one of the volumes found the following, recounted to the writer by Seiyid Salih bin 'Abdulla al 'Attas, his teacher :

“He (Seiyid Salih) said that a traveller pretending to be a pious man, whilst he was a Christian, came to the Hadhramaut. He entered many of the towns and none could recognize him, till at last he came to Qeidun during the gathering for the visitation of Sheikh Sa'id bin 'Isa. Seiyid Salih al 'Attas was also present there. When Seiyid Salih noticed the man, he shouted in his face, repeating the Jalala (God is Great) and said, 'He is an infidel, kill him.' The Christian ran away and could not be traced. They found his book and some of his luggage, which proved the truth of what Seiyid Salih said. It appeared later on that he was a French spy.

“Also Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Awadh Ba Fadhl (pupil of the late Seiyid Ahmed bin Hasan al 'Attas) said that the said Christian once led the Muslims in prayer.”

I have corrected the spellings in the extract from Haines's narrative.

W. H. INGRAMS.

REVIEWS

The Evolution of the British Empire and Commonwealth.

By Sir John A. R. Marriott. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. xvi+388. 7 maps. Nicholson and Watson. 1939. 12s. 6d.

Sir John Marriott's latest book in a sense summarizes his earlier works. It is written up to date; it handles the various problems of the day while providing a background in the form of a prologue, which deals with empires past and present.

Cabot's voyages during the reign of Henry VII. mark the earliest English attempts to reach the Spice Islands, but were not followed up since, according to the author, "England was not ready." Surely, however, the fact that the Venetian explorer brought back no spices or gold would have deterred the merchants of Bristol from making further voyages to a land none of whose inhabitants had been seen.

To come to the Elizabethan period, colonization was attempted by gallant Raleigh, but ended in failure, mainly because the pioneers were adventurers in search of gold and precious stones and lacked the spirit of the true colonist, who would take up land and farm it.

The author gives an interesting account of the various motives—unemployment and religion being especially important—which led to the foundation of the first colonial empire in North America. During the century between 1688 and 1763 England fought France to destroy the hegemony that Louis XIV. aimed at. In this struggle England emerged the victor, but was heavily in debt, while invasions by Indian confederacies necessitated the presence of a permanent force of English troops to guard the growing colonies. It was only reasonable that the colonies should contribute towards its maintenance, but each colony was independent and no central body existed which could impose taxation. The British attempt to tax the thirteen colonies, just though it was in principle, caused a revolution, which, supported by France, shattered the first English Empire.

Yet English sea-power, strengthened by Rodney's great victory of 1782, founded the second English Empire. The West Indies, then of great importance, were saved; Warren Hastings was making England the dominant power in India, but of territories with land and climate alike suitable for occupation by British colonists we had none.

Napoleon never understood sea-power. He considered that Egypt was the key to India, and transported a large army to occupy the lower valley of the Nile without first defeating the English fleet under Nelson. The destruction of the French fleet by that illustrious Admiral finally resulted in Napoleon deserting his army, which, in due course, surrendered to a British army; with remarkable initiative, it was supported by a small force despatched from Bombay.

After the final defeats at Trafalgar and Waterloo, the star of France waned, and Great Britain colonized in Australia, New Zealand and to some extent South Africa, while her occupation of India was assured. Sea-power had won the day.

We next come to a period when Cobden wrote: "Free trade was not only the most hopeful path to peace; it would help to rid us of the encumbrance of colonies." Fortunately the shrinkage of the globe, caused by better communications, was a force much stronger than the views of the Manchester School, which, unable to take a wide view of these questions, were finally discredited. Thus was gradually developed the present British Empire.

The author now deals with the foundation and development of each of the great Dominions. He next writes of the Empire at bay in the World War, and concludes with a brilliantly written survey of the post-War Empire in which Dominion Status, the Government of India and the Colonial Empire are all adequately handled.

Reading this admirable work, it is impossible, in spite of errors of every kind that were made, not to admire the capacity and flexibility that is displayed throughout by the British Government and its representatives, qualities which, in my humble opinion, ensure confidence for the future.

P. M. SYKES.

Man or Leviathan. By Edward Mousley. Crown 8vo. Pp. 470. London: George Allen and Unwin. 15s.

The clash of ideas, elevated to a false authority in this world to-day, makes the path of the thinker along the middle of the road perilous and often solitary. So fiercely convinced are champions of this or that colour scheme of doctrine that they become impervious to the influence of that ephectic attitude which alone can ensure sane criticism. The corrective is here offered. Mr. Mousley, by dint of scholarly reflection, leisurely marshalled yet completely abreast of its subject, brings a keenly analytical and balanced judgment to bear on the present chaos which threatens to destroy hopes of an ordered civilization. Toward world peace the nations sought to go after the conflict of 1914-18; the most casual glance at the embattled horror which casts its deepening shadows on almost every form of human activity can give the measure of failure. Mr. Mousley puts his finger on the cause when he asserts that the issue is not that of peace *versus* war or even war *versus* justice. "It is war or law," for, as Mr. Neville Chamberlain with a limited object in view pointed out the other day, the present is not a time of peace. Mr. Mousley goes further and shows that war continued and persists to the present day from the time of the Armistice in 1918.

Like Montaigne, Mr. Mousley insists on the fallibility of human institutions and the relativity of human knowledge. Until they can be administered, ideas of what is just are not "forms of justice at all but only views." So we are brought to the conclusion which, inspiring the book's title, was

stated by Thomas Hobbes nearly 300 years ago in his *Leviathan*: "No peace without subjection." Looking, as he admits, a long way ahead, Mr. Mousley calls for conception of "a single supreme power thrown up by mankind, the majority of whom have decided rightly that single plain alternative, law or war." That "reforged instrument of law" would teach "oncoming generations and backward peoples to understand that just as several races in one country can persuade themselves to live together under one government, even so could the nations in one continent or one world." In this hope of avoiding catastrophe at the moment, reliance is placed neither on the totalitarian method nor on the democratic system as imperfectly maintained. Democracy, like the dictatorships, is resting on the power of wealth whether it be euphemistically termed "economic pressure" or "mobilization of national resources." Leadership has failed "in not having sufficiently planned for the reign of law and planned against the reign of war." No less than the dictatorships have the democracies erred, for they too "have their Leviathans who put personal vanity and place before the common weal."

Fortifying his arguments with a relentless examination of the rival forms of government, the author discusses the present condition of "war in peace." Even relative peace, he avers, cannot be secured until nationalism surrenders. To that end it may be inevitable that man, out of a sheer reluctance to pay the proper price, will face "the organized, super-scientific violence of war personified in Leviathan no longer respectably camouflaged but unmasking at last the hideous shape he has possessed all along." For, in the blind belief that war is the only means to vindicate the prior right to exist before his fellows, man obstructs the world-plan because it removes that individual priority. Of international law as understood to-day there is a penetrating chapter which gives in itself a concise definition of the main thesis of the book. With all its faults the Permanent Court of International Justice is "the nearest approach to a genuine international court that the world has ever seen," but it lacks the supreme power behind it for compulsion of acceptance of its awards. International law, in fact, is only a phrase, for want of an independent authority to enforce it. The uncertainty of international law, nor even the inability to insist on the reference of legal disputes to the Court's authority, is not the basic difficulty, which subsists in powerlessness to ensure that, "whatever the reason, the peace shall be kept and not be broken." Hence comes repudiation of treaties and the confusion of custom with international law. The conclusion is irresistible. To avoid "irrevocable submission" man has exercised his ingenuity "throughout the centuries, the method conventionally acceptable being voluntary arrangements among the nations made by consent which can thus be withdrawn at will. These are commonly advertised by some as being a very good substitute for the reign of law, and are asserted by others (as, for instance, Mr. Attlee) to amount in themselves to 'the rule of law.' Such voluntary arrangements are doubly convenient in that they can be utilized to represent the nation as respectably pacific yet leave it free enough to be bellicose if need arises."

As the crazy pageant is unfolded—armament, propaganda, slogans such as “collective security,” “neutrality,” “statehood”—the irrelevance of modern controversies shines clear. The plain fact is that the advance in man’s power of invention—bombing aircraft, radio, submarines, mechanized armaments—has put a premium on bluff and blackmail in the technique of international power-politics. The democracies, in so far as they are reluctant to resort to war, are at a disadvantage, but for their self-protection they will have to overcome that reluctance in a disciplined unity which need not necessarily adopt the doped unreason of their opponents. Just as Mr. Mousley is not afraid to invoke the teaching of Hobbes, in spite of the facile charge that “Leviathan” arrays absolutism against the proletariat, so he does not disdain to prefer Oswald Spengler above other exponents of international jurisprudence. Spengler could see the perils of the “fully independent state,” but he failed to detect the fallacy of the doctrine of sovereignty. His discernment of present-day Democracy’s enslavement to the power of the purse drove him in the event to acceptance of the Nazidom which could not find his teachings palatable. Yet he came nearer, as Mr. Mousley shows, than anyone else to the discovery that world-order, in conquest of violence beyond the law (war), can be achieved only by power within the law.

Perhaps criticism of this book, richly fertile in constructive wisdom, breath-taking in the mastery of facts, must wish that it would have been less unwieldy. The effect of formlessness is created when, by the exercise of a little determination, the task of the reader could have been facilitated. Perseverance in study of the mass of information and opinion will, however, be abundantly rewarded. The marching orders for the New Democracy could not have been better devised. In the sympathetically well-informed exposition of the causes of the failure of the League of Nations—a failure not complete, for it has “served humanity well in lighting the way of advance”—there is inspiration for a “realistic League of Peoples,” concentrating on “economic findings and recommendations, on publicity of facts, on exerting ‘good offices’ and not least on the important truth that the spirituality of man provides after all the most constructive communal factor among the nations, just as human nature provides its most disintegrative factor.” The task, as pictured at the end of this patient and modern “Essay on Man,” is that of wresting back the mastery from Leviathan, “a machine, insensate and soulless,” and placing it within the “widening reign of law.”

The need of the dictator for a constant succession of startling expedients to maintain his hold on the machine gives Democracy an advantage in capacity to plan better, wider and longer so long as enlightened leadership is available. Leadership must really lead, not follow what it imagines—sometimes quite inaccurately—to be public opinion. The difference between dictatorial leadership and democratic leadership is in the fact that whereas the former cannot risk judgment by its followers, the latter’s authority depends on endorsement by that judgment. Mr. Mousley has hard things to say about the haphazard provision made by democracies for leadership. So, too, does

he deprecate the go-as-you-please co-ordination of the British Empire. His logical mind, garnished albeit with a spiritual awareness, has an unerring aim at pretentiousness even among pundits.

Nowadays it is the fashion to treat the Marquess of Lothian as if he were the Equator. Mr. Mousley is cruelly and disrespectfully perspicacious in exposing the fallacy of Lord Lothian's declaration that the test of the League lies in its ability to "bring about those revisions by peaceful means which would give Germany the place in the world to which she is entitled and so save mankind from another war." Mr. Mousley swiftly retorts: "Germany is entitled to no place, let alone to a favoured place, in the world order, if the distinctive basis of that place is to be Leviathanic blackmail that will not hesitate to plunge the world in ruin and jettison civilization unless all she desires is granted. An occasional porter of the German brief, Lord Lothian can be its supporter only when he has mastered this truth. The sounder brief to be taken up is for the German people no less than against the German Leviathan. To stable and feed that Leviathan or any other Leviathan does not form one of the League's functions, still less its crucial test."

No more salutary comment on the recent acrobatics of certain instructors of the British nation could be offered. Lord Lothian must not mind, for even more severe and mercilessly shattering is Mr. Mousley's exposure of the extreme pacifist view as put forward by that eminent philosopher, Bertrand Russell, and others: "The outlook for any country whose government was suddenly overthrown by 'pacifism without a programme' would be disaster, there being scarcely any pacifists claiming qualification for government other than that of a large order of undigested ideas on pacifism. If pacifism is anything more than obstruction, if its aim is construction not destruction, what is its programme?" Pacifism is shattered on the rock of human nature, for, as Mr. Gandhi's experience showed—and he had a moderate success against a "pleasant and almost obsequious Government"—it puts on the pacifist himself too great a strain. Against the modern Leviathan it has even less chance, for "the mechanization of war has put the pacifist technique quite out of date and Leviathan beyond its range." Pacifism is a great end—peace which "cannot precede law" but "comes only after law because through law." So we come back to Goethe's dictum, a line of which adorns the title-page. The full poem might be fitly quoted to salute the brilliance of a brilliant book:

Nature from Art seems oft to be divorced—
Then, thought outstripped, she enters Art's mild yoke.
Against this bond my passion rose and broke—
I now behold it with a love unforced.

Nor bootless is it, honestly our Art
In measured tasks with all our Wit and Care
We serve; then Nature for her share
Will glow within the reawakened heart.

So with each creature of the Fancy born—
 In vain will Genius unrestrained aspire
 To reach Perfection's snow-capped heights;

Who yearns for Greatness must no method scorn.
 Lamps of base metal hold the Sacred Fire,
 And Law alone can grant us Freedom's rights.

EDWIN HAWARD.

Survey of International Affairs, 1937. Compiled by Arnold J. Toynbee and V. M. Boulter, in 2 volumes. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Vol. I. Pp. x+674. 3 maps. Vol. II. Pp. viii+434. 2 maps. 25s. and 18s.

FAR EASTERN SECTION

The history of the Far East in 1937 is dealt with by Professor Toynbee and Mr. Hubbard in Parts I and III and occupies about one-third of the first volume of the Survey. It would be difficult to improve on the careful, complete and objective account of the developments that led up to the clash in North China on July 7, of the course of the hostilities, the reactions of the other Powers and the repercussions on foreign interests. Every reviewer of these annual volumes is reduced to employing the stock formula that each volume has reached the high standard that the public have now become accustomed to expect. Some flaws, however, there must be in a work of this character, and the following observations, therefore, are intended to direct attention to such passages as are open to criticism.

The year 1937 opened with a reconciliation between the Kuomintang Government and the Communists of the north-west, which led to a greater degree of unity and stability than China had ever known before; and this in turn placed the whole nation solidly behind Chiang Kai-shek in his determination to call a halt to surrenders and to resist any further Japanese aggression even at the cost of a great war. Mr. Hubbard says that the Communists became the "allies" of the Government, that they had not allowed their policy to be dictated by the Comintern, and that lack of support from Russia left them no other choice than to seek a reconciliation with Nanking. This, however, would seem to be a misreading of the situation. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern at Moscow in 1935 laid down the line of the Popular Front, and specially decreed that in China this should take the form of an alliance of all parties to resist Japan. The Communists in North-West China immediately conformed to these instructions, abandoned their hostility to Chiang Kai-shek and sought a reconciliation with the Kuomintang Government. That reconciliation was effected after the Sian incident, but only on the terms that the Communists should not claim the status of "allies," with its implication of independence, but should accept the Government slogan "internal unification before resist-

ance to aggression." This they eventually did, and the symbol of their surrender was the reorganization of the Communist army as the 8th Route Army in April, 1937.

The moderate elements in Japanese national life, which still struggled to restrain the military faction within the bounds of sanity and decency, were seriously alarmed at the spirit that had now been roused in China, and Mr. Sato, the Foreign Minister, sought to make a fresh start in foreign relations by returning to the path of conciliation in China and of friendship with Great Britain. The military forced him almost immediately to retract his words. When, therefore, the Japanese Ambassador opened conversations in London the British Government were well aware that there was practically no hope of any good result. Ordinary decency, however, demanded that they should welcome any move towards friendly and harmonious relations, however unlikely it was to succeed, and give a courteous hearing to what the Ambassador had to say. It is regrettable, therefore, and not a little astonishing, to find in a volume issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs the suggestion made that in so acting the British Government were contemplating a "Hoare-Laval plan"—a recognition of Japanese gains in North China in return for a promise of non-aggression further south. There is no foundation for this unpleasant accusation.

A little further on the threadbare story is repeated of Great Britain's lukewarm response to Mr. Stimson's bid for support for his non-recognition policy. The truth is that it was Great Britain that secured the adoption of this policy by the League, and at the time both the U.S. Government and Mr. Stimson expressed their gratification. The theory that this lukewarmness "'sickened' the American people of attempts to work in concert with Great Britain" betrays a very naïve idea of the American attitude towards this question. As regards the Brussels Conference, Mr. Hubbard does not explain that the dispute was dealt with not by the League but by a Nine-Power Conference held away from Geneva, because at the former America was represented by a silent observer and at the latter by a full delegate. This, therefore, was the only way of ascertaining authoritatively America's attitude and intentions. Incidentally this procedure had the further advantage that when America confessed that she would take no positive action it was not possible to lay the blame for this fiasco upon Great Britain. America's determination to avoid all possibility of being involved was carried to such a pitch that aeroplanes for China were actually unloaded from the *Wichita* and eventually sent on via Europe in a non-American ship. Mr. Hubbard thinks that the President's action "could well be regarded, on a long view, as advantageous to China." This opinion was shared by neither China nor Japan, but it would be a pity to discourage any tendency to take a charitable view of difficult decisions in the field of foreign policy.

One final criticism relates to the Index, which leaves something to be desired. The attack on, and sinking of, the U.S. ship *Panay*, for example, occupies 5½ pages of narrative, but is not mentioned in the index; and at the top of page 672 there is a bad error.

While this Survey of the Far East contains some errors, to which the

present reviewer has felt it to be his duty to draw attention, these do not alter his view as to the high level of excellence which the work in general attains.

J. T. PRATI.

Vol.

THE WAR IN SPAIN

II.

This part of the Survey, issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute for Foreign Affairs, gives a comprehensive, objective, and conscientious review of the international events connected with the Spanish War. Written before the end of the fight, the narrative is purposely broken at the end of 1937. Another volume must complete this relation of one of the most deceptive periods in modern diplomacy.

Katharine Duff, who wrote the second part on the course of the war, has tried to be perfectly accurate. She is not trying—and rightly enough—to take sides in some of the famous controversial quarrels, such as the Badajoz massacre or the Guernica bombing, and contents herself with reporting the contradictory versions. This reviewer had the good fortune, as war correspondent for the London *Observer*, to enter Badajoz two days after its fall to the Nationalists on August 17, 1936. There were no massacres at all, but there was every evidence of as sharp street fighting as that at Merida.

The author is right in suggesting that the epic of the Alcazar of Toledo was perhaps a magnificent *fait d'armes*, but had favoured Franco with very poor strategical advantages, preventing indeed the storming of the capital at its proper time, for it slowed down the advance on Madrid and gave the International Brigades the opportunity of manning the defences of the town.

But General Franco was perhaps right in refusing to accept the view of some of his generals—like Varela—who advised an attack at any cost. Franco well remembered historical “precedents” and how Paris in 1871 resisted 250,000 “Versaillais”—while the German army blocked the Commune’s forces. In order to encircle an enormous town like Madrid at least 100,000 men were needed and at the time Franco had not more than 50,000 at his disposal.

The author seems to have miscalculated some of the Spanish problems; for instance, when he seems to reproach the Nationalists for having no sympathy with regionalism. “It was indeed one of the chief merits of the Popular Front that it was more sympathetic to regionalism than the Nationalists were” (p. 87). The reviewer had many opportunities of hearing this view—*i.e.*, that the fight was perhaps as much against separatism and national disintegration as against Marxism. In fact, the Spanish War was less a class war than a conflict between Centralism and Separatism. Old Unitarian Castille was fighting against disruptive Catalonia, against Basque as well as against Marxist forces. It can be safely argued that the Nationalists were in the historic tradition and fought instinctively for Spanish unity just as the Arab kings, Visigoth kings, Catholic and Bourbon kings resisted moral and territorial separatism with the sword. It was as necessary to-day as yesterday to maintain by force the unity of the nation.

The tedious history of the Non-intervention Committee is fully described. It will certainly be considered by future historians as one of the best—or the worst—diplomatic jokes of all times. The control was put into operation on April 20, 1937, and the Naval Patrol was ended after the *Leipzig* incident. On the whole, the non-intervention fiction was perhaps useful in order to preserve the *amour propre* of each of the interested Powers, but everybody knows that actually intervention flourished on a tremendous scale on both sides.

One of the most strange initiatives was the offer originating from the Spanish Republican Government on February 9, 1937, according to which this Government was prepared to give Spanish Morocco to France and England in return for active help. So much for the inspiring patriotism of the Reds! It was actually a somewhat naïve attempt to embroil France and England in a general conflict with Italy and Germany, who could then have been justified in assuming that the Algeciras agreement had been violated (p. 284).

As for the interests and motives of the Soviet Union, they are impartially sketched. It cannot be doubted any more that Stalin's policy was calculated mainly in order to create an incendiary centre in far Occidental Europe, as far as possible from the Russian frontiers. The Kremlin perhaps dreamed of another advantage: to transfer the Comintern from Moscow to Barcelona or Madrid and ostensibly separate its work from Russian diplomacy proper. On the other hand, if the Russian calculations had succeeded, Russia, helped by a Red Spain, could have well played a very important rôle in the Mediterranean area. Asiatic influences would have increased considerably—through Russia—in Mediterranean and Occidental countries. This scheme, which nearly succeeded, is, I am afraid, the only connection I could find between the Spanish War and Central Asian interests.

R. L.

Handbook of Central and East Europe. Edited by Stephen Taylor. 6¾" × 5". The Central European Times Publishing Co., Ltd.

This handbook, published in August, 1938, contains much useful information regarding a number of the countries of Europe concerning which in many cases reliable information on commercial, industrial and agricultural matters is by no means easy of access. Changes which have taken place since the book was published have already made out of date some of the political and economic information, and Albania and Czecho-Slovakia have actually ceased to exist as separate independent entities. This does not, however, in any way detract from the value and interest of the book as a source of information regarding the major portion of the area covered, in which drastic changes have not occurred. Among the countries dealt with one which is of particular interest at present, and regarding which the public in this country has but little knowledge, is Turkey. The short historical note is interesting as it sets out the theory developed by the

modern historical school in Turkey that the Turks are not merely in origin a wild body of Central Asian freebooters who raided westwards at increasingly frequent intervals during the Middle Ages until they eventually overthrew the Byzantine Empire and founded the Ottoman Empire in its place, and who have no history prior to these incursions into what is generally known as mediæval history. The modern Turkish school claims that the Turks are the origin of all the great civilizations and cultures of the Middle East and therefore of the world. They claim that the Sumerians of Iraq and the Hittites of Mesopotamia and Anatolia were Turks, and in recognition of this the two leading industrial banks which have been established by the new Turkish Government have been named Sumer and Eti (Hittite). Whether further research confirms the claims they put forward or not, the fact of their being made serves to emphasize, in conjunction with the adoption of the Roman script in place of the Arabic, and the replacement of Oriental garments and the tarbush by Western clothes and hats, the determination of the Turkey of to-day to break loose from the *damnosa hereditas* of the past centuries of Ottoman rule and to take its place as an enlightened and progressive member of the modern world.

The development of industry in Turkey during recent years is set out in a manner which enables the reader to grasp rapidly the extent of this development and the main lines on which it is being conducted, but not the least useful sections are those which show the great efforts made to encourage agriculture and to improve the quality of agricultural produce, and the rapid extension of education. Agriculture always has been and must remain the principal industry of Turkey, but until recent years it has remained in a very backward condition. The new Turkish Government has fully realized the material value of its agriculture and has made a great effort to provide the cultivators with improved seed and implements, with the credit facilities essential in a farming community and with increased facilities for the disposal of their crops by improving communications and by assisting in the orderly marketing of their produce. In this the agricultural bank provided with ample resources by Government and by the savings of the people—resulting from the enhanced prosperity of the country—has played a prominent part by granting loans in cash or in the form of improved seed, by erecting silos at strategic points and by purchasing the crops direct and disposing of them through its own extensive organization. Much has been done, too, in the establishment of plant breeding stations, in the organization of pest control services and in improving the quality of the country's livestock, while much attention has been paid to the development of the veterinary services and to the improvement of agricultural education. A number of agricultural schools have been founded at suitable places in the provinces with a university course at an agricultural institute at Ankara.

With regard to general education great strides are being made, and facilities for elementary and secondary education are being expanded as fast as the supply of properly trained teachers permits. Education is now entirely secular, the old religious schools and madrasahs having been closed,

while elementary education is compulsory and free for both boys and girls. The number of children attending elementary schools has risen in 12 years from 340,000 to 688,000, about one-third of whom are girls. The numbers attending secondary schools has during the same period risen from just over 7,000 to about 60,000, about 25 per cent. of whom are girls. Special efforts are being made to provide an adequate supply of trained teachers, and there now exist thirteen teachers' training colleges, the output of which is rapidly improving the standard of the teaching staff at the Government schools.

With regard to foreign trade the object of the Turkish Government has been to protect its currency and to maintain its balance of payments by balancing its imports and its exports. To this end bilateral agreements have been made with many countries providing in most cases for the maintenance of a balance of payments in favour of Turkey often, as in the agreement with Great Britain, of as much as 30 per cent., this balance being used to meet the service of foreign loans and to provide foreign currency for the purchase of Government requirements whether for defence or for other purposes. These arrangements have the disadvantage for Turkey of forcing her to purchase her requirements not where she would prefer but wherever she has a favourable trade balance and often at unfavourable prices. Great Britain, with a particularly unfavourable agreement with Turkey and in the face of the well-known German methods of trading in the Middle East, has of recent years taken a disappointingly low place in Turkey's foreign trade. The extract of the general import regulations given in this book gives an indication of the difficulties of trade with Turkey and these difficulties are still further increased by the obstacles imposed by the terms of these various agreements.

The book provides much useful general information of interest to the tourist or to persons requiring only a general indication of recent developments in the country. Naturally, with the limited space at its disposal, it has been unable to provide the detailed information which anyone desiring to make a study of the country would require.

J. B. M.

Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt.

By J. Heyworth-Dunne, Senior Lecturer in Arabic, School of Oriental Studies, London. 6" x 9½". Pp. 503. Luzac. 1939. 25s.

Mr. Heyworth-Dunne has had the truly noble idea of prefacing a contemplated two-volume study of the language, literature and music of modern Egypt, with a monumental account of the encroachment of Europe, through imported educational techniques, on the Moslem society. This account is to be in two volumes: the present one covers the period 1700-1883, and is a mine of names, personalities above all, curricula and carefully evaluated statistics, all easy to draw on through the indexes and bibliography. Already the reader can make his own generalization on how it has come to be that "the system of education in use in Egypt at the present day is so ill-adapted to the country, and why it is so defective."

Strange, indeed, is the story of the intensive exploitation by Muhammad Ali of all the economic resources of the country, and his nourishment of the highly developed military system that was a part of his plans. The Turkish conception of progress had in any case by circumstances become essentially military, and the new ruler's "nursery" of Turkish and Circassian youths ("the axis of my government"), who considered themselves far too superior to follow any other profession than that of arms, combined with the instinctive Egyptian aversion to military service to discourage literacy on the part of the native. "The vocational aspect of the whole problem of the introduction of Western science must not be overlooked": when material advantages went with culture, culture might be loved, but not before. At present the education of the army ruined that of the mosque, and the schools were feared as a necessary part of the military and naval organization. It does not seem certain that military discipline might not have been, particularly in days when Egypt was fighting for herself, a liberal education for the country. Mr. Heyworth-Dunne seldom takes sides, and it is noteworthy that he is here markedly defending the tradition of "learning," and cannot forgive the ruler for neglect of its benefits in favour of a world which "consisted of two camps, the Frankish or European and a non-national (*i.e.*, non-Egyptian) Moslem one."

It was typical of Muhammad Ali "to send men of his own kind to Europe to see for themselves what the Westerners had to give." He wished for instruments, as an observer remarked, but he needed them to be advisers as well; in any particular department "he had not only the institution to create, but also the man, the spirit and the tradition." The reasons for the first mission's departure to Italy may have been purely technical; when subsequent ones went to France it was not because the ruler was interested in any cultural tie with that country. The outstanding feature of the missions of Abbas, says the author, was the attention which he paid to the value of educational work done in other countries besides France, especially in medicine. But owing to the absence, as often as not, of the most elementary attainments in the students, even in 1862, after thirty-five years of medical studies in Egypt, no medical school could be founded. The author gives an idea of what he judges to have been the best indigenous possibilities by allusions to the career of the only pure Egyptian to be in charge of a school. The School of Translation (1836-1851) of Shaikh Rifaah, an Azhar and a mission product, elicited men not altogether divorced from their old cultural surroundings and yet not so thoroughly Ottomanized as the graduates of the purely military schools, men who contributed to the creation of new cultural élites in Egyptian society.

The depressing evidence from archives on the state of general education at this time has, since the present book, been added to and resifted by Ahmed Izzat Abdul Karim in his *Tariḫ et talim fi asr Muhammad Ali*. The reorganization of the schools administration, still in 1836 attached to the "Ministry" (or Secretariat) of War, and the coming into being of a state so much worse after the formation of a Council of Schools is ascribed by Mr. Heyworth-Dunne to the passivity inculcated upon his subjects by a

ruler who was destroying old habits without forming new ones. The compulsory reduction of the army in 1841, combined with his disillusion and bitterness against Europe, meant the breakdown of the school system. In the reign of Abbas there was no demand for public education: "education as understood in the West was not the education that had been presented to the Egyptians, and they had serious misapprehensions about it." Modern education was non-existent under Said, but with Ismail there came in 1867 official recognition and reform of the only permanent educational system in the country—that of the elementary school (*ḡuttab*). The statistics given out, however, were frequently fictitious, and much of the educational budget was used up on material aid to the students (who were in virtue of this to be disposed of at the good pleasure of the Government), and very little on the teachers. The most reasonable report yet drawn up by a native—that of Ali Pasha Ibrahim in 1880—could not influence the two outstanding obstacles to reform: the lack of capable teachers, and the fact that the question of the provision of Government employees was still allowed to govern the policy of education. So rooted was the idea that instruction was a talisman bringing official appointments, leisure and pleasure, that when the idea of a qualifying school certificate was introduced the acquisition of it became a kind of mania, and the educated further made a business of plagiarizing and translating European textbooks, which were then apt to be regarded as prescribed for all time.

No ruler made any attempt to instil new life into the Azhar, that strange body of students isolated from the rest of the civilized world. Ismail would have liked to form a theocracy that would lend some dignity to his court, but the reforms of 1872 merely meant that its inmates "read, or rather memorized, nothing but that which was decreed." The only criticism came from the non-Egyptian Shaikh Jamal-addin al-Afghani, who was partly responsible for the literary revival, the growth of journalism and the development of platform speaking. The Arabic press was developed under a Syrian group, and aimed its satire at the existing régime and the growth of European influence. It was encouraging that some Azharis showed a certain amount of enthusiasm in joining the new training school (Dar al Ulum, 1872) for teachers in national schools, even if they participated with the frankly limited idea of a bonanza of new jobs, but the rigid Azhar mentality made them too old to learn, and it was Arabic teaching that was below the standard of all the other branches. The only remedy in 1880 was held to be another training college, but to maintain the Dar al Ulum to specialize in the training of Arabic teachers was to create a gap between the Islamic and European cultures "which was to widen gradually to such an extent as to create an impassable barrier between the Arabic teacher and the teacher of modern subjects."

A report by a commission in 1880, written for the most part by Egyptians themselves after a period of experiment by Egyptians, was "practically an indictment of the whole system of Egyptian education." The reign of Said can be considered as the turning-point in the history of European schools in Egypt, but there was frequently jealousy between Christian com-

munities (and no doubt the exploitation by politics of religious propaganda); further, says the author, "it is significant that there is not a single contemporary document written by a native in which the European and Egyptian systems are compared." The commissioners of 1880 failed to bring out the essential difference between the fundamental backgrounds of the two societies, the Western and the Islamic—namely, the almost complete absence in the latter of those features of home life on which the foreign schools could build. The prestige of the Western cultural curriculum may nevertheless be so great that even a travesty of it comes to be endorsed by giver and recipient alike.

It is to be hoped that no consideration of susceptibilities at home or abroad will delay Mr. Heyworth-Dunne from a generous measure of the interpretation he has earned the right to give of the way in which, in Egypt, personalities, social circumstances and education alike have been urgently made over by political expediency.

OWEN E. HOLLOWAY.

The Economic Development of Modern Egypt, 1938. By A. E. Crouchley. Crown 8vo. Pp. 286. Longmans, Green and Co.

The recent work of Professor A. E. Crouchley on the economic development of modern Egypt appeared at the right time.

With the abolishing of the Capitulations in Egypt an important chapter of the economic history of Egypt has been closed. The new era of economic independence with its emancipation from the "golden chains" of the past will give the modern Egypt a chance of showing her governing abilities in face of critical days and a world troubled more than ever. To judge by the first steps undertaken in this direction, it seems that the Egyptian Government is well aware of the decisive change which the elimination of such a preponderant pillar of the former economic régime has meant. The month of January, 1939, has seen the introduction of a far-reaching reform in the taxation system of Egypt—*i.e.*, the announcement of an income-tax. The way for the enactment of legislation, taxing also foreigners and the profits of local enterprises run by foreigners who hitherto have enjoyed privileges as regarding taxation, was paved both by the abolishing of the Capitulations and by the necessity to face the increasing responsibilities which modern Egypt is now called upon to bear in respect of the development of new State services, growing expenditure in the field of education, industrialization, sanitation and, last but not least, defence. In order to appreciate this turn in the latest stage of economic development of modern Egypt the knowledge of the background and the story of the forces behind it is indispensable. Mr. Crouchley, in his concise book, gives us this background in a very able and often brilliant form. Maybe that his interpretation of the term "development" is somewhat narrow in so far as he confined himself to the description of the trend of events more than to the contemporary economic issues of modern Egypt; he dwells, therefore, not particularly on the *last phase* of this development, and it might be

regrettable that for the same reason, perhaps, the explanation of the socio-political factors and the currents which have now small weight in shaping the economic destiny of the country in our time is lacking. But as already stated, on the whole the book is a vivid narrative of the economic history of the country, beginning with the earliest times until our days.

The author deals with his subject in chronological order. After giving a short survey on the economic history of Egypt before 1800, he describes the economic development prior to the nineteenth century, Egypt at the end of the eighteenth century and the economic effect of the French invasion. A detailed chapter is devoted to the first intrusion of European economic methods and conceptions under Mohamed Ali and his successors (1805-1880). The following sections are named: Dams and Barrages (1880-1914); the War and its Aftermath (1914-1922); the Post-War Years.

Both the readers who are not acquainted with the facts of Egyptian economic history and those knowing the facts will be impressed by the degree in which the author has succeeded in including all relevant facts within the chapters mentioned above. Particularly impressive is the section "Dams and Barrages," which describes the pre-war period of establishing the big irrigation projects which at the time transformed fundamentally the structure of Egyptian agriculture and linked Egypt much more than ever before to the world market and its fluctuations.

The chapter on war and post-war development pictures the dramatic movement of prices, which in the case of cotton raised the value of cotton export from £17.6 millions in 1914-1915 to not less than £105.4 millions in 1919-1920 and subsequently caused their slump in 1931-1932 to £19.6 millions without corresponding changes in the scope of the area under cotton and its average yield.

The Statistical Annex and the Bibliography serve as an illuminating guide, presenting a clear and concise arrangement of all relevant data which otherwise are scattered over a great number of official and non-official publications. A pity only that the index is missing, which would have been very convenient. As a mine of useful information and a textbook, Mr. Crouchley's new work will render invaluable service.

A. B.

The Land of Egypt. By Robin Fedden. Illustrated. Batsford, Ltd. 12s. 6d.

It is always a moot point when reviewing a book whether one should record one's private opinion for what it is worth, or to guess at and try to record what will be the mass opinion of its prospective readers. A striking instance of these two styles of criticism occurred recently when a new volume by a well-known author obtained reviews on the same day in the two leading Sunday papers. One recorded only the very personal opinion of the critic, who showed nothing but his irritation at the style of the writing, whilst the second went to the other extreme and gave what the reviewer imagined would be the general opinion of the value of the book.

As one who has drunk of the waters of the Nile for twenty years I did not expect to find much to interest me in a book that deals generally with Egypt and its people, and has no new doctrine to expound nor no fresh light to throw on some little-known portion of it. So many books have been written on the country that one felt another was redundant, but *The Land of Egypt* is written by a man with quite extraordinary insight and knowledge of the country and its people, and this, combined with a particularly easy and attractive style, makes it a most satisfying and attractive book.

It is difficult to decide whether it will appeal most to that small section of the public who have never seen Egypt, those who have visited it only as tourists, or to the fairly large community who have spent half a lifetime in the country. The latter class will find special delight in it, as they will discover themselves remarking again and again: "That is precisely what I have always said," and this in itself at once stamps the book in the reader's opinion as an extremely good one and the author as a man of no ordinary powers of penetration.

The description of the Nile Valley and the river, the crops and the small mud-brick villages is particularly good, and one sees again and more clearly that orderly chess-board of vivid green and brown-black fallows between the dim pink, buff and violet of the western and eastern scarps that shut in the narrow land of Egypt. He writes freshly and vividly of the monuments and temples and even brings new light and interest to this well-worn subject. He reminds us among other things of the theory of dear old Herodotus, who swallowed every "snake yarn" that Egyptian story-tellers could tell him, and who stated that the Great Pyramid was built on "the proceeds of the immoral earnings of Cheops' daughter—an accomplishment that seems almost as remarkable as the monument itself."

Mr. Fedden is very sound also in his careful and fair appreciation of the people of Egypt: the *fellah*, who is not quite so hard working as he is supposed to be, the relatively tiny middle class, and the Pashaocracy, if one may coin a word, who represent the upper ten and who are "embarrassingly apologetic" about the *fellah*, his ignorance, his health and his low standard of living.

Mr. Fedden is slightly concerned about the future of Egypt, for, as he says, "the social scene at present is the perfect setting for a revolution." He appears, however, to hold the view that the natural common sense of the people and their ability to remain unaffected by change will pull them through the troublous times ahead.

"Into the midst of this people aliens come for wealth or power, to found dynasties or run groceries, but in the end they pay a too heavy price for their invasion; they lose their identity, they are submerged among those they have conquered. Of all those Greek soldiers whom a benevolent Ptolemy settled in the Fayum no trace, no trick of custom, remains, nor is there any Ægean feature in the people of that district to-day; only the Englishman, armed with a golf-bag or isolated in his Turf Club, defies the fate of previous invaders—but fifty years in Egyptian history constitute an incident, not an occupation."

The book is exceptionally well illustrated, and it is decidedly one to keep on the bookshelf—not one to figure as a mere item on the weekly library list.

C. S. JARVIS.

Palestine : the Reality. By J. M. N. Jeffries. Crown oct. Pp. xxiii + 728. Longmans, Green and Co. 25s.

In his book *The Arab Awakening* Mr. George Antonius wrote: "For a score of years or so the world has been looking at Palestine mainly through Zionist spectacles and has unconsciously acquired the habit of reasoning on Zionist premisses." The author of *Palestine : the Reality*, having been sent to Palestine in 1920 by the late Lord Northcliffe to investigate the facts of the case on the spot, at once conceived the very gravest doubts concerning the justice and expediency of the mandatory experiment. He thereupon set out, in the same sort of crusading spirit in which Émile Zola once set out to investigate the Dreyfus case, to expose what he considered to be a grave miscarriage of justice. The result of his labours during eighteen years is now offered to the public in a volume of over 700 pages. The book is extremely readable and almost every page is adorned with felicitous and often extremely pungent epigrams. Referring to the obsession of young Zionists with various kinds of ideologies, Mr. Jeffries remarks: "Mostly these young people came from Eastern Europe, but were hardly at all Eastern. They were European in a generalized way, without territorial connections, but breathing the ideas in the European air. . . . Theirs was a disembodied existence, with no real home save in what was thought or spoken. They had grown up in books, and they lived in speeches." The best justification for the attempt to found a National Home for the Jewish people is, of course, precisely the desirability of rooting these young people in some soil and civilization of their own. Mr. Jeffries would reply that this does not give them the right to dispossess another nation, that Palestine is in any case too small to serve the purpose, and that, since it forms an essential portion of a homogeneous and hostile Arab whole, the final result is bound to be disastrous. He would claim, too, that owing to the overwhelmingly urban development of the National Home, there are, in fact, just as many *luftmenschen*, to use the Jewish phrase, in Tel Aviv as in any other city in the world which has a correspondingly large Jewish population.

Those who have studied the Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva will appreciate also the element of truth in the following description: "What generally went on in Geneva . . . was a factitious searching of consciences in public. The Government (whichever it happened to be) . . . would say that it viewed 'its mission' in Palestine in such-and-such a fashion. Did the Mandates Commission, it would ask, feel that this point of view conformed with the obligations laid upon the Government as mandatory by the League? The Mandates Commission would anxiously ponder the point and, after a paper-deep criticism or so, would propound that the Mandatory was carrying out his obligations most

satisfactorily. Proceedings always ended in exchanges of compliments, after a preliminary exhibition of virtue fearful of itself, during which Government spokesmen and members of the Mandates Commission

. . . like mountebanks did wound
And stab themselves with doubts profound."

Of Mr. Jeffries, at any rate, it cannot be said that he is in the habit of unconsciously "reasoning on Zionist premisses." An example will make this clear. Zionists, dissatisfied at the attitude of the Military Administration, the Army and the subsequent civilian officials, have constantly complained of the haphazard way in which these administrators were selected, of their low cultural standards as compared with those of the Jews whom they had to administer—this, by the way, with regard to a body of officials of whom Sir Ronald Storrs and Mr. C. R. Ashbee were representative members!—and of their failure to comprehend Zionism ("They only half understood the Balfour Declaration"—Leonard Stein). By this means a "Zionist premiss for reasoning" was established, and a succession of Colonial Secretaries and Commissions of Investigation duly devoted their time and energies to inquiring whether the difficulties of implementing the Palestine Mandate were, in fact, due to the lack of education and anti-Semitic prejudices of British officials. In the end they invariably decided that they were not; but in the meantime they had been successfully diverted from examining whether the difficulties were not due to the peculiar nature of Zionism itself. Mr. Jeffries interprets these facts in a very different manner. "The Army," he says, "was the sole large category of average British citizens which had direct access to the facts of the so-called 'Palestine problem.' . . . The authorities of the military administration had a knowledge of the subject which the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers of Great Britain had not acquired, and indeed had steadfastly refused to obtain. So the undoubted fact that the Army in all its ranks was, with the fewest exceptions, anti-Zionist . . . is but the most convincing proof that officers and men were alert to what was going on around them. They reacted, more earnestly than politely, against the great wrong planned in the interests of the 'National Home' against the population in the midst of which they lived. . . . As the Army at that time was constituted, its soldiers sprang from every class and were of every type of the British people, and the whole evidence was before them. In a way, they were empanelled by their presence upon the scene, and it was in a great trial by jury that they returned the verdict of 'Guilty' upon Zionism as practised in Palestine."

The author is very severe indeed in his criticism of Zionist diplomacy. In point of fact, however, it may be doubted whether it was any more disingenuous than that of many European powers under similar circumstances, particularly when it is realized that the Zionists had no army of their own to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them. Mr. Jeffries is probably right in claiming that the Mandate was only a rather ill-fitting cloak, beneath which it was sought to carry out a previously planned

colonizing operation entirely inconsistent with the principle which the Mandatory system had been expressly designed to embody. In many respects the project only differed by its intensity from similar operations in Algeria and Morocco, Libya and Albania. The moral justification in each case must be sought in the right of an energetic population from Europe to develop a comparatively backward land in spite of the resistance of the indigenous inhabitants. In this particular case, Jewish "need" was certainly in an altogether different category from that of either the French or the Italians. On the other hand, Palestine, owing to its very limited area and natural resources, its relatively dense existing population and the justifiable claim of its inhabitants to govern themselves, was a singularly unpromising territory for any such experiment.

Mr. Jeffries brings forward abundant evidence that the Zionists did, in fact, plan from the beginning to monopolize Palestine and its natural resources for their own exclusive benefit, while in the meantime claiming that they desired nothing more than to share with the Arabs in the task of building up a common homeland. The author quotes, for example, the following two pronouncements. They were both sponsored by Doctor Weizman, one at the end of 1916, the other early in 1917.

1. "The Jewish Chartered Company is to have power to exercise *the right of pre-emption of Crown and other lands and to acquire for its own use all or any concessions which may at any time be granted* by the suzerain government or governments."

2. "The Zionists are not demanding in Palestine monopolies or exclusive privileges, nor are they asking that any part of Palestine should be administered by a Chartered Company to the detriment of others."

The reader will have little difficulty in deciding which of these two statements was designed to convey Zionist aspirations in a private memorandum to the ear of the British Government and which to present them to the public in a letter to *The Times*.

How the method worked is shown by a passage from the Report of the Zionist Executive to the first Zionist Congress which was held after the war. "In quarters in which Zionist aspirations were regarded with unqualified sympathy the view was almost unanimously taken that it was neither possible on general grounds, nor desirable in the interests of the Zionist Movement itself, to provide in the Mandate for the conferment on the Zionist Organization of anything savouring of an economic monopoly. There could be no doubt that Zionist co-operation in the economic development of the country would, in practice, be welcomed, and that Zionists would have every opportunity of participating in it to the full extent of their resources. On the other hand, the concession, *in terms*, of far-reaching privileges, *while in itself adding little of practical value*, would excite opposition which there was no advantage in gratuitously challenging and which might even be plausibly represented as inconsistent with the Covenant of the League of Nations."

Mr. Jeffries gives detailed information of the administrative methods which were used, he maintains, to "welcome" Zionist participation, as in

the case of the Rutenberg Concession, and to exclude all other participation, as in the case of the Mavromattis Concession.

The system was rooted in the Balfour Declaration itself. The author has done a remarkable piece of research on the famous protective clauses of the Declaration "*it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.*" He demonstrates that this text was drafted by the Zionists themselves, and that they utilized for their draft an earlier American-Zionist document, dealing with the demands which Jews proposed to put forward on behalf of their co-religionists at the end of the war. "This manifesto demanded for the Jews full rights wherever they lived in the world. . . . 'It being understood,' said the manifesto, 'that the phrase full rights is deemed to include: (1) Civil, religious and political rights; (2) the securing and protecting of Jewish rights to Palestine.'"

Instructed by the Foreign Office to include a clause in the Balfour Declaration, securing both Jewish rights outside Palestine and non-Jewish rights within it, the Zionist drafters carefully limited the rights to be guaranteed to the non-Jewish communities of the National Home to "civil and religious rights." These, as a Zionist advocate was later to demonstrate to the Royal Commission, meant little more than the right to hold property and to attend divine service. The late Lord Peel expressed some astonishment at this interpretation, but Mr. Stein, the advocate in question, no doubt knew the real intention of the drafters, since he had himself apparently been one of them. When, however, the drafters came to the question of the rights to be guaranteed to Jews in "all countries of the world," they dropped the limiting qualifications "civil and religious," spoke of "rights" in general and amplified these with the new phrase "political status." In view of this evidence there can, it would seem, be no doubt that the Zionist drafters intended to deny the Arabs in Palestine rights which they demanded for themselves in countries in which they themselves were, and expected to remain, a minority.

A short summary of the author's conclusions may be of utility. Mr. Jeffries considers that the issue of the Balfour Declaration was forced through the War Cabinet by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George during the absence in India of Mr. Montague, who had, on a previous occasion, succeeded in inducing the Cabinet to reject the proposal. There was no preliminary discussion of the project in Parliament, nor was any serious investigation made into conditions in Palestine. The one Near Eastern expert who had been consulted and favoured the scheme was Sir Mark Sykes. By the time of his premature death in 1919, however, he had conceived grave doubts concerning Zionism and was about to use his influence to modify the project. The text of both the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate was drafted by Zionist Jews; being modified, however, by the instructions of the Foreign Office, until they became capable of a different interpretation from that of the Zionists. No Arab representatives were ever consulted in the formulation of either the Declaration or the Man-

date. The latter was forced on to the League of Nations, regardless of its inconsistency with the Covenant, by the same sort of means that it had been pushed through the Cabinet. In spite of the demand of the Assembly of the League, it was never submitted to that body for examination, discussion or approval. The Cabinet refused to allow it be discussed by the House of Commons. The House of Lords, which did discuss it, expressed its disapproval. No independent British investigation was carried out either into the practicability of Zionism in general, as a means of solving the Jewish problem, or into the feasibility or justice of establishing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The only investigation made on the spot, that of the American King-Crane Commission, reported that "Jewish immigration should be definitely limited and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish Commonwealth should be given up." This Report, for reasons which have never been fully elucidated, was not made public in time to influence the debate on the Mandate in the American House of Representatives.

The concluding chapters deal with more recent events. The documentation is here much slighter and there are demonstrable inaccuracies. Mgr. Mubarak, for example, is Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, not Patriarch.

In general, however, the book is based on the results of years of painstaking and minute research; when due allowance has been made for the element of exaggeration inherent in the author's picturesque and ironic style, his presentation of the genesis of the Mandate is deserving of the most careful consideration.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

An Economic Survey of Palestine. By D. Horowitz and Rita Hinden. Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. 5s.

It is a relief to find a book dealing with recent events in Palestine which is so free from all trace of the controversies associated with that subject. This "Economic Survey" of Palestine is a dispassionate account of one of the most remarkable examples of material progress achieved by a small immigrant community, in spite of physical and political obstacles of every kind, that modern history affords. It is, moreover, a serious attempt to apply scientific methods to the study of certain economic phenomena of great interest. It has thus a claim to the attention of all students of economics; while those whose imagination has always been kindled by the conception of a progressive State in the Middle East, stirring the conservatism of the Orient with the leaven of modern ideas and yet linked with sacred traditions of the past, will find here an encouragement to their faith in a great experiment.

There is no undue optimism in this book. The authors wrote "with special reference to the years 1936 and 1937," and under the depressing shadow of the disturbances of that period. They are more concerned to analyze the various economic factors which marked that period and the three years immediately preceding than to offer any forecast of the future. But the general effect of their analysis is to emphasize the remarkable resiliency of the sturdy economic organism built up in Palestine—a feature

which not infrequently forms the central theme of company directors' speeches to shareholders. How that organism was built up is told in a matter-of-fact way with numerous statistical tables and graphs. There is no attempt to paint a historical background, and the scope of the book is limited to a comparatively brief period—too brief, perhaps, for the fair use of statistics—while to some it may seem that the Arab share in the organism is insufficiently described. These conscious limitations—the last mentioned of which is due, no doubt, to the very meagre supply of statistics of the Arab economy and to its primitive character—do not seriously detract from the value of an account supported by such an abundance of facts and figures and illuminated by an abundance of economic theory, used not to support tendentious opinions but to explain difficult facts.

This book, to be appreciated, must be read. But it may be possible to indicate here some of its salient features.

Much emphasis is laid on the rapid growth of the Palestine population between 1922 and 1936, and particularly on the share due to immigration which, in the Jewish portion of the population, amounted to as much as 81 per cent. This remarkable increase, which in most cases would be expected to produce a very congesting effect on the local economy, was easily absorbed in Palestine for two main reasons: first, because the country was already equipped with a supply of the necessities of life and offered a market for enterprise; and, secondly, because the immigration was accompanied by a large import of capital which had a most stimulating effect on the national economy. Hence arose a healthy inflation of credit which stimulated enterprise and thus increased the general purchasing power. To the doubt expressed in some quarters as to the danger of unrestricted immigration, the authors reply that artificial restriction is unnecessary because immigration brings its own corrective, and that when there is inclination for immigration there is also opportunity. This comforting doctrine was no doubt in the minds of the recent Royal Commission when they advocated the abandonment of the criterion of "economic absorptive capacity."

The large influx of capital (on which, fortunately, no interest has to be remitted abroad) was invested variously in agriculture, in citrus plantations, in building, and in industry generally. The gradual change from cereal growing to mixed farming, the diminishing investment in the citrus industry (which was at no time dominated by Jewish interest), the immense importance of building in the earlier years with its subsequent slowing-down, and the development of other industries—all these activities are described with a quantity of statistical detail. The use of statistics in these chapters is, indeed, somewhat too detailed; while a large amount of secondary information is provided, the broad results are not very clearly brought out. A method more closely related to uniform periods of years would have been clearer; but in this respect the authors no doubt suffer from inadequacy and heterogeneity in their material, which is drawn partly from the Palestine Government records, partly from League of Nations' statistics and partly from figures compiled by the Jewish Agency and similar institutions.

The main features of importance are the development of mixed farming through the system of land colonization, which the authors, looking at these matters with no apparent racial sentiment but with an eye to material advantage, appraise at its true value as an economic asset; the difficulties besetting the citrus export industry, owing partly to the operation of Article 18 of the Mandate (which was criticized also by the Royal Commission) and partly to the over-production inevitable in a profitable industry; the great part played by the building industry in the country's economic growth, as to which the authors seem not quite certain whether to regard it as beneficent or otherwise; the gradual development of industrial enterprise through the elimination of the weaker and concentration on the more stable industries. These are, perhaps, the principal landmarks in the economic progress of Palestine as described in this book.

A slight account is given of the highly organized Jewish institutions which initiated, fostered and guided the economy of the immigrant population, with special mention of the social, economic and financial activities of the "Histadrut" or General Federation of Jewish Labour; and there are a few very moderate criticisms of the aloofness and conservatism of the administration of the public finances.

Space forbids further comment. A study of this sober and well-documented survey is warmly recommended.

Though the authors have discreetly refrained from drawing broad conclusions as to the future of this economic adventure, there is enough material here recorded to justify belief in the future of a community where the standard of individual energy and collective intelligence is so high, and to rekindle the enthusiasm of those who have always felt that a wise policy will see to it that such qualities are retained and encouraged to bear fruit for the regeneration of the Middle East.

S. H. S.

Sheba's Daughters, being a Record of Travel in Southern Arabia. By H. St.J. B. Philby. 10" x 7". Pp. 485. London: Methuen. 1939. 21s. net.

"I had done what no man before me had done in all time. I had laid my plans as carefully as was possible in the circumstances, and I had collected information and material for a map of many tens of thousands of square miles—perhaps 200,000 square miles—which constitutes a solid addition to human knowledge of the world we live in. I had done something to be proud of, and I was proud of what I had done." Readers of this work will agree that it is *dignum tanto hiatu*. The lands, towns, and villages traversed by Mr. Philby in his motor-car had for the most part been neither described nor even visited by previous European travellers. He gives details of the stages of his routes with meticulous exactitude as to distances, directions, elevations, and geological formation; he has collected stores of local information, history, legend, tribal and family genealogies, feuds, and political partisanship; he has devoted much attention to antiquities, and

enriched South Arabian epigraphy with a large number of inscriptions, some of which have been deciphered by Professor Ryckmans in the Belgian journal *Muséon*, the rest by Mr. Beeston in that magazine and in an Appendix to the present work. And this list by no means exhausts the instruction, not unmixed with entertainment, which he has provided. We can only say to him *sume superbiam quæsitam meritis*.

Miss Stark, whose first expedition to Hadramaut had preceded Mr. Philby's, was prevented by illness from visiting Shabwa, supposed to be the Sabota of Pliny, who calls it capital of the Atramitæ, and says that its walls contain sixty temples and it is situated on a high mountain. Mr. Philby, who was more successful than Miss Stark, contradicts both these statements; "it lies in a flat desert among quite low hillocks, and as for the number of its temples, there never could have been sixty or even six." He therefore suggests a somewhat different identification for Sabota. Indeed, Shabwa seems scarcely worthy of a visit, but an even less known place Aiyad "of all the places I visited was the most unpleasant."

Probably by far the most important discovery of his whole journey is, he thinks, more than one necropolis, apparently of cenotaphs, on the Ruwaik and Alam ridges. He found no trace in these buildings, some of which he examined and measured carefully, of human or other remains. Neither did he find any inscriptions on them. The statement which he quotes from Pliny, that the Sabæans treated their dead as of no account and threw out their corpses on the dunghills and rubbish-heaps of the towns, is refuted by a whole number of inscriptions from the Sabæan country, in which the rights of burial in tombs are reserved for certain families or apportioned. Mr. Philby's discovery therefore leaves room for much speculation.

His acquaintance with the Arabic language and Arabian antiquity is so profound that I hesitate to traverse any of his statements. One which occasions surprise is his derivation of the Arabic *shurtah* ("police") from the French *sûreté*. Since the Arabic word is found in books that are earlier than the Crusades, and *sûreté* in this sense was unknown to Littré in 1872, this etymology seems improbable. Another, that the Islamic calendar was adopted from the old pagans. Now Islam abolished intercalation, which implies a solar calendar. Several of the names of the Islamic months imply connection with the seasons, which the lunar calendar ignores.

The criticism of British policy and *Schadenfreude* at its failures, which are not wanting in Mr. Philby's earlier volumes, are somewhat emphasized in this. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites*, but the suspicion of his enterprise entertained by the authority at Aden is at least intelligible. Traveling under the ægis of Ibn Saud, he was generally supposed to be preparing the way for an extension of that monarch's dominions. Some colour would be lent to that supposition by his undertaking to guarantee that the Hammam contingent (to the pilgrimage) should be excused from the pilgrim dues paid by foreigners, on the ground that the tribe, being in fact independent, regarded themselves as subjects of Ibn Saud. Propaganda

does not cease to be propaganda because it is veracious, and that term seems to be suitable for the repeated assurances that whereas British "protection" is wholly ineffective, the rule of Ibn Saud brings peace and security.

The inscriptions interpreted by Mr. Beeston add something to our knowledge of the old Hadramaut realm, of which previously far less had been known than of the other pre-Islamic States of Southern Arabia. It would seem that a larger contribution to this subject may be expected from the finds of the later expedition, described by Miss Caton Thompson at the Brussels Congress of Orientalists.

D. S. M.

Cylinder Seals. A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East. By H. Frankfort, M.A., Ph.D. 10" × 7½". Pp. xvii + 328. Chronological Table. 47 plates. Macmillan. £2 2s. net.

Modern methods and, shall we say, the conscientiousness of excavators have in recent years given us a large number of detailed reports of individual excavations. Finely produced and expensive works of great size, they are too costly for the ordinary student and are apt by sheer weight to re-bury in the oblivion of our more serious libraries the important and well-marshalled facts discovered by their authors' careful and painstaking work. It is a pleasure to come upon a book, in neither sense too heavy, which takes a cross-section of many of the valuable archæological works now at the student's disposal, and presents a general and coherent picture of an important aspect of archæological discovery concerning man's early history in the ancient East. Particularly is this picture welcome as illustrating the progress of man's mentality rather than his material accomplishments.

Easily readable, despite occasional lapses into a curious pedantry of language, and furnished with a wealth of well-selected illustrations, Professor Frankfort's book is more than the "documentary essay" of its sub-title. Even to those readers to whom the seals of the ancient East are unfamiliar, the plates of reproductions of their impressions will be a delight. The fleet grace of Plate XXXVII (i.), for instance, is extraordinarily captivating; and the many subjects and varied methods of cutting the seals, which it must be remembered were carved in shallow intaglio, should prove of lively interest to many who have little time to give to their historical implications.

In a preliminary section Professor Frankfort points out that though seals do not antedate metal—they were shaped and engraved with copper tools—yet they at first had no connection with letters or written documents. They served primarily, it appears, to impress the clay which fastened down the cloth used to close the mouth of a jar; by rolling a cylinder seal over the clay while still damp, the contents of the jar were rendered inviolable, short of breaking the sealing.

In the course of the three millennia during which they were used, from the Uruk period down to Achæmenid times, the cylinder seals of Mesopotamia passed through many phases. But though in each period there were general preferences with regard to the material of which the seals were

made—stones of various kinds, glaze, and even shell—and to their size and shape, such wide variations occurred in these respects at any one time that they cannot safely be regarded as criteria for dating. For this purpose the design of a seal must be studied, and the characters of the inscription on it, if there be one. The latter was at first simply the name of the owner; later titles were added, or “servant of the king (or god)”—in Kassite times even a prayer to Marduk or Nabu.

The oldest known cylinder seals, those of the *Uruk period*, excelled in their craftsmanship, but with the *Jemdet Nasr period* a degeneration in style set in, and together with a wider range of size and materials geometric designs were introduced. Yet Elam in the latter period produced some remarkably fine seals of types not met with in Mesopotamia as well as inferior seals in the Jemdet Nasr style.

The *First Early Dynastic period* produced the so-called “brocade” style of design on long narrow seals, the subject—e.g., animals in file—being reduced to a purely linear pattern, of which the decorative value was all-important; lozenges, heads, fish, stars were introduced where needed to fill up spaces. The *Second Early Dynastic period*, however, brought a revival of interest in the subject of design, which became almost endless in variety; animals and men struggle together, Ea and other gods and a bull-man are constantly portrayed, and there are scenes which may be taken from the Epic of Gilgamesh; ceremonial scenes appear on many seals, chariots and boats, and even the building of a temple-tower. In the *Third Early Dynastic period* there came a change from the linear style with the introduction of relief, and the close chain of interlocked human and animal figures which had been popular tended to fall into separate groups.

The *Sargonid period* with its change-over from Sumerian to Akkadian culture discarded the continuous frieze. Modelling led to realism and figures were spaced for clarity, and in most cases the name of the owner was inscribed in a panel. An interesting discussion of the designs on the Sargonid seals gives the reader an insight into Akkadian mythology, in which the Sun-god Shamash occupies a prominent place.

During the *Guti period* and the *Third Dynasty of Ur* the individuality of the seal came to depend on the inscription rather than on the design, but the consequent loss of vitality in the latter was balanced to some extent by attention to minutiae of style in the scenes, which were mostly presentations to a seated god or deified king. The political uncertainty of the *Isin-Larsa period* which followed, together with some increase in trade, led to a general degradation of style.

Under the *First Dynasty of Babylon* presentation scenes disappeared and the designs on the seals became a mere collection of figures, somewhat coarsely rendered owing to excessive use of the drill. Yet the expansion of trade gave the seals of this period an influence disproportionate to their artistic worth, for they disseminated the motives and designs of Mesopotamian glyptic throughout the Near East, especially in Syria. These motives include the zodiacal signs.

On the fall of the dynasty cylinder seals developed along two lines:

(1) *Kassite* seals in the south, on which the inscription again became important and often included a prayer to Marduk; (2) *Kirkuk* seals in the north, which introduced Mitannian plant motives into the First Babylonian designs.

In the *Assyrian period* both Kassite and Kirkuk styles were re-used, but with refreshing vigour. Indeed, this period shows an extraordinary range both in design and in the size of the seals and the technique of cutting. Even the continuous "textile" frieze reappears, though it is original in treatment and not copied slavishly from Early Dynastic seals. A great number of strange monsters appear, and Assur is now the chief god, though Ea, Marduk and Nabu were still worshipped. The lack of inscriptions characteristic of the Assyrian seals unfortunately makes close dating rather difficult.

The seals of the *Neo-Babylonian period* following the fall of Nineveh differ from their immediate predecessors in two respects: (1) They show less forcefulness and tend to take on a calligraphic elegance; (2) under the influence, no doubt, of the antiquarian Nabonidus, many archaic motives, such as the naked hero, were revived, though they were treated in the style of the time. The symbols of gods, mounted on stands, tend to displace the gods themselves.

In the *Achæmenid period*, after the sack of Babylon, cylinder seals gave place to the stamp seal that had become increasingly common in Assyrian times. But the history of the cylinder seal ended on its highest note with magnificent specimens whose conception and spirit were undoubtedly influenced by Greece.

The next section of this remarkable book deals exhaustively with the cylinder seals of the regions adjacent to Mesopotamia, and others not so near. Though all undoubtedly drew their origin from Mesopotamian seals, in the more distant countries, Egypt and Crete, cylinder seals, once adopted, developed along lines of their own. But in Western Asia, and noticeably Syria, the art of the seal-cutter flourished most when Mesopotamian influence was strongest; only at the end of the third millennium B.C. did native motives appear in the designs.

It was in the Jemdet Nasr period that cylinder seals reached their widest distribution, from Egypt to Anatolia and Troy, from the Cyclades to the Iranian plateau and the shores of the Caspian Sea. The Third Dynasty of Ur also had a wide influence on the surrounding countries, though no seals are yet known from those countries that are definitely assignable to that period. Again in the First Babylonian period cylinder seals spread far and wide; the Cappadocian sealings of that time are fully discussed. From that period also dates a bilingual seal, found at Memphis, with Babylonian script and hieroglyphs side by side.

Mitannian seals, which were mostly of glazed steatite and had a definite style of their own, have been found over an area much larger than that under Mitannian rule, in Persia as well as Cyprus. But there is only one known sealing that can with confidence be called Hittite.

There follow detailed accounts of the Egyptian and Cretan cylinder seals,

each of which groups developed right away from the parent Mesopotamian stock. Only three cylinder seals have as yet been found in the cities of the Harappa period in the Indus valley—in date contemporary with the Early Dynastic period of Mesopotamia—and it is to be supposed that their presence there was due to trade connections. Dr. Frankfort, however, interestingly suggests that as the Harappa culture of the Indus valley and that of Sumer probably derive from a common stock on the Iranian plateau, cylinder seals may one day be found in still earlier levels of Harappa cities than it has yet been possible to reach owing to the rise of the water-level in the soil.

In an illuminating epilogue Dr. Frankfort points out how the subjects of the cylinder seals of Mesopotamia came to influence the art of Greece through Phœnicia, and later travelled still further afield through the medium of the Roman Empire, the Scythians, and Western contacts with the Near East at later periods.

The painstaking research, broad vision, and careful scholarship which have gone to the making of this book ensure its being the standard work on its subject for many years to come.

D. M. M.

The Riddle of Arabia. By Ladislav Farago. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 287. Photographs. Robert Hale. 12s. 6d.

The author of this book, having been in Abyssinia and written about it, wished to investigate the question of Italian interest in South-West Arabia. Early in 1937 he went to Aden, with an eye to the Yemen; but the Imam Yahya's authority was not forthcoming, and Mr. Farago's visit to his country was confined to three days spent, under guard, in Hodeida and calls at other ports.

If the book falls rather a long way short of its title, that is not to say it is without interest. An alert enquirer's observations on a British colony usually deserve attention, especially if he be a foreign subject (in this case, Hungarian) and, though sympathetic to Britain, free from excessive bias. Mr. Farago met many personalities, official and unofficial, British, Arab and other. He tells of some queer characters whom he encountered, and has a keen eye for a scalawag. He gives some interesting examples of Italian activity and methods of propaganda in and about South-West Arabia.

A secondary motive for the author's intended visit to the Yemen was to "recreate" for himself the "world of adventure" appearing in the works of three travellers (Palgrave, Guarmani and Doughty!)—an ambition not, perhaps, to be taken too seriously. He did his best. "The sandy waste which lay as a huge, desolate hyphen between Aden and Lahej is a branch of the Rub al-Qhali (*sic*), the Desert of the Flame, which Philby called the Empty Quarter." Later, revisiting Jibuti, he "decided to test the savagery of the Danakils at any cost" (*sic*); but fortunately the test, in so far as it was carried out—at Tajura—did not cost him much. The

subsequent journey in a dhow to islands of the Red Sea gave him a taste of storm and calm in conditions inseparable from that form of travel.

E. D.

Oriental Assembly. By T. E. Lawrence. Edited by A. W. Lawrence. With Photographs by the Author. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. xii + 291. Williams and Norgate. 10s. 6d.

In assembling for general publication the several items comprised in this volume, Mr. Arnold Lawrence has aimed at rounding off his brother's published work. Parts of the book have already seen the light of severely limited publication; others, including a large number of photographs, have not.

First in order and importance comes the travel diary kept by Lawrence from July 12 to August 12, 1911, when the conclusion of the season's "dig" at Carchemish had left him free. That his extraordinary physical and mental staying power had by then been established by a series of progressively longer and more strenuous journeys we knew from his letters and from the testimony of friends; but such sources cannot yield as much of the personal essence of their subject as a good diary, and this, the only diary Lawrence has left, is very good indeed, a skeleton of his journey, all bones. Let us come up with him midway, at Rum Kalaat:

"*Tuesday, July 25*: Up at 3.45 (dawn) and had a wash in the stream: ate a cucumber, and had a lesson in bread-making from the women. By the way not a man in the village knows a word of Arabic, so I am rather put to it. All pure Turk, which means very ugly, half-Chinese looking fellows with flat eyes, and broad noses, and wide-split, tight-pulled lips of thin skin. Wrote up this for a time and then stayed to eat, for there is no house but the cave-dwellers between this village and my night-stopping-place. We had burghul and bread together. Then I went along the over-river West-side path, till I could photograph the rock-moat, and returned across the passage perilous, the stepping-stones that I know fairly well by now, to the castle. Feet not very good, tooth again too big for my head. Took a photo of the inside of the monolith tower, showing the applied vaulting. Tower about 17 ft. wide inside between the inner jambs: the third gate counting from outside. The fourth gate, though also monolith, I did not think worth a photo, since it is only a single arch. The fifth is a very fine Arab double-arched gate. All this entrance-masonry is Arab, and very good.

"The first two gates have machicoulis over them. Altogether one of the strongest and cleverest entrances in existence. The manner in which the roadway is made to double on itself, so that it may be more easily under control, and the right-angled turns at most of the gateways are especially clever. There are no trap machicoulis in the floors, so far as these are preserved, and there were no portscullis. . . .

I left the castle about 9 a.m. by a postern door in a tower on the river side, and walked to Khalfati: I noticed on the way that the people here use gourds, not skins, for swimming the Euphrates: this is here small and narrow, and not as swift as it is later on in its course. Opposite Khalfati wrote up this account. Then climbed up my goat-track most laboriously, and afterwards came down the long shelf of broken rockstairs, about 500 ft., into the Euphrates plain. Very tiring three hours work. Pushed straight ahead again through Enesh, Kachtin, and Shardak, to Belkis, a long walk of about 27 miles, with the goat-track thrown in: feet a little sore, but no other damage. Average length of pace after first hour 2' 7": afterwards lengthened, till in last hour 2' 9½". At Balkis made for house of sheikh, who was hospitable. Fed about 8 p.m. on burghul, shineneh, and bread. Slept extraordinarily well for the E."

"*Wednesday, July 26*: Up about 4.30: left an hour later, for Nizib. Road took me up hills at first, and then across a pleasant stream full of springs. After that through olive-yards and vineyards and fields of liquorice, to Nizib in about an hour and a half. There I bought two halfpennyworth of bread, and the same of grapes. . . . Feet to-day nearly right from the blister point of view, and fester on my hand also healed up. This shows there is plenty of reserve force to draw upon yet. On the other hand my right instep has again collapsed. I suppose it will never get over the smash after my leg was broken. It is painful now in the morning, and after every rest, however short. Ahmed Effendi received me with open arms. . . . Coffee appeared at times and sustained us till 8.30 when rice and chicken, with iced leben and bread turned up. After this we slept, I very well till sunrise. . . ."

Back at Carchemish, the traveller was stricken with fever and dysentery, but Hamoudi, the foreman of the dig, helped his recovery, and bodily strength is beginning to return by August 1:

"Up at sunrise after a fair night: dawn very glorious with the broken blacks of the foreground leading to the silver line of the river, crossed by the rough points of the near poplar trees, and then the hills beyond, from deepest black at the water-edge, shaded to grey, purple, and finally a glorious orange, as the light caught them. . . ."

Of the photographs accompanying the diary, two views of Urfa and one of Biridjik are the finest. Even unaided by enlargement and the special care in reproduction bestowed on them by the Corvinus Press in the limited edition, they are outstanding pictures. (That edition appeared after Lawrence's death. The manuscript, contained in a small notebook, is understood to show no sign of revision after the journey, and Lawrence himself may have thought the diary too slight for publication, or too personal—its chief value for present readers.)

Next follows *The Changing East*, reprinted from *The Round Table*

of September, 1920, a lucid essay on modern trends in the Middle Eastern countries, impressive in its breadth, strong in its appeal for a bold and liberal policy towards them. Breadth of thought and equally characteristic depth are likewise manifest in *The Evolution of a Revolt* (from *The Army Quarterly*, October, 1920), in which Lawrence outlined his application of a free and searching analytical method to the specific problems presented by the Arabian war. Apart from its particular importance in regard to that campaign, it will arrest the attention of all who are interested in the more general relationship between thought and action in war and other vital affairs.

The introductory chapter for the *Seven Pillars*, hitherto omitted from publication, is more than an explanatory note on the book and the Arab war; it is a moving commentary, wrung from its author by the freezing anti-climax of the peace. This, with an appreciatory preface to the catalogue of an exhibition of Mr. Kennington's Arabian portraits, concludes the written work of Lawrence.

It remains to mention the collection of 111 photographs taken by Lawrence during the revolt. Of these, all but two, used in Captain Liddell Hart's book, are fresh. There is much variety in this fine portrayal of persons and country, and historic value in its record of a campaign long past and a way of life that is passing.

But the prime virtue of the whole volume lies in the personal record which it brings almost to completion, for only *Crusader Castles* remains to be re-issued, and some day, presumably, we shall see an edition of *The Mint*. Our thanks are due to editor and publishers for putting this book into the hands of the public. In doing so, they are not merely adding to a sequence of *Lawrenciana*. That, indeed, would be an inappropriate term to use in relation to one whose life's record is no collector's piece, but, as some believe, a national possession in a sense not yet generally realized.

E. D.

Les Couvents Chrétiens en Terre d'Islam. Par H. Zayat. 10" x 6".

Pp. 132. (Arabic.) Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique. 1938.

This work is a collection of notices of and allusions to Christian monastic establishments and their occupants, institutions, and practices found in Arabic and chiefly Muslim literature with some furnished by European travellers. The author's researches have involved the perusal of numerous printed works and MSS. preserved in the libraries of many lands. Monasteries were and still are numerous in Islamic countries; of convents M. Zayat can only enumerate nineteen, though doubtless there were many more. He gives some account of the way in which these establishments were financed; votive offerings helped to maintain the more famous, and Muslims at times bestowed (and indeed still bestow) such gifts; a Muslim trader hearing that vows made to the monastery of Bar Soma, near Malatiah, were invariably effective, promised it 50 dirhems if he made a profit of

2,000 on his merchandise, and duly paid the sum. A more regular source of revenue was the sale of wine, a forbidden luxury to Muslims, who, however, frequently disregard the prohibition. Many pages of M. Zayat's work are filled with quotations from poets describing the debauchery which went on either at the monasteries or the taverns at which the wines were sold, members of the clerical profession often acting as barmen. Since, as the Qur'an observes, poets say what they do not actually do, some at least of these scenes may be imaginary; on the other hand, there are serious records which indicate the danger to morality arising from the enforced entertainment of Muslim visitors at Christian monasteries, whose fortunes or even existence would be imperilled by resistance to their wishes. Some of these anecdotes are painful reading.

M. Zayat has collected much interesting information about the attire of the monks, the tonsure, and the *naqus* or wooden hammer for which the bell was afterwards substituted; the first certain mention of the latter in an Islamic country is by a traveller in 1533, who states that the Maronites were the only Christian community who used it. It would seem that musical skill might be displayed in the handling of the *naqus*, of which the French name is *simandre*, from the Byzantine *semantron*.

A Chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia. 2 volumes. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 42s.

This voluminous work is the result of many years of patient and careful research by the anonymous compiler. The book contains, *inter alia*, translations of a large number of hitherto unpublished contemporary documents, mainly, of course, emanating from members of the Carmelite Order. Although the book is naturally of interest primarily to Carmelites, it will also prove most useful and instructive to anyone who is concerned with the history of Iran during the period 1585-1780. A detailed review of this important work will be published in the next issue of the Journal.

L. L.

La Perse. By Raymond Furon. Pp. 239. Avec 10 cartes et 13 photographies hors texte. Paris: Payot. 1938. Price 36 francs.

This book, by a former professor in the University of Teheran, is a straightforward and clearly written account of Persia, a country which remains so to the end and which never becomes Iran.

Monsieur Furon begins his preface by saying that Persia is well known to archæologists, historians, philosophers, and petrol-mongers, but implies doubt whether the average run of mankind knows much about it. He is probably quite right. He refers to the resistance, elasticity, and impenetrability of the Iranian people to the invasions and foreign domination which have overtaken the country, but which have left unimpaired the genius of Persia. In his view, the people have assimilated their conquerors.

The author quotes the *Journal de Teheran* of March 15, 1937, as saying, "We are Iranians, and we mean to remain Iranians in thought, reason, and argument. We mean to think as Orientals, and we shall admit of no restraint or check on this mentality." So much for the oft-reported Westernization of Persia.

At the end of the preface we read the summary of the author—a shrewd, sensible, and, it would seem, a typically French review of the question of Persia to-day. "The outward appearance of Persia is not at all like it was ten years ago. Peaceable travellers wearing turbans and riding on donkeys have been replaced by a mob wearing hats and crowding into motor-buses which plough through the country. The loveliest sky in the world, the sky of Persia, is soiled with ominous marks made by the smoke of factory chimneys." The vulgarization of one of the least-spoilt lands of the old world proceeds apace, as would appear from this.

The book opens with a geographical description of Persia, and the examination of the population by race. The author observes that the differences of dress and ornament, which for so many years enabled the various ethnographic distinctions to be easily recognized, have now departed. All Persians, whether of town, tent, or tribe, male or female, dress alike. On the morals of the Persians Monsieur Furon is the soul of discretion. He refers the reader to other authors.

After remarks on religion, the calendar, and the like, the book deals adequately and concisely with the regional geography of each province. The author laments that the new names given to places in Persia make it impossible to recognize old places on the map, and he notes a few: Rezhah for Urmiah, Sanandej for Senneh, Gorgan for Asterabad, and Pahlavi for Enzeli.

Incidentally, Monsieur Furon is unkind to Bushire. He stigmatizes it as one of the most disagreeable and unhealthy places in Persia, with no drinkable water and no vegetation except palm trees. He thinks that Dizful is the city of rats, as we know from the Bible.

In Chapter II the historical sketch of the country begins, and the pre-historic points are well put. In his account of the cult of Mithra in Persia the author calls attention to such names as Kuh-i-Dukhtar, Pul-i-Dukhtar, Sang-i-Dukhtar, and so on, "dukhtar" here being the virgin mother of Mithra. He also believes that the sanctuary of Karangun, discovered in 1924 between Susa and Persepolis, is of Mithraic origin.

Monsieur Furon considers that we do not know who the Medes were, and he refuses to hazard an opinion, though he goes so far as to say that they might have been Kurds.

Chapters IV to IX give a clear outline of Persian history, and in Chapter X modern events, from the rise of the Kajar dynasty, are discussed. The author regards this Turkish family as disastrous to Persia. He thinks that the German mission during the war achieved little, as it consisted of naturalists, the chief of whom, Niedermayer, wanted to destroy Abadan. It was fear of Russia that made the Persians pro-German.

Chapter XI describes Persia of to-day, and Monsieur Furon is most in-

teresting and, at the same time, very disconcerting. He says that the psychological effect of the war on Persia was of the worst. "The Persians had no idea of a native land, a motherland, and had no common love, but they were all united, and very sincerely so, in a common hatred of all foreigners whoever they might be." In referring to the opening of the Caspian-Persian Gulf railway he mentions the xenophobia of the Persians, who amid all the rejoicings never once thanked the foreign engineers by whom alone the work had been done.

The use of Persian words, as against foreign ones, in the language is another symptom of this foolish xenophobia. He alludes, too, to the cost of living in the country.

Monsieur Furon describes such of the old-time life that still lingers, and his eloquent words are significant and profoundly depressing. "All this is going to disappear. To-morrow it will be the past. Everywhere, gradually, the old towns succumb to the pick, great arteries are opened up; the caravanserais are turned into garages, where the mechanics repair lorries and motor-buses with great blows of the hammer. The time of meditation and of jolly gossip has gone, and so, too, has that of peaceful industry. There are new wants, and it will be necessary to work, willingly or otherwise, in noise, dust, and new smells. The sons of the old artisans will live in a cell, in a cube of cement, and will work 'a la chaine.'"

Western civilization may have much to answer for, but at any rate neither the West nor Western domination can be blamed for the destruction of old Persia—the Persia which, of all countries in Asia, not excepting China, has contributed most to the art and literature and graciousness of the world. Now the past has gone, destroyed and completely so, and a country but scantily endowed with natural beauty is disfigured and metamorphosed with all the most hideous modernities of the West. All that is garish, discordant, and mass-produced has been imported into Persia. Everything that we of the West would willingly discard—the stinks of the petrol engine, the dismal industrialism, the shapeless buildings of dreary cement, all that bores us and galls us—has been imported *en masse* into Persia. The West is absolutely guiltless. The xenophobia of Persia may or may not be justified, but at any rate the West cannot be blamed for what is now taking place in Persia. Persia is alone to blame for this transmutation of her soul.

Le Petrole en Iran. By M. Nakhai. With an introduction by M. Henri Jaspar, former Prime Minister of Belgium. Pp. 199, with map. Brussels, 1938.

The author of this book is a distinguished Iranian savant, who is Assistant Director of the Iranian Séminaire in the Institute of Oriental and Slav Philology and History, attached to the University of Brussels. Over a third of the book is taken up with an examination of the terms of the concession granted by the then Shah of Persia to William Knox D'Arcy in May, 1901, with the differences to which this concession gave rise, with the

manner of its cancellation, and with the concession granted to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in May, 1933, in substitution for the D'Arcy concession. Briefly put, the author seeks to show that the original concession was unduly favourable to the concessionaire, that the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, which was formed in 1909 to work the concession, was in the wrong in the numerous differences which arose between the Company and the Iranian Government, that the Iranian Government was justified in annulling the concession in 1932, and the British Government was not justified in bringing the matter up before the Council of the League of Nations. M. Nakhai states his case lucidly and with an obvious desire to be impartial, in spite of which one is left with the impression that one has heard only one side of the case and that without hearing the other side it were wise to suspend judgment on the points at issue.

On the author's own showing, Shah Nasr-Ed-Din had, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made every effort to interest foreign financial circles in the development of the mineral resources of his country. Very liberal oil concessions were offered, and in at least one case considerable sums of money must have been spent in prospecting and in drilling—without result. When Mr. D'Arcy was persuaded to interest himself in the oil potentialities of Iran in 1901, those potentialities were still an unknown quantity, and it was not until after seven years of what M. Nakhai describes as "*efforts tenaces et tres coûteux*" that oil in commercial quantity was at last discovered.

In the circumstances it may be doubted whether the area covered by the concession was by any means so unreasonably large as the author suggests. It certainly does not appear so by comparison with the area covered by the concession granted to the Amiranian Oil Company in February, 1937, by which time Iran was established as one of the world's richest oil producers—a concession, be it noted, which that Company has since surrendered.

M. Nakhai regards the financial terms of the D'Arcy concession as unduly favourable to the concessionaire, and so they may seem when viewed from the angle of 1938, but were they really so liberal in 1901, having regard to the conditions prevailing at the time when the concession was granted?

A short chapter is devoted to an examination of the effect which an embargo on oil might have had on the Italian-Abyssinian and on the Japanese-Chinese conflicts, and the author stresses the advantages which must accrue to Iran from its possession of a commodity so vital to national existence, whether in peace or war. The Government of Iran, under the progressive guidance of His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, is now very rightly taking steps to see that Iranians get the necessary technical training to enable them to take their proper share in the future development of the oil resources of the country.

Although a perhaps disproportionate amount of space is devoted to the details of controversies which are now happily ancient history, this little book should be of interest to all who sympathize with the aspiration of Iran to modernize her institutions and in particular her national economy.

F. L.

Islam in the World. By Dr. Zaki Ali. Pp. 428. Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf. 1938.

This is a book of undoubted merit, briefly summarizing the life and teaching of Muhammad, the rise and decline of the Muslim world and its present reawakening, and the relations between the Muslim East and the Christian West.

It draws attention to Islam's natural affinity to Christianity, emphasizes its great importance as a stabilizing and unifying influence in the world, and makes a plea for a better understanding and more effective co-operation between East and West.

A detailed review will follow.

MAHMOOD R. ZADA.

The Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughluq. By Agha Mahdi Husain. Pp. xvi + 274. Luzac and Co. 1938. 15s.

It is not surprising that a figure so outstanding in the history of mediæval India as Muhammad bin Tughluq should attract the special interest of Indian scholars, or that controversy should rage over the inconsistencies in his character. Sultan Muhammad was one of those forceful rulers who, in the conviction of their innate superiority, rebel against the limitations set on the activities of ordinary monarchs and try to remodel state and society on a new pattern of their own devising. Inevitably, in trying to gain elbow-room, they jostle many dignities and interests, whose resentment—unless the ruler is very prudent (and Sultan Muhammad was not)—breeds hostility, bickering, outrage and revolt, until the grave closes over the head of the innovator amidst the maledictions of contemporaries and posterity. The history of Asia and Europe can supply many parallels to the career of Muhammad bin Tughluq, but few failed so signally as he.

To investigate, analyze and explain the causes of this failure after the lapse of six hundred years is perhaps an impossibility. Dr. Mahdi Husain has brought to the task some new material (still to be found only in manuscript), and endeavours to demonstrate that Sultan Muhammad has been sadly misunderstood by his detractors—that is to say, by nearly everyone who has written about him from his own day to this. He was (it is argued) no unpractical visionary nor bloodshedding tyrant, but a ruler "far in advance of his age," particularly in his attitude to his Hindu subjects. One can only judge of the new materials used by the author from his extracts and references, but they do not seem to contribute much that controverts the known sources. The argument therefore generally comes down to a revaluation of the standard works. These, of course, leave plenty of room for doubts as to their veracity and impartiality, and Dr. Mahdi Husain performs a valuable service in showing up their deficiencies. On the positive side his work is less satisfactory, for much of the evidence adduced will scarcely bear the weight of the constructions placed upon it. He is no indiscriminate eulogist, however; on the contrary, the "inefficient surgery" and "political blunders" of the Sultan are fully and faithfully dealt with.

The book may perhaps be criticized for the absence of broad views; for example, there is nowhere brought out the real weaknesses of Muhammad bin Tughluq's position and policy—namely, the basic social instability of the Delhi Sultanate, and that in striking at the religious institution he was injuring the only positive and constructive element in his empire. Nevertheless, for its detailed treatment of the main events of his life and reign, its clearing up of many minor points and the order which it brings into the distracting maze of the historical data, it forms a welcome addition to historical monographs on India.

H. A. R. G.

Clive of Plassey. By Mervyn Davies. 9¼" × 6½". Pp. xii + 522. 12 Plates and 6 Maps. Nicholson and Watson. 25s. net.

Writing on this book in the *Asiatic Review*, I have referred to previous biographies of Clive and to Macaulay's famous essay, observing that Mr. Mervyn Davies writes from the highly critical standpoint of the present day when our widespread Empire and obligations confront us with so many puzzling problems. I have commented on Clive's early life, on his character and qualities, on his moods so often overshadowed by fits of melancholia, precarious health and finally painful and deadly disease. I have contested the author's criticism of his judgment in undertaking the Plassey campaign, and have quoted his final condemnation of Clive's principal enemies and opponents in Parliament. I have noticed the generally vivid and interesting passages which describe the English and Indian backgrounds of the stage on which Clive played so prominent a part. Incidentally, it may be noted that the author has exaggerated the unhealthiness of Bombay, deriving his impressions apparently from Ovington's account of a visit there in 1689. In 1757 Grose observed: "The point is certain that the climate is no longer so fatal to the English inhabitants as it used to be, and is incomparably healthier than that of many other settlements in India. In short, the place the name of which used to carry terror with it in respect to its unhealthiness is no longer to be dreaded on that account." (*Bo. Gazetteer XXVI.*, III., 554.)

The title of the book is *Clive of Plassey*, and much space is given to narrative and discussion of the strategy of the march up-country from Chandernagore begun on June 13, 1757, and the battle ten days later. "All previous historians and biographers," says the author, "have completely overlooked that the campaign was based on a calculation that no prudent commander should have accepted as sound"—that Mir Jafir would join Clive with his whole corps not on the day of battle but on the march up-country. This calculation was "one which no prudent commander should have accepted as sound" (p. 228). To argue this and further on to depreciate the hostile army which confronted Clive on the field of battle as "a mere rabble" (p. 374) is a waste of time. Space fails me to discuss the elaborate reasonings of the author, which I have carefully followed, but two

contentions are important, of which the first is that while expecting and hoping for Mir Jafir's co-operation Clive never made sure of it. He distrusted him all along. The book makes this clear. Clive based his calculations largely on the intimidating effect of "boldness of design and vigour of execution"* on Nawab Siraj-ud-daula. The clash between the two armies outside Calcutta on February 3, 1757, and all that had happened since, had led him to think that, in the language of his letter of June 21 to the Calcutta Committee, "the Nawab's apprehensions are great and perhaps he may be glad to grant us an honourable peace. The principle of fear may make him act much against his private inclination, and I believe that has been the case ever since the capture of Chandernagore" (p. 218). Even if things came to a fight, that too would turn on the behaviour of the Nawab, as in fact both Orme and Fortescue (*History of the British Army*, II.) say it did. These were the reasons for Clive's strategy. If it meant a gamble in view of the smallness of his force, what, after all, was the whole Madras expedition to Bengal? A gamble, but a necessary gamble. British commanders in the field, notably Arthur Wellesley at Assaye, had often to gamble, to run great risks when they meant to win. Clive at Plassey gambled and won. Pressing and urgent considerations governed his strategy, and for us now, with our posthumous knowledge of their nature, to condemn it seems absurd. He alone was responsible for it. Naturally he felt the heavy weight of the responsibility and called his officers into council on the morning of the 21st before deciding to take the final step of crossing the river, but Mr. Davies' dramatic picture of his "agony of mind" and "numbness from fear" on that night is conjectural and imaginary. It is admitted that on the critical 23rd he faced the opposing host "with that coolness and collectedness which in moments of peril had never failed him" (p. 200).

Secondly, it by no means appears either from this narrative or from Orme's or Sir John Fortescue's† that the Nawab's army was "a rabble." It certainly did not behave like one. It is said here (p. 221) that as dawn broke on the 23rd "the host of horsemen and foot came pouring out of their entrenched camp. With their elephants, their horse, with their drawn swords glittering in the sun, their heavy cannon drawn by vast trains of oxen, and their standards flying they made a most pompous and formidable appearance." Clive himself was surprised by their "numerous, splendid, and martial appearance." Orme tells us that the horsemen—about 18,000 according to Fortescue—were "drawn from the north, much stouter than any serving in the Coromandel army." The Nawab's army evidently took up its positions according to a pre-arranged plan. It included a picked division of 12,000 under the command of its "one real leader," Mir Murdan. During an artillery duel which lasted four hours its soldiers stood well up to a fire which was considerably more damaging to them than their own fire was to Clive's force, in spite of their far more numerous guns. Even after the shower of rain which from their lack of tarpaulins to cover their ammunition caused their fire to slacken, when Mir Murdan had been killed

* P. 170.

† *History of the British Army*, II., 415-25.

in advancing to drive the British from the grove, when their prince had fled with a large escort after ordering a general retreat to the camp, when the detachment of French adventurers under the command of St. Fraix with their four light guns had been driven from the tank nearest the British position to the redoubt by the entrenchment, "many of the Nawab's troops faced about, a hot action began although they had neither leader nor general. Though lacking these they were able to carry on the fight in their own irregular fashion. The entrenchments themselves, the hillock to the east of the redoubt, and every hollow or coign of vantage were crammed with matchlock-men, while the cavalry hovered round" (Orme adds "with swords in their hands") "threatening continually to charge, though always kept at a distance by the British artillery."* Orme states that "the English suffered as much in this as they had during all the previous operations of the day." They did not make their way into entrenched camp until five o'clock, and by that time the hostile army was in full flight. But it was only the abstention of Mir Jafir's† division from the action that enabled Clive to bring it to a close by then. Mr. Davies does not mention Fortescue's carefully considered and full narrative, the most intelligible and interesting of all, largely reproduced from Orme's. The details which it gives of the forces at the disposal of Clive and the other British officers strikingly show the gross unfairness of belittling their victory although the butcher's bill was low. There were only 700 European infantry, partly drawn from the Madras army and partly from the King's 39th regiment, 100 half-bred Portuguese, 50 of the Royal Artillery and as many seamen lent by Admiral Watson, also 2,100 sepoy, mostly of the Madras Army. There were 10 guns in all. As Fortescue says, "The campaign is less a study of military skill than of the iron will and unshaken nerve that could lead 3,000 men and hold them undaunted, a single slender line within a ring of 50,000 enemies."

Distribution of prize-money after military triumphs and acceptance of valuable presents were common incidents in those days. But the booty and presents taken after Plassey and the Jagir affair not only embarrassed Clive gravely when as Governor of Bengal he combated corruption in the services, but have soiled his fame. In those times "governors of states and heads of imperial services were not bound by the rigid rules and ethical standards of to-day" (p. 424). But we can well sympathize with Orme's warning to Joseph Smith to avoid the receipt of presents "as the bane of every reputation in India" (November 20, 1767).‡

Neither the Company's Directors in London nor the Madras Government had contemplated the far-reaching revolution in Bengal which resulted from Plassey; and the former were much averse from accepting the responsibilities which it entailed. Not only must they now defend Bengal from invasion at a time when India was in a state of political anarchy, but however much they might wish "to redescend into the humble and un-

* Fortescue.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Vol. II., Orme Selections (Hill), India Office Library MSS., p. 201.

dreaded position of trading adventurers"* they could not do so, and eventually were compelled to take over and set in order the administration of that great province, which for centuries before Siraj-ud-daula's capture of Calcutta in 1756, had been ineffective, chaotic, and fraught with misery for the masses.† In his first tenure of the Governorship (1758-60) Clive was occupied with problems of defence aggravated by the call from Madras for help in repelling French invasion, as well as by the need of guarding against and coping with dangers arising from reaction in the minds and tempers of the new Nawab and his "entourage." In his second period of office (1765-7) his attention was claimed by the necessity, in the interest of all concerned, that the Company should openly take up an attitude of admitted independent authority. They could not continue to maintain themselves by holding the strings of Indian Government or by setting up a new Nawab whenever the machinery broke down; and "as they could not abdicate power they were bound to take charge of its direction."‡ Hence came the Diwani, a temporary expedient which, although over-valued by its author, "put a stop to the incessant disputes between the nominal government of the Nawab and the actual authority of the Company and transformed the latter from irresponsible chiefs of an armed trading association into responsible administrators with a direct interest in abolishing the speculation, scandalous frauds and embezzlement that were rife in the country." But in doing this it was necessary to combat corruption and establish discipline in the civil and military services, and here Clive, in spite of the handicap of his own past, made, as is stated on p. 426, "a gallant showing." When Mr. Davies watches him suppressing mutiny in the army his "admiration is ungrudging and unstinted." But his idea that the Diwani system was "completely undone" by the declaration of 1771 that the Company would "stand forth" as Diwani is clearly wrong. The Declaration carried the process initiated in 1765 on to a further stage. It was Clive who began the process of turning traders into administrators and "cleared the ground for a real and permanent system."

I have written enough, and will sum up by expressing my opinion that this interesting book would have been better had the author less frequently insisted on the self-seeking motives which, to his mind, almost completely dominated Clive's decisions. After all, Clive was the man who when young had so readily ventured his life in the forefront of the battle, who later on risked much of his fortune in promptly repelling Dutch aggression and his peace of mind in determined endeavours to cleanse and discipline the services. He was the man whose "heart was pierced" by the fall of Fort St. David to Lally, for which he was in no way answerable. He was also the man whose "*new quality of leadership*" contributed so materially to British achievements in India (pp. 116-9). To his personal friends, to members of his own family he was a liberal benefactor. The final sum-

* Warren Hastings in 1785, Forrest, Selections II., 60.

† See Ronaldshay's *Heart of Arya Varta*, Chapter IX., "Panegyrics of the Past."

‡ Lyall's *British Dominion in India*, 157.

ming-up on pp. 494-6 takes little or no account of all these matters but is almost wholly depreciatory. It does not mention the periods of illness and melancholia culminating at last in mortal disease which overshadowed and shortened his life. To compare him, much to his disadvantage, with Warren Hastings, whose natural character, physical constitution, training and trials were so different, is erroneous. To measure him piecemeal, and not as a whole, is misleading. The lengthy quotation from Caraccioli on pp. 405-6 is not excused by the apologia in Appendix C. Yet the general tendency of this book is to reawaken interest in a critical, changeful period. The narrative is attractively written; and, to me at any rate, Clive emerges from it as a man whose work was achieved against more formidable obstacles than those which I had previously imagined. Only his high, courageous spirit brought him through.

The book is well printed and contains interesting illustrations.

H. V. L.

The True India : a Plea of Understanding. By C. F. Andrews. 8" x 5½".

Pp. 252 + iv. Allen and Unwin. 6s.

Mr. C. F. Andrews, who first came to India thirty-five years ago, has endeavoured in *The True India* to reply, somewhat belatedly, to Miss Mayo's *Mother India* and to similar attacks upon India.

While deploring exaggerated testimonies upon one side of the scale, he deprecates no less a certain type of Christian missionary literature, which carries on the bad old method of decrying other religions in a way that Christ Himself would have been the first to condemn, for nothing can be more important at the present time than intelligent appreciation and understanding, and nothing more harmful than the publication of a book, giving a coarse description of Hinduism and its ritual-marks, which "proves" Hinduism, according to the author, to be a phallic and obscene religion, described as a social disease.

Mr. Andrews is fully qualified to argue, for his wanderings up and down India, especially in times of distress, have brought him near to the village people, who have learned to know him and to love him as their personal friend, and to admit him into their confidence. With outward circumstances so much against them, it has been a continual wonder to him that their standards of life remain so high, and that adversity has not dragged them down to a lower level, and he asserts with positive assurance that Western writers, such as he has quoted, are entirely on the wrong tack when they attribute India's misery and poverty to extravagant sexual indulgence. He endeavours to present a constructive picture to show what Indian domestic life really is, especially the village social structure that provides the background of India, ancient and modern. His experience is that, though there may be many serious evils which still have to be overcome and bad customs which must be changed, village life as a whole is normally free from the grosser forms of sexual vice which Miss Mayo so luridly depicts. The "plain living" in the villages is so severe that few Europeans have been able to adapt themselves to its extreme simplicity, and Mr. Andrews has often found himself put to shame owing to small requirements which he found necessary, and on account of the trouble he gave to these extremely poor but hospitable villagers, merely to satisfy a few personal needs. He was much struck by the way in which the safety of the family is placed before all else, family ties being

so close that cousins living in the same house are treated as brothers and called by the name of brother. He gives a clear and enlightening account of the caste system and of its origin 3,000 years ago, when the fair-skinned Aryan invaders from the north were suddenly brought into contact with the original inhabitants of the country, who were of a different colour and culture. The Aryans took steps to segregate themselves, and thus established caste.

He deals with the National Congress declaration of fundamental rights, giving to women absolute equality with men in every sphere of life, but he holds that the ideal is as yet far ahead in the future, and he condemns the zenana as being, if nothing else, one of the most deadly breeding-grounds of tuberculosis. In India the average length of human life stands below twenty-five, and is diminishing. Mr. Andrews holds, with Dr. H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture in Bombay, that the empty stomach is the greatest obstacle to progress. Much of the remedy lies in the hands of the people themselves, and Mr. Ghandi penetrated into the secret of poverty when he advocated the spinning-wheel.

As with the Reformation of the Middle Ages, in the same manner to-day there has, says Mr. Andrews, been a revival in Hinduism which has proceeded from within, and has rapidly transformed its structure, with a clearing away of old abuses and a setting up of new moral standards. That there is a fund of deep common human sympathy between Hindus and Moslems was proved when, in Northern Bengal, Hindu volunteers risked their lives to help the Moslem village people, and, as Mr. Andrews wrote in *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*: "After thirty-three years' experience in every part of India, my own confirmed belief is that the rioting of recent years has been due to temporary excitement over political issues rather than to deep-seated and inveterate causes."

One anxiety haunts him, and that is whether a subtle secularism may not supersede the deep religious spirit which is still strong in modern India; whether the very soul of religion may be lost sight of, for the age of politics almost invariably tends towards a secular view of human life. He dispels the language difficulty, and, instead of the "hundred and forty-odd" languages often mentioned by controversialists, the main vehicles of speech in India are remarkably few, the only sharp divisions being between the northern Sanskritic and the southern Dravidian groups.

The East, says Mr. Andrews, can give the West points in peace-loving and in civilization. There is a patience in India and China that often puts us younger people of the West to shame, for they take the longer view. India has faced resolutely the worst of her internal evils. She has taken up the task of her own renewal and will not lay it down.

S. R.

The Rise and Growth of the Congress. By C. F. Andrews and Gijra Mookerjee. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. 304. George Allen and Unwin. 1938. 7s. 6d.

This book is a worthy addition to the ever-increasing volume of literature on the subject of the Congress and the development of Nationalism in India.

The authors' object is to describe in a popular form for the general reader the rise of the All-India National Congress and its growth up to 1920; and this they certainly have achieved, though those who have studied this subject may not agree with all their statements.

Taking as their thesis the statement that "more than anywhere else in the world, politics and religion in India have become mingled together in such a way that they can hardly be separated," the authors proceed to demonstrate how the All-India National Congress has developed out of various movements and societies, such as the Brahma Samaj, founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828, the Arya Samaj, the Aligarh Movement, the British-India Society, and so on, until in 1885 the Congress was first established. Due credit is given to Lord Dufferin for the part he took in planning its foundation, and the authors are generous in their appreciation of the work done by Mr. A. O. Hume, "The Father of the Congress," and those other Englishmen who lent their service with such wholehearted enthusiasm to its development as an ideal.

The outstanding feature of the book is undoubtedly the chapter on the Aligarh Movement, in which the services rendered by Sir Syed Ahmad to India in general, and to the Muslim community in particular, are recognized in glowing terms. But it will be clear to anyone who followed the Muslim press in India during 1919-1920, that the statement on page 287 to the effect that during that period Muslim opinion in India generally was falling into line with that of Congress is but a half-truth.

The style of the book is simple and lucid, and the arguments are presented in a straightforward and convincing manner, and it should give the general reader considerable sympathy with the aims and ideals of the Congress. It is to be hoped that its reception will encourage the authors to write the second volume.

C. A. B.

The Present Condition of India. A Study in Social Relationships.

By Leonard M. Schiff. Foreword by Jawahar Lal Nehru. 8½" × 5".
Pp. xii + 196. London: Quality Press. 6s.

This is a book in which the author claims to have been objective; his idea is to draw attention to the deplorable economic condition of the great masses of the people of India.

He has treated the problem as one of social relationship. In a short foreword Jawahar Lal Nehru says that it is immaterial whether we agree or disagree with his opinions and judgments; they are sincere and worthy of study. Whether or not sincerity of opinion is a sufficient cause to justify study of that opinion is open to doubt. The first essential is surely not so much sincerity as accuracy. Is *The Present Condition of India* a true or a distorted picture of conditions in India to-day? In the opinion of the reviewer it is distorted.

It is distorted because the author sees but one cause for the conditions he alleges are deplorable. British imperialistic designs are answerable for everything; there is no other cause, nothing else matters. Remove the British Government and you remove the cause of all India's troubles. We have had so much of this one-track solution to great national problems. The root and branch destruction of the Tzarist régime was supposed to

herald a new and perfect Russia. Socialists in our own country see in the destruction of the capitalist system a panacea for all economic and social problems. Experience surely has taught us that when social and other evils exist, as they undoubtedly do, they are generally caused by a concatenation of circumstances. Their eradication will, in fact, depend on a balanced and not a biased examination of facts.

That Mr. Schiff should have written from such a confined point of view is a pity, because it mars an otherwise interesting study. His division of the book into chapters under the headings Kisan, Mazdoor, Babu, Rajah, Sahib, Mazhab, is a logical and telling way of dealing with a big and very complex subject. There is, moreover, much that is interesting in his discussions in most of these chapters.

Apart from his attitude towards the Government in which he can see no good, he falls into the trap of underrating those problems that arise in India from religious and racial differences. His ideas seem to have been incubated in an Allahabad atmosphere. Whilst it would be folly and indeed dangerous to underestimate the strength of Allahabad influences, it would be equally unwise to be so impressed by them as to be blind to others, many of which are more worthy of recognition than they.

The chapter on Indian Princes is jaundiced, and is, moreover, in bad taste.

The assessment of Mr. Gandhi is interesting. An appreciation of this remarkable man is necessary to a proper understanding of many of India's present political complexities. His power shows how very susceptible is India to personal influences.

As far as it is safe to generalize on so vast a subject, it is reasonably true to say that local and family influences play a major part in Indian political and social life. Mass opinion can be stirred on occasions, and this may correctly or incorrectly be called the growing-pains of nationhood. It is not long, however, before a reaction sets in and once again local interests predominate. This is only natural in so vast a country with so varied a population. Anything to improve local conditions and to ensure the development of a just and progressive local administration is the first essential to an improvement among the masses. Mr. Schiff seems to infer that this will be achieved by a complete return to decentralization under the panchyat system.

Congress has seized on local problems and, exploiting these, has alleged that only Congress can adjust real and fancied wrongs. This is an old political plank and not peculiar to India. Responsibility and office bring with them their own problems and legislative experience develops balanced judgment. The only task of the Paramount Power is to ensure that this balanced judgment is not bought at too high a cost. To what extent is the *kisan* to be asked to pay for the experience of a handful of politicians? The problem is one that governors will constantly have to solve.

R. N. G.

The Individual and the Group: An Indian Study in Conflict.

By B. K. Mallik, M.A., D.Sc. 7½" × 5¼". Pp. 183. Allen and Unwin. 1939. 5s.

This book is an attempt by an Indian student of political affairs to analyze the conflict between the Hindus and the Mahomedans on the one hand, and that between the Indians and the British on the other, and to outline a solution of the problems involved.

As regards the Hindu-Mahomedan conflict the author appears to hold that since the two communities shared the ancient Hindu village economy for centuries without any serious clashes, there is no reason why they should not live together harmoniously in future. The apparently discrepant fact that in recent years the Indian Moslems have made frequent violent attacks upon cows and Hindu women is explained away by the theory that these clashes are essentially non-religious in character, and are due solely to the situation created by the Permanent Settlement of Bengal in 1790, which threw all political power and emoluments into the hands of Hindu landlords and reduced the Mahomedans to an inferior economic position. From this it is inferred that purely political and not religious motives have led the Indian Moslems to join the British Government in opposing "nationalism" in India, in spite of the fact that their co-religionists, the Persians and the Turks, have adopted a nationalistic policy.

The Indo-British conflict is traced to the character of British rule, which, far from aiming at the goal of "justice and freedom" for India, is said to have been actuated solely by greed of gain, in the pursuit of which the British deliberately destroyed the indigenous system of the village community upon which the well-being of the country depended. The Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, which promised to preserve the faiths, cultures and customs of the Indian people, was never implemented, and the only benefit which the British attempted to offer to India was parliamentary government, which is bound to fail because democracy has already been discredited and superseded in Europe, where the real struggle lies between Fascism and Communism.

Much space is devoted to the exposition of the Indian or, more correctly, the Hindu social system, which is said to be founded on the group—in other words, on the classes or castes within the village community, as opposed to the European system, which is based on "individualism," alike in the totalitarian régimes of Germany and Italy, the democracy of England and America, and the communism of Russia. At the same time it is admitted that the alternatives of Pan-Islamism and Hindu domination are equally bound to end in chaos and disaster. The solution proposed lies in the reconciliation of Hindus and Moslems and the reconstruction of Indian life on the basis of that reconciliation. The precise form of this reconstruction is not specified, but from previous arguments it may be presumed to be based on the Hindu system of caste and the ancient form of the village community.

The value of the book as a contribution to the settlement of world problems is greatly reduced by its prejudices and special pleading,

and by the inappropriate application of abstract reasoning to practical affairs.

The assertion that British rule, which admittedly had its origin in the desire for trade, was thereby precluded from ever being in any way beneficial to India will be challenged as contrary to experience by all qualified to judge. Again, the evils which followed from the Permanent Settlement of Bengal do not justify the statement that landlordism and capitalism were unknown in India before the British dominion, nor that the old village economy did not survive in any other part of India. Nor is it as yet certain that democracy in Europe must give way to Fascism or Communism and therefore is bound to fail in India.

A final solution of the world-problem is promised in a new Metaphysic on which our author is engaged. A sample of this Metaphysic is given in the opening chapter, in which the abstract truth that all disagreement implies a nucleus of agreement is held to prove that Hindus and Moslems having certain customs in common will be prepared to settle down together. This argument should bring consolation to those who are trying to reconcile Jews and Arabs in Palestine on the ground that they have at least a common Semitic origin. But politics, to use Bacon's phrase, are "blooded by the affections," and political diseases demand practical rather than metaphysical remedies. It may be doubted whether our author is qualified either by temperament or by historical knowledge to propound satisfactory answers to the baffling questions which are distracting the modern world.

C. W. WADDINGTON.

Indian Tales. By Elizabeth Sharpe. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 228. London: Luzac. 1939. 10s.

Other peoples' folk-tales are seldom easy to follow, and it is doubtful whether Western readers without some knowledge of Hindu ethical and social doctrine will find in these many exceptions to the rule. The fourteenth, and last, however, is a "straight" story of thaumaturgy, and illustrates, besides, the Emperor Akbar's ingenuity in keeping rival theologians politically quiet by organizing tournaments of logomachy. The thirteenth contains an amusing bit of mythology. Most of the rest are designed to instruct rather than amuse, though some—*e.g.*, No. XI., "Everything for the Best"—are in lighter vein.

Generally, however, the Western reader is left with the impression of the weight of the advice "Refrain from unnecessary action," and feels that unless one is an irresponsible *apsaras* fairy or a happy-go-lucky Bhil, one is unlikely to get much fun out of life.

The tales mostly deal with aspects of the doctrine of *Karma*, and to those with knowledge of that point of Hindu doctrine they will have value in that they show us how it was presented to the ordinary lay audience—a point of view worthy of record and preservation. But it is scarcely fair to judge these stories with a Western mind. The Indian reader will doubtless find in them so much that is familiar as well as fresh that they will be read without effort as pleasant pictures of a world that has not altogether vanished and perhaps never will.

The tales are told simply, but the English is occasionally marred by unsuitable juxtaposition of the archaic and the modern and by imprecise use of words (*e.g.*,

p. 77, young mice disturbed in their nest in one line "scamper here and there" and in the next "crawl helplessly about"). Nor is the writing entirely innocent of Indianized English locutions.

J. S. T.

The Bible in India : With a Chapter on Ceylon. By J. S. M. Hooper, M.A., General Secretary for India, British and Foreign Bible Society. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5". Pp. 152. Map. Milford. 3s. 6d.

A fascinating account of the romance of the Bible in India and Ceylon.

Although there were Christians in India long before Augustine came to Canterbury, yet they made little use of the Bible till the Church at home began to send out their missionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

"There were giants in the land in those days." William Carey, the cobbler-missionary, landed in Bengal in 1793, and before 1822 had made Bible translations in thirty-six different languages!

Naturally they were not of equal scholarship, but he has been called the creator of Bengali prose, and his most notable book of translation is that of the Bible into Bengali.

Readers of this Journal will find the chapter on the Pashtu version of special interest.

An admirable little book!

R. J. H. Cox.

India Calling. By the Rev. Charles Winsland, B.D., one-time chaplain in Calcutta. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 154. Map. Allenson. 3s. 6d.

Primarily a book for study circles on India, each chapter closes with questions for discussion. These are very well thought out.

The best chapters are those on Hīnduism and on the Anglo-Indians.

One wonders why the chapter on Islam is headed "Mohammedanism," followed by two exclamation marks.

Several of the stories told seem somewhat irrelevant.

R. J. H. Cox.

Nationalism and Reform in India. By William Roy Smith. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. 485. Yale University Press. 1938. 5 dollars.

Eighteen years of study, travel, and interest in the people and problems of India has resulted in this book, which is designed as a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the politics and the movements related thereto in India within the present century.

The labour involved in the compilation of the copious notes and extracts from standard works, official reports, etc, can be gauged from the bibliographical note at the end of the book.

Of the fourteen chapters, the first four and the last three are historical, and the remainder deal with the grievances of the people of India under British rule, and with the causes of communal discord.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the account of Hindu-Muslim relations,

the keystone of India's political difficulties, should have been left till Chapter XI. It is, however, with the author's comments and criticisms that we are mostly concerned. It must be borne in mind that the writing of the book occupied a considerable period of time, and that the author's comments sometimes refer to the time of writing rather than to the present day, and in such cases the present tense, and such words as "nowadays," "at present," etc., must be read accordingly. Thus, on page 179: "The Army of India consists of about 150,000 Indian troops, for which India bears the whole charges, and about 60,000 British troops, for which India bears in full the direct charges for maintenance, the charges for sea transportation, and a part of the 'home effectives charges' incurred by the War Office in recruiting and training British officers and men for the Indian establishment." In view of the recent legislation on this subject this paragraph requires re-writing.

On occasion, too, whilst we make no claim for the perfection of British rule, the author's castigations appear to be unmerited.

Thus, on page 139: "An industrial depression or a crop failure that would merely cause a temporary hardship in the West, would be likely there to result in famine and the loss of millions of lives. The British seem to ignore these facts. . . . When they do make economic concessions, it is likely to favour a privileged minority. . . . They have done practically nothing to improve the conditions of workmen in the mills, or to lighten the burden of the land revenue system which lies with exceptional severity on the poorest class of the people."

A study of the reports of the Department of Agriculture, and a visit to some of the jute mills in Bengal would doubtless have made the author modify these opinions. The fact that no mention has been made of the present intensive campaign for Rural Uplift shows that the author is out of touch with conditions in India to-day.

Certain statements are definitely incorrect, such as that on page 178 to the effect that the use of alcohol is contrary to the religious principles of both Muslims and Hindus.

The account of the Akali movement on pages 321-330 clearly shows that the author has not devoted sufficient time to the study of this subject. For neither has he understood the origin of this sect, for which reference may be made to *The History of the Sikhs*, by Captain Cunningham, 1903, pages 138-139, nor has he realized the fact that the religion of the Sikhs had its source in a movement *within* Hinduism, and so some of the temples and shrines connected with the Sikh Gurus originally belonged to the Hindus.

No recognized system of spelling vernacular proper nouns has been followed, and mispronunciation may have been the cause of such examples as Hedjas and Baqarah Id.

C. A. B.

Revealing India's Past. By twenty-two authorities, British, Indian and Continental. Edited by Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.A. The India Society. 1939. 25s.

Few books on their first appearance receive the *imprimatur* of a leading article in *The Times*, a distinction gained by this important volume, which sets out the history of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, and offers a bird's-eye view of a vast and fascinating field of enquiry.

Without disparagement of early devoted pioneers such as Cunningham and Burgess, the palm is justly awarded to that great Viceroy, Lord Curzon, whose energy and enthusiasm gave an impetus to research which has led to remarkable developments in the last three decades. We need only refer to the recent discoveries, which have placed the antiquities of the Indus valley on a par with Mesopotamia and Egypt. Incidentally, *The Times* notes with approval that the Department is now manned entirely by Indian scholars, who are peculiarly fitted for the work by genius and temperament.

A record which embraces a span of more than five thousand years and extends to the further limits of a subcontinent demands a detailed examination for which time is not now available, and which must therefore be reserved for the next issue of the Journal.

C. W. WADDINGTON.

Historic Lucknow. By Sidney Hay. Illustrated by Enver Ahmed. With an Introduction by Lord Hailey. 10" × 7½". Pp. x + 288. Lucknow: The Pioneer Press. 1939. Rs. 3.8.

This book, strictly speaking, is neither a guide-book nor a history, and consequently fails to fulfil the function of either in a fully satisfactory manner. It falls into two divisions, the first containing a series of historical sketches of the eleven independent rulers of Oudh, whose characters illustrate the progressive decay of the dynasty from Nawal-Wazir Sa'abat Khan, its forceful founder, down to the imbecility of Wajid Ali Shah, who was swept from his throne by the masterful Dalhousie.

The second portion is mainly topographical, giving brief descriptions of the most interesting buildings in Lucknow, together with the most striking episodes which occurred in each locality during the famous siege of 1857.

This method renders the narrative somewhat disjointed and fragmentary, and tends to confuse the reader who is not already familiar with the details of that glorious and tragic story. His confusion is increased by the absence of a clear and detailed map to elucidate the intricate engagements in which both the besieged garrison and the relieving forces were involved.

Not seldom a wrong impression is created by a too hurried reference, as in the chapter on the Alam Bagh, in which the following occurs: "Havelock's losses were so severe that he decided to fall back to Cawnpore on August 17. Havelock was then superseded by Sir James Outram." It is hardly necessary to recall the fact that Outram magnanimously declined to

assume the command to which he had been appointed until after the force had successfully entered the Residency on September 26.

Dates are not always correctly given. On page 11 our author tells us that a brigade of troops was stationed at Faizpur Kampu five years after 1768, and goes on to state: "In 1781, long after the barracks had disappeared, the names persisted in the fields, which were still called the *Kamsariat* (provisions), *Kabarahar* (cemetery) and *Gendkhana* (cricket ground)." On page 204 we read that the Shah Najaf contains three contemporary portraits of Ghazi-ud-din and two of his successors by Mrs. Jopling Rowe. As Ghazi-ud-din died in 1827, his portrait can hardly have been contemporary.

Quotations from various authorities are freely given without stating their sources, so that their value is conjectural.

The book is illustrated by a number of woodcuts, which are not without artistic merit, but being mostly silhouettes they fail to convey the brilliant atmosphere of India or the effect of the florid and elaborate architecture which distinguishes Lucknow.

C. W. WADDINGTON.

Central Asia. Personal narrative of General Josiah Harlan, 1823-1841. Edited by Frank E. Ross, M.A. Pp. 155. Four Illustrations. One map. London: Luzac. 1939. 8s. 6d.

From the biographical introduction we learn that General Josiah Harlan was born in 1799 in Pennsylvania and died in San Francisco in 1871. He was a Quaker and of an unlikely stock to make an adventurer. For that was what he was—a soldier of fortune, common enough in Asia during the first half of last century, but not a normal export of the Society of Friends in the U.S.A. After serving with the British forces in India, he entered the employment of Shah Shuja, then the exiled ruler of Afghanistan, and accepted a mission to visit that country and find out what chance existed for his master's restoration. Finding there was none, he reported so to his employer and then transferred his services to the Maharajah Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. He took part in the negotiations with Dost Mohamed Khan of Kabul that ended in the triumph of the Sikh ruler. For what we are told was anger at some action of the Maharajah the General left his employ and went over to Dost Mohamed Khan, and took a very prominent part in the defeat of the Sikhs at Jamrud in 1837. Harlan avenged himself, though how and why does not appear, as he had been well treated for seven years by the Sikhs and had really no reason to go off in a huff. But too much must not be expected from a mercenary who is frankly out to make money where best he can, and, as such, is well understood by those who pay him. Although Harlan may have gained at first, Dost Mohamed did not remain long on the throne, as he was ousted by Shah Shuja, another former master of Harlan's, who found himself without a job. He returned to America in 1841, and seems never again to have visited the East. It is rather surprising that he left so soon, as the next ten years were very lucrative for the enterprising European adventurer. Probably Harlan thought he had made his pile, but it seems he had not. His portrait shows him as a fine figure of a man, and it was a pity that he did not again try his luck, for his affections were quite unattached. Perhaps he realized

that he had changed masters too often, and was unemployable even in the very accommodating East.

The personal narrative follows the biographical introduction, and is in three parts. The first part (pages 25 to 86) is an account of the province of Balkh, and a great deal of it is unconvincing, imaginative, and boring. It is, for instance, difficult to understand how the city of Balkh could be a strategical point of vital importance to any Power operating against British India, as Harlan says, for the place is divided from India by one of the most formidable mountain systems of the world. On page 54 there is an absurd description of the *markhor*, which is said to be a wild sheep with "the contour of an ordinary red deer," and "resembles the domestic sheep only in its horns"; so it is clear that Harlan and the *markhor* never met. There are other curious zoological references. There is a "crooked-legged wiffit," called a "pesta," used for ferreting rabbits; but stranger still is General Harlan's ornithological recollections. The chief of these for strangeness is that of the storks. During the migration of these birds over the Hindu Kush travellers have to elbow them off the path, whilst on page 56 we learn that "these large storks may frequently be seen labouring up the steep passes on foot—struggling with human passengers to pass each other." This sort of stuff does discount a good deal of the credibility of General Josiah Harlan, but I suppose local colour was desirable, even if the narrative was not published when it was fresh and topical.

There is an excellent account of a *khirgah*, the round felt tent of the nomads, on pages 71 to 74. Much of this first part is devoted to a description of the Uzbeks, who are weighed in the balance and are very properly found wanting. With few exceptions the General is severe on them, and, judging from what he says, they were not pleasant folk. It is rather a long and frankly a very dull account of these people. Part II., pp. 87 to 100, does not pretend to be more than an itinerary of the author's expedition of 1838-1839 in Northern Afghanistan, an account which suffers from the loss of the first twenty-two pages of the original manuscript. There is an astonishing reference on page 98 to Colonel Wilford—alas! unknown (though undeservedly) to fame—who discovered the cave of Prometheus on this route.

Part III., the last in the book, begins with the geography of the Paropamisus, and is chiefly occupied with an elaborate account of the Hazara people. This is the best part of the book and is written more vividly, and clearly often at first hand, as references, otherwise only too few, to the personal experiences of the author are given.

The printed narrative throughout deals with Afghanistan, and it is a pity that the simple title "Central Asia" has been given to a book which treats chiefly of the two provinces of Badakshan and Hazara. There are some footnotes by the author which might have been revised—*e.g.*, page 33, "Tash Khoorghaun . . . means a walled city"; page 67, "Canabis indicus." The spelling is curious, erratic, and at times unintelligible, and it would seem better to have modernized it. For instance, *cherse* for *charas*, page 67. Then throughout there is *karrovan* for "caravan," and solecisms as *khutabak* for *khutba* occur. The spelling of proper names creates consternation in the reader. Avghaun, Bameean, and Kundooz can be recognized, but Ish Kale Beg, Sibber, Kamerd, Dye Zungee, and Boonee Karra fatigue the imagination, whilst Gizzoo and Jaughoree, Yakaolung, and Mawer merely paralyze it. Moreover, none of these names resembles the very modern War Office map which adorns the tale.

This small book is disappointing. The editor chivalrously informs us in the introduction that Josiah Harlan was a unique figure in the history of Central

Asia. His literary remains are scanty and trivial, and one wonders if they were worth giving to a critical world. At any rate, considering what a varied career General Josiah had, it seems hard to believe that he could have been such a dull dog as this narrative shows him to be.

Kazak Social Structure. By Alfred E. Hudson. Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 20. Pp. 105. 1 map. New Haven. 1938.

In the small compass of this monograph Dr. Hudson has succeeded in dispelling the obscurity which has too long beclouded the subject of Turco-Mongol social structure. Not that the subject has lost any of its complexities through his treatment. On the contrary, the complexities have been brought into relief through his analysis of their origin, and a pattern, intricate, indeed, but withal a pattern, appears out of the maze of social organization in Kazakstan.

The author's clarification of his material has been accomplished by a description of certain processes which were active in the development of Kazak, as well as of Mongol, society up to the middle of the nineteenth century, before the Russian conquest of Central Asia. It might be well to mention here that the older ethnographic literature frequently referred to the Kazak as Kirghiz.

Hudson describes, on the one hand, what might be called the mechanical genealogical organization of the whole people on the basis of successive separation of individual groups into sub-groups and the fusion of these groups in turn into loose political confederacies, which "frequently cut across genealogical lines." Parallel with this process is another, more intimate one, so far as the lives of the individual members of the society are concerned, a process which brought about a fundamental change in the relationship of the people with each other. The old tradition of blood solidarity and the protective function of the community as a whole was gradually transferred to the wealthy and the powerful, and a patriarchal feudalism developed in which "the relationship of master and man tended to absorb the relationship based on common membership in a blood group."

It is interesting to follow the process by which landownership developed under the influence of the settlement of Russian territory in the north and the tendency to a sedentary population in the Central Asian khanates in the south. Interrelated with this process were the general adoption of permanent winter quarters, of the practice of storing fodder for the winter, and of agriculture as a regular occupation and the change from horse-breeding to sheep and cattle-raising. This change in emphasis in animal husbandry resulted partly from the limitation of grazing lands and partly from the foreign demand for wool.

The conflict between the principles of generation exogamy and group exogamy remains a somewhat confusing point, admitted by Hudson, but he gives a logical discussion of the possibilities involved in the working process.

Without interpolating a single paragraph of extraneous material, and without romanticizing, the author has given, in a few concise chapters, a vivid picture of the lives of one of the representative peoples of the steppes. Many a larger book has told less.

Hudson has reported his scientific investigations in the Soviet Union with a refreshing objectiveness, which should bring him the thanks of his Soviet hosts as well as of his Western colleagues. Although his movements in Kazakstan were limited, he had the co-operation and assistance of the Institute for Anthropology, Ethnography, and Archæology (IAE) of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and of the Kazakstan section of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata, where he spent the main part of his four months of field work during 1936.

Part of his material came from the Kazak literature, principally in Russian, but Hudson attributes his general concept of Kakaz social groups to knowledge gained from his two regular informants, an old poet and musician famed for his knowledge of Kakaz tradition and genealogies and a young Marxist student, who also acted as interpreter.

The author has wisely omitted the majority of diacritical marks in transliterating Russian names. He has supplied an excellent bibliography.

Readers of this work on the Kazaks will look forward to Hudson's report of his present studies among Turkoman peoples of North-Eastern Iran.

H. F.

In Search of Soviet Gold. By John D. Littlepage and Demaree Bess. 8vo. Pp. 287. London: George C. Harrap and Co. 1939. 8s. 6d.

This book cannot easily be beaten as a source of reliable information on the U.S.S.R. The principal author is an American mining engineer and a specialist on gold.

His account varies from others, and is rendered particularly valuable by the fact that he stuck it out for ten long years, a record for foreigners with open eyes and some real work to do. During this time he covered a vast field from Siberia to Turkistan, which enables him to describe thoroughly and expertly that branch of Soviet activity with which he became familiar. Being a part representative of the whole, this true and detailed picture provides insight into the problems of Russia.

Littlepage was not merely a tourist and spectator, but took an active part in developing the natural resources and the labour of the country. He has left his mark; for how long remains to be seen.

Stalin set the ball rolling with a simple and fundamental idea. Remembering California, South Africa and Klondyke, he reasoned that the lure of gold might be used deliberately as a means to opening up the wilderness. Do not let a gold rush take you unawares, but start it and guide its energy into the proper channels of statecraft and industry.

This task Stalin entrusted to A. P. Serebrovsky, one of the few Russians who combine highly expert knowledge with a gift for organization and an unflagging energy. On a visit to Alaska he discovered and engaged Little-

page, another man with knowledge, experience, pep and drive. The two worked together, more or less unhampered, and accomplished one of the great successes of industrial Russia. Of course, Littlepage was fortunate in having a powerful and equally competent Government official to back him up. This explains the long and unbroken record which, apart from things as they are, shows what *can* be done in U.S.S.R. when the proper men are given the proper opportunity.

So the author set out for Russia in 1928 accompanied by his wife and children. What he has to say must be read in his book, which is too important to be swallowed as a review-tabloid.

We learn about "Liquidation," "Denomadization," "Wrecking" (a real fact), the Stakhanoff Movement (a stunt debunked), the neglect of costly machinery, but also the natural ability and willingness of uncouth natives; and of course all about the Great Gold Rush, how it was initiated and managed as a weapon of progress. We gain the impression that the Russian is a brilliant pioneer, but in the mass lacks industrial experience as well as the necessary sense of order and steadiness. His mental organization is not yet ripe for the highest forms of rational and technical civilization.

We may surmise that Russia was and is the experimental rabbit of Totalitarian research, and that other Totalitarians have profited from results and mistakes, especially the latter.

W. R. R.

Eastern Visas. By Audrey Harris. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 392. Illustrations. London: Collins. 1939. 12s. 6d.

Audrey Harris was evidently destined to be a traveller, and, after wandering as far afield as Petra in the autumn of 1935, she started off alone at the age of twenty-nine to accomplish what might be termed the Grand Tour of Asia. As she puts it: "I went because I am nomadic."

Her first stage—a very long one—was entitled "Across Siberia" and the struggle to fill her kettle with boiling water, with some uncertainty as to whether the train would not suddenly start off, provided exercise and excitement, while she made friends with her interesting fellow-travellers and wrote: "I was sad to leave the Trans-Siberian."

She next crossed the Manchukuo frontier with its "military camps and aerodromes duplicating those of the Russians on the other side." The train was guarded by Japanese troops and all windows were kept closed, much to the discomfort of the passengers. At Harbin, she visited the Russian Colony, who were living under miserable conditions and were making little if any attempt to better them.

Audrey Harris was immensely attracted by the Koreans—indeed, her innate sympathy is one of her strongest characteristics—and describes the girls as "perfect expressions of femininity with their delicate grace of carriage and demeanour and the subtle sense of their need for protection."

To complete her journey in Korea she wrote, "Forty-eight hours in a Korean boat," in which she had a rough passage, suffering from lack of air and unable to appreciate a "wooden tub of boiled rice, chopsticks and a bowl of seaweed salad."

The next chapter, "Japan the Bewildering," rather brings out that the pace was too fast for real understanding of this wonderful country. She writes: "My first reaction to Japan was to feel the atmosphere hectic, unconvincing, restless, superficial and insincere; towards the Japanese that they are tense and humourless and too unbalanced to be a great power—in the long run." Altogether, perhaps in part owing to the exhausting heat and the rains, our traveller was unhappy in Japan. At the same time she met on the train a Japanese gentleman who was able to give her valuable information on the Japanese point of view.

China was the country she really liked. Avoiding Europeans, she took up her abode with the wife of Big Lin, a dealer in silks and embroidery. She accompanied him to the second-hand markets where he made his purchases, and she also helped him to sell his goods to tourists!

Here, as nowhere else, she penetrated into the mind of the people. At the same time she visited not only the forbidden city but also the celebrated Yun Kang caves with their ancient Buddhist sculptures. Taking photographs of exceptional interest wherever she travelled, Audrey Harris visited Jehol in spite of remonstrances by the British authorities which she ignored, not fully realizing perhaps the seriousness to them if anything untoward had befallen her. She merely writes: "I had no more dealings with British Consuls during the rest of my journey."

Fate was kind to our traveller. She was welcomed at Ping-Chuen by gallant missionaries who described the horrors of warfare and dwelt more especially on the looting of the town by retreating Chinese soldiers.

From Jehol the next objective was Hankow. There she met the Veteran, "an old friend of my father's," and joined him in a visit to Szechwan. "Chugging up 380 miles of the stupendous Yangtse river," she writes: "Imagine colossal ravines with lime or sandstone walls, soaring and smooth, or repeating the fantastic swirls of the water in their writhing strata, or in knife-edges as straight as falling rain, or fretted into vertical flutings like gathered curtains, or broken into jagged sweeps. Above and beyond great peaks close in like an advancing army; they seem imminently bending over the narrow passage slashed through them—great mysterious blue pillars one behind another."

Chungking, the present capital of China, which is suffering so terribly from Japanese air raids, is well described. Also reference is made to the new order with the children at school chanting: "We must eat to grow strong. We must be brave. We must learn our lessons to be wise." Each sentence ending up with "To fight the Japanese"!

I have devoted this review mainly to the Far East and more especially to China. But the reader will find equally interesting descriptions of Nepal, Sikkim and Afghanistan. Finally our traveller crossed Russia, travelling "soft" on this occasion, but suffering a good deal from lack of knowledge

of the language. Yet she managed to have her own way in the end, when ordered, at Moscow, to spend the night moving about in a taxi!

To conclude, reading this remarkable book has been a great pleasure. The indomitable pluck of the traveller has been equalled by her descriptive powers, of which I have given an example. Her sympathy for Orientals is also most praiseworthy, and these qualities combine to assure her a high position among present-day travellers.

P. M. SYKES.

Journal of the West China Border Research Society. Vol. 9.

It is seldom that any number of a journal, even that of a Research or Scientific Society, is so full of valuable information as this publication of the China Research Society.

The information given about the customs of the Ch'uan Miao by Professor David C. Graham is so clear, concise and full of interest that it is hard to lay it down. As the Editor points out, aboriginal and border tribes are everywhere discarding their ancient customs, their distinctive dress and their primitive outlook, in favour of the more mature culture of the Chinese. It is most important to an understanding of the peoples that nothing should be lost which relates to their own tribal life. Only the few have access to this knowledge, but Professor Graham is one of them, and for this reason his paper is a priceless contribution to anthropological research.

One section of the article is devoted to records which he secured from a farmer of the Ch'uan Miao tribe. Professor Graham is one of the few and fortunate Westerners who can become so friendly with the people among whom he lives that he is allowed to hear what is not told to the ordinary traveller or to any foreigner who fails to appreciate the import of the "five human relationships," which govern the intercourse of men. It is good to read that in time all this interesting material will be included in an exhaustive volume on the subject.

Another article claims attention. It is written by Howard Jeffrey on the subject "An Aryan Content in the Tibetan Language." When studying Tibetan he noticed the large number of words which seemed to be of Aryan origin. That he did so is not surprising in view of the Persian influence upon Central Asian tongues and the similarity to the Finnish language which is traceable.

There are shorter articles on The Buddhism of Szechwan, The Four Great Kings of Heaven, "Om Ma Ni Pad Me Hum" and an outline of Alchemical Prescriptions, to say nothing of notes and reviews. These are not mentioned here in detail owing to lack of space. The illustrations are good.

This volume is a storehouse of information and will be added to the library of the reviewer, who recommends anyone interested in such subjects to follow her example.

MILDRED CABLE.

South of the Clouds: A Winter Ride through Yünnan. By Gerald Reitlinger. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 327. 26 photographs and one map. Faber and Faber. 1939. 15s.

The writer gives an account of a journey from Hanoi, French Indo-China, via Yünnan-Fu and the Erh Hai Lake across the province of Yünnan to the Gorge of the Yangtsekiang between Ch'iao-tau and Taku near the Szechuan border, which has not been visited very often by Europeans. From thence he retraced his steps to the Erh Hai Lake and left China by the Burmah Road route.

The book is not one for the specialist, nor does the author make any attempt to supply new knowledge about that part of China, but he has given us a pleasantly written account of his trip with a good description of the everyday events of the journey, the trials and pleasures of camping or of staying at Chinese inns, and of the people and scenery he met on the way. The description of the journey through the Gorge is perhaps one of the best parts of the book.

The writer evidently does not have very much knowledge of the Chinese language, otherwise he would not have made the statement on page 65 that the Chinese have no equivalent for "Thank you." Of the photographs, those showing scenery are better than the others, but the value of all of them would have been enhanced if they had been placed opposite the context to which they refer.

K. H. UTTLEY.

China Fights Back: An American Woman with the Eighth Route Army. By Agnes Smedley. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Pp. 286. With a map by J. F. Horrabin. Gollancz. 1938. 12s. 6d.

(Reviewed by MAJOR J. V. DAVIDSON-HOUSTON, M.B.E., R.E.)

This is one of those Books with a Bias, to which we must accustom ourselves in a period when the reading public prefers spirited controversy to balanced appreciation.

The authoress, an American with enthusiasm for political movements in countries other than her own, is introduced as one who "laboured many years for the cause of Hindu Nationalists," and went to China in 1929 as correspondent for the then liberal *Frankfurter Zeitung*. These activities may be responsible for the fact that she "had detectives following me for years" (p. 161). Becoming associated with Sun Yat-sen's Communist widow, she established connections with the so-called Leftist elements in China, and attached herself to the Chinese Red forces when they were recognized by the Nanking Government in 1937 as the Eighth Route Army.

Accompanying them across the wild and mountainous country of North-West China she graphically describes the primitive life in those regions and particularly her own hardships (including the remarkable ordeal of riding with an injured spine and with a typewriter strapped on her back). While these descriptions are interesting and appear to be largely genuine, Miss

Smedley gives to the Reds' somewhat unsuccessful guerrilla operations the character of a major (and victorious) campaign.

The authoress reiterates that she is not a Communist, without which statement the reader would certainly assign her to that party. Her sympathies are with the ignorant and stoic Chinese peasant, and she is constantly irritated by the aloofness and callousness of the governing class. She ascribes the poverty and desolation of Shensi Province to famine, rapacious war-lords and Mohammedan rebellions, but says nothing of the looting and massacre by the Reds before they received the title of anti-Japanese patriots, nor of the fact that the Moslems' activities were largely in defence of their homes against the invading Communist hordes.

It is important to note that none of Miss Smedley's accounts of fighting are first-hand. She writes of several attempts at going to the front lines, but something always happened to prevent her. Her reports are gathered from Chinese soldiers or vernacular newspapers, which cannot be accused of impartiality. These include victories so impressive that one is surprised at their obscurity, such as "ten thousand Japanese killed, wounded and taken captive at Tsingpingchen." She admits her lack of first-hand experience: "I remain a teller of tales (*sic*), a writer of things through which I have not lived." Her descriptions of the wretched condition of the wounded, however, and of the inadequacy of medical services throughout the Chinese armies, are borne out by the experience of other foreign observers, as is her remark that "practically all Chinese doctors have fled from the province."

Less convincing is her tribute to the heroism of the ex-Manchurian troops, whom Chinese official reports have openly accused of mutiny, indiscipline and cowardice. Generally speaking, the authoress has little praise for Chinese generals or armies apart from her beloved "Reds." On page 73 she writes: "We asked General Yen" (the governor of Shansi) "how he intended to defend Taiyuan, and he replied that he was not sure, but that the Chinese would fight to the end." That they did not do so is admitted by Miss Smedley in another place. On page 116 she states that the Szechwan and Central Government troops retreated without determined fighting, and "only the Eighth Route Army are continuing the struggle." Those who know that province will smile when reading of the Szechwanese soldiers as "fine specimens of young manhood." The model Red Army is not above absorbing men belonging to other formations, as is naïvely recounted on pages 177 and 178.

The authoress sets out to prove the demoralization and cruelty of the Japanese troops, and their fear of the Chinese Reds, by citing extracts from diaries alleged to have been captured during October, 1937 (pages 70-72). After reading these, one is astonished that Japanese forces are still fighting in China. In confirmation of reports of victories she describes how she saw Japanese equipment and prisoners brought to the rear, although the numbers of the latter are not impressive. On November 5 she saw two captives; ". . . the officer has a bank account and lives off the interest on his money. To expect anything from such a man seems madness." She

saw two prisoners on November 13, and one on December 5. It is amusing to read that she was often mistaken by villagers for a Japanese.

She expresses a pathetic faith in the plausible explanations of her celestial colleagues. General Chu Teh is quoted as saying: "The defeat of the Chinese (not the Eighth Route Army) . . . did not mean much. . . . We will . . . cut off their rear, destroy all their communications, split them up in small groups and destroy them. The Chinese forces are much larger than the Japanese and we can surround them on all sides." A few pages later (pages 117-118) she explains how the Chinese had to retreat because of being heavily outnumbered by the enemy, and that at a point within 10 miles of Army Headquarters! "The Japanese outnumbered the Eighth Route Army nine to one over there, and their equipment is a hundred to one. We might suffer a defeat." It is well known that the Chinese were superior in manpower (but not in material) on every front. Her apology for the loss of Tai-yuan-fu shows the extent to which she has been influenced by Oriental mentality. A unit of the Eighth Route Army "began to move south of the railway to halt the Japanese advance. But on the very day that they crossed the tracks the Japanese defeated the Chinese troops at Showyang and began moving towards Yutze, a few miles from Taiyuan. The Eighth Route Army received orders too late to move south of the railway, and before they could even take up positions the Japanese had pushed on to the capital" (page 209).

The declared Chinese policy of "scorching the earth" before the invaders is ignored by Miss Smedley, who ascribes every burning village to the barbarity of their opponents. She admits that partisans organized by the Eighth Route Army occasionally requisition food from the peasants without payment, but maintains that her Reds behave like perfect gentlemen, even to treating their Japanese prisoners as honoured guests. The sceptic will wonder how these ex-brigands, who for ten years have been murdering missionaries and desolating their own countryside, can have undergone so rapid a conversion.

Some of her character estimates seem extravagant. "I said that Peng Teh-hwei would be one of the greatest military leaders of Asia, just as Mao Tse-tung would one day be the greatest political leader of Asia."

The authoress pays scant attention to the opinions and views of the resident missionaries. "I went to the foreign missionary hospital . . . to get medical treatment for my back. . . . The woman doctor said that 'there are not many Chinese wounded, because the Chinese troops always turn and run away when the Japanese approach.' I was almost speechless with astonishment and disgust. Some missionaries have lived in China for twenty years, but have learned little. They are kind enough to me because I am a foreigner, but I share little or nothing of their thoughts, their beliefs or their so-called culture." Miss Smedley, however, does not hesitate to make frequent use of their hospitality; nor does she take into account that the mission hospitals continued to care for Chinese wounded and refugees at places (such as Hangchow) which were actually being attacked, and after the Chinese garrisons had fled.

The authoress puts her finger on a real cause of China's weakness. ". . . Even the prerequisite for the victory of the Chinese armies is not yet fulfilled—that is, the adoption of such democratic social, economic and political measures that the masses of the people really feel that they have something to fight for. . . ."

The style is at times irritating. "The postmaster literally bubbled over with enthusiasm." Her horse "neighed so loudly that he literally split the air." "The Eighth Route Army literally covers the country with its slogans, written by hand."

This book may well find a place in the propagandist literature intended to rouse the English-speaking public to support the Chinese against their attackers, but as information on the Sino-Japanese situation it is practically valueless.

Special Undeclared War. By Frank Oliver. Introduction by Peter Fleming. 8" × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 368. Illustrations. 2 maps. Jonathan Cape. 12s. 6d.

The book starts with a quotation, "The bleaching bones of a myriad men make the fame of a single general," and it might be possible to examine this book in the same way. As such it sets out, sometimes clearly, at other times by suggestion, the various moves in the enormous game of chess now in progress in the Far East, a game where one side has studied closely and practised the rules of the Occidental version of the game and has confused them with those of the East. This perhaps explains the difficulties he is now up against, with an opponent who can concentrate on the old rules, and, with no distractions, can therefore see ahead a move or two further than his opponent, and who has no King to check.

Mr. Oliver, with compression which does not make for dullness, sets out the background against which the leaders of China are working. He goes back to Peking man and has a lot to say on the early dynasties, important things to remember, for the outcome of the present struggle and its sequel will largely depend on Chinese tradition. When he comes to 1937 the account of the fighting is not dulled by difficult names or places, much is given of the effect on the common man, the peasant, and, as stated, the high strategy is well brought out. The book can be strongly recommended as giving a good idea of the present state of the board.

In Chapter IX., "Bushedo goes Overboard," he gives chapter and verse to prove how the Japanese Army has lost face by the policy of rape and murder. The statements of fact are objective; it is as well that they are being published, for they, particularly the treatment of women, are undoubtedly a prime cause of continued Chinese resistance. Some time it is hoped the Japanese people will realize how far their army has departed from Meijian precepts.* Publication of the facts can only hasten that pro-

* "Those who appreciate true valour should in their daily intercourse set gentleness first and aim to win the love and esteem of others. If you affect valour and act with violence, the world will in the end detest you and look upon you as wild beasts."

cess. It is good to find that the Nanking excesses were, though too late, severely reprobated by the General Commanding. Yet similar excesses continued under his successor and all over Northern China. An account of them, of the *Panay* and other incidents is on record here.

Details of the mass opposition, how it is organized, how it works, of guerilla fighting, which is one side of it, are well described. And from the facts a prophecy of the issue is set out. Through it all the author, admitting his preference for the Chinese, studiously attempts to put the other side. The book is warmly recommended for all who are interested in the drama of the Far East.

B. W. P.

Harris of Japan: The Life of Townsend Harris. By Carl Crow. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 311. Illustrations. Hamish Hamilton. 12s. 6d.

The important part played by Townsend Harris in paving the way for the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse in the middle of last century is well known to students of Japanese history. The courage, patience, and skill with which he carried out his difficult mission are not, however, appreciated as fully as they should be. It is to the credit of Carl Crow that, in the admirably well-balanced and readable book under review, long overdue tribute is paid to this stout-hearted American who, in middle age, offered his services to his Government for a most thankless and onerous task and proved himself a natural diplomat and statesman of no mean quality.

It has often been said against Harris that he cajoled Japan into entering into treaty relations with his country by blackguarding Britain and France and using them as bogeys to frighten Japan into looking to America as a friend and protector. As a generalization this may pass muster; but, like so many generalities, it is but half the truth, and the material produced in this book should serve as a useful corrective. Harris, it is true, was ready enough to stress the acquisitive propensities of Great Britain and France and to disturb Japan's peace of mind by intimating that, having just dealt somewhat summarily with the Chinese, they would doubtless turn their attention to Japan next if the Japanese failed to assure themselves of American friendship; but (*vide* pp. 163-4 and 211) he did so with the full knowledge and approval of his friend Sir John Bowring, Governor-General of Hongkong, who, astute diplomat that he was, realized that a hint of this kind to the Yedo officials was well calculated to "aid Harris in concluding a treaty which would be of benefit to the British as well as to all the other powers."

Harris was by no means pro-British. It has, in fact, been said of him that, in his younger days, he followed most conscientiously his grandmother's advice to "fear God, tell the truth, and hate the British"; and in the diary he kept during his years of exile in Japan he recorded with satisfaction that the Japanese had "agreed to provide ports at which American naval vessels could store provisions and thus be free from that wretched place Hongkong and the stores out of the power of England."

While it is clear from this and other passages that he had no great love for England, he had a number of good British friends, and he was quick to recognize that, in spite of trade rivalry in the Far East, Britain and America shared a common interest in breaking down the Asiatic policy of seclusion and that cooperation to this end was of mutual advantage. Thus it came about that when,

after nearly two years of heart-breaking negotiations, he finally obtained the treaty for which he had worked so strenuously, he readily gave invaluable advice and assistance to Lord Elgin (who arrived soon after to secure a similar treaty for Great Britain) and did everything in his power to "repay the British for the help he had been given by Sir John Bowring." It is pleasant to record that, in appreciation of his great services, Queen Victoria sent him a gold snuff-box.

It is a curious commentary on the fine, self-sacrificing work done by Harris that the only people who seemingly failed at the time to appreciate the real value of his work were his own countrymen. For thirteen months he was left stranded at the little fishing-village of Shimoda without a word from the outside world and with no other Westerner to share his solitude but his Dutch interpreter, the faithful Heusken, who was later to fall victim to a reactionary assassin. For eighteen months he received no communication at all from his own State Department, and, being left without salary or provisions, he was compelled to borrow money for the necessaries of life from the Japanese officials with whom he was negotiating and to live on a diet of fish and rice. Shamefully neglected by his own people; deliberately deceived time and again by the Japanese, whose one desire was to get rid of this importunate and unwanted "Western barbarian"; sick in mind and body, and fearful of dying before his task was completed, Harris nevertheless refused to give up hope and struggled on gallantly against all odds. Even the Japanese officials who had resorted to subterfuge and lied to him so shamelessly came to love and respect him; and now, after the passage of eighty years, it is in Japan that his memory is most highly respected and held in honour. In America, his own country, he died forgotten and unhonoured, and even to-day his name is known there to few others than those interested in Japan.

M. D. KENNEDY.

Le Grand Drame de l'Asie. By Claude Farrère. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Pp. 202.
Paris: Flammarion.

M. Claude Farrère, of the Académie Française, having left Japan in 1899 in the hope of going back there shortly, did not in fact revisit that country until 1938. The present small volume is the outcome of this long-deferred return to the scene of his youthful impressions.

Much has happened in Japan in these forty years, and those of us who have recently learned to regard the Japanese with horror, if not with hatred, for the misery which they have inflicted on so many millions of Chinese should be interested to read this book.

How far can a nation change its heart? It is a difficult question to answer. M. Farrère finds that Japan has changed in no essential: she is the same in 1938 as in 1899. He finds the same courage and poverty, the same thoroughness, thrift and industry, the same dislike of ugliness and love of beauty, and above all the same complete subordination of the individual to the interests of the State.

Surely the familiar lament of Madame Roland concerning the guilt of liberty could be applied with much greater force to such relentless and fanatical patriotism as only Japan can show.

This book is an essay rather than a political study. It is written with all the ease and elegance that one expects, but it is emphatically an *ex-parte*

statement. The author appears to be better informed about the Japanese than about the Chinese, and some of his statements about the latter are, to say the least, questionable. He accepts too readily the Japanese explanation of the " incidents " which have punctuated the present struggle.

M. Farrère is no admirer of the British, and he is fiercely anti-Russian (Communistes, menteurs, esclavagistes!), whose vassal, he asserts, Chiang Kai-shek is. But the book is of value as coming from an independent, if somewhat prejudiced witness. After all, it is given to few to see both sides of the shield.

E. B. H.

The Temple Dances in Bali. By Tyra de Kleen. Preface by Sven Hedin. Ethnographical Museum of Sweden New Series Publication 2. 9½" × 12½". Pp. 28. 92 plates. Stockholm: Bokförlags Aktiebolaget Thule. 1936. £6 6s.

The island of Bali, midway between Malaya and Australia, is only one-sixth the size of Holland and its population is barely a million, but it is unique. It is the last outpost of Asia, for the Wallace Line, the imaginary line drawn by Alfred Russell Wallace in the deep ocean channel to the east, divides the flora and fauna of Asia from those of Australia. And culturally too: here, in isolation, three thousand miles from India, the Hindu civilization, which has ceased to be even a memory in Java, still maintains a harmonious and dignified existence. When in 1478 Islam triumphed in Java and the ancient Hindu kingdom fell, such of the population as were able fled. The lower classes remained, but the aristocracy migrated to Bali and with them the Brahmans, the Buddhist clergy, the artists unable to abide the stifling law of Islam.

And so it is that beyond Siam and Cambodia, where Pali Buddhism still flourishes, the only spot where Sanskrit can be traced to-day is in this remote corner of Indonesia. As you land in the harbour you see by the strand a temple dedicated to Varuṇa; among the people on the quay you notice Brahmans, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras; as soon as you mix in daily life you hear the names of Śiva and Gaṇeśa; if you are lucky enough to enter the house of a priest, a *pedanda*, you witness the worship that is practised all over India, a regular Sandhyā sevana, you hear Sanskrit mantras recited with the regular Indian accompaniment of mystic gestures, mudrās—and all among a people who can hardly pronounce the words and have never even heard of India.

The first record of Bali is John Crawfurd's essay (Asiatick Researches, XIII., Calcutta, 1820). Pioneer work ceased with R. Friederich's studies in the Transactions of the Dutch Society, 1849-1850, and thereafter the supply of scholarship has been continuous. Even in 1919, before round-the-world tourists had heard of Bali, Lekkerker's learned bibliography mentioned 808 works, mostly in Dutch.

In English we have recently had two excellent works, *Island of Bali*, by Miguel Covarrubias (Knopf, 1937), *Dance and Drama in Bali*, by Beryl

de Zoete and Walter Spies (Faber, 1938), both magnificently illustrated. And there is Vicki Baum's novel, *A Tale from Bali* (Bles, 1937), which deserves to be better known, for it is based on fact, and fact can be infinitely more moving than any fiction; it describes the tragic *poepoetan* at Badung in 1906 when, although the common people stood aside, the entire court, men, women and children, headed by the raja, dressed in all their finery, moving as in a trance, walked in procession into the field of fire of the Dutch infantry and, when the horrified troops held their fire, rushed on to the bayonets or stabbed themselves sooner than submit to foreign rule. Many of their compatriots thought it foolish, for the Dutch here are at their best, interfering little, discouraging outside influences, and cherishing the culture of Bali as a precious thing.

Travelogues and tourist agencies have exploited the comeliness of the Balinese; and as far back as 1619 the women were fetching a high price (150 florins) in the slave market at Bourbon (Réunion). The basic stock is Indonesian—*i.e.*, largely Mongoloid—with subsequent admixtures of Indian and Chinese blood from immigrants who seldom came in large numbers and were eventually absorbed. The charm of the Indonesian physique and outlook persists, and Hinduism, even in its Tantric form, is often a finer thing in Bali than it is in India. There is a singular absence of images, the deities being worshipped as spirits and materializing, if at all, in mere emblems, the favourite symbol being simple pieces of gold; curiously enough, a race of artists who decorate the surrounding walls profusely leave the shrine itself empty.

The popularity of Bali among Westerners is largely due to its people's gift for dancing in elaborate and beautiful costumes. But dancing is only one among many manifestations of the intensely artistic life of the island. Some of the others are simple and charming enough. One of the more recondite is a ritual language of hands, depicted in Tyra de Kleen's *Mudras* (Kegan Paul, 1924), of which the original edition (The Hague, 1923) contains P. de Kat Angelino's *Mudras auf Bali*, the most complete and reliable description of Hindu religion and worship as they actually exist in Bali. *Mudrā* is Sanskrit for "seal," and the priests when reciting a mantra (*i.e.*, "words of power," usually from the Vedas) accompany the sound by imitating the Sanskrit letters with their fingers, thus *sealing* the magic. With advanced initiates this grew into a complicated and secret language or rather languages, for the *mudrās* took different forms in different countries—India, Tibet, China. In Bali the *mudrās* are performed with a flower between the fingers and after each *mudrā* the flower is flicked towards the four points of the compass until the ground becomes sprinkled with petals, usually the yellow or white Champaka, the sweet-scented Camboja, or the crimson Hybiscus.

If we have mentioned Hinduism it is only because its influence on Bali is generally overlooked, not because there is any resemblance to India. Indeed, the influence is overlooked for the excellent reason that it is discernible only by experts. Bali is not a paradise, for there is no such thing on earth, and its people are mundane enough; but they have a freshness

and a vitality which have enabled them to mould an alien culture into something entirely their own.

In her present book Tyra de Kleen has only 18 pages of text. After briefly explaining the various dances, costumes and musical instruments she passes on to her drawings, 92 plates, many of them in ten colours. They are not only beautiful drawings, they are also scientific documents, for after being long misled by the suspicious *pedandas* she was finally accepted as a pupil and a friend. Here, in their actual colours, are the lithe brown bodies of the performers in the ritual dance, the gorgeous trimmings, the brocades, the veils, the towering headdresses stiff with gold thread and vibrant with wreaths of living flowers.

G. E. H.

Buried Empires: The Earliest Civilizations of the Middle East. By Patrick Carleton. 9" x 6". Pp. 290, 13 plates, 2 maps. London: Edward Arnold and Co. 10s. 6d.

This general review of the ancient civilizations of the Middle East up to the rise of the Assyrian Empire is based in the main on the results of post-war excavations, from Iraq to Sindh and the Persian Gulf to Afghanistan. It will be fully reviewed in the next number of the Journal.

ERRATA

IN the review of *Buried Bethlehem*, which appeared in the October, 1938, number of the Journal, there are two misstatements. The sentence "the author considers that Bethlehem . . . was a whole locality which included both the Tumulus and the village which bears that name today" should read: ". . . a whole locality which included the Tumulus and the valley which runs south-eastward from the neighbourhood of Artas, as far as to the slopes of the Tumulus, but *not* the village known as Bethlehem to-day."

Secondly, although the author refers to Matt. i. 2 as "Constantine's version," he considers these chapters to be, *not* a late, but a very early forgery.

The reviewer regrets having misunderstood the author on these two points, and would only plead in extenuation the difficulty of understanding a book written in so obscure a style.

RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

IRAQ

IRAQ is now served by 753 miles of railways which connect Baghdad with the most important districts. The new line from Baiji to Tel Kutcek, which is 194 miles long, will bring the total mileage to 947 miles.

The new line comprises two sections :

1. Tel Kutcek to Mosul, which covers 73 miles, has been completed and was opened for traffic in January, 1939. The trains now run between Tel Kutcek and Mosul three times a week, each way.

2. Mosul to Baiji covers 121 miles, of which about 70 miles are now completed. The remaining portion is expected to be finished by May, 1940, when trains will run direct from Baghdad to the Bosphorus. The line between Mosul and Baiji will run through a tunnel just under one kilometre in length, the construction of which is being carried out by Messrs. Balfour Beatty and Co., Ltd. The total cost of the new line, which was estimated at £2,250,000, is now expected to reach £3,500,000.

The rolling stock will be of the latest type, and the 1st and 2nd class compartments are to be air-conditioned.

The new line, which will link Iraq with the Continental system of railways, should prove a great boon to the country.

IRAN

The Trans-Iranian Railway, from Bandar Shah on the Caspian to Bandar Shahpur on the Persian Gulf, was officially opened to traffic throughout its entire length on August 27, 1938. A regular service of trains on the southern section was begun on March 21, 1939. There are now two or three trains weekly in each direction over the whole line. The time taken is 17 hours from Teheran to the northern terminus and 24 hours from Teheran to Bandar Shahpur. The accommodation on the trains is good and travellers are well cared for. There is a good dining-car on the southern section.

The northern section leaves Teheran in a south-easterly direction and follows a wide curve before turning north. About 80 miles out from Teheran is the station of Garmsār, from which a branch line now runs eastward for some 70 miles to Semnan. This line, which was officially opened on June 16, has been constructed entirely by Iranians. It will no doubt be continued as far as Meshed.

Work is proceeding rapidly on the new line from Teheran to Tabriz, which will link up with the Turkish railway system.

A third new line is in course of construction from Teheran to Anārak and Yezd in the heart of Iran. This and the Tabriz line are also being built by Iranians so far, but portions of the Tabriz line may be contracted out to Europeans.

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM MARSHALL,
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.

THE death of Sir William Marshall on June 1 removes not only a great leader of the main Asiatic campaign of the Great War, but one of those men of outstanding ability and character which this country, hitherto, has never failed to produce in time of need.

His career, even in our unusual Army, was exceptional. As a young man he had shown not only promise but performance in the South African War, compelling attention as a Column Leader. Yet for ten years thereafter he was allowed to languish as a company commander, and when at last he reached command of a fine Battalion of his Regiment, the Sherwood Foresters, the Selection Board decided that there was no further employment for which he was suited and that he would have to retire on completion of tenure. And this a few weeks before the Great War! The record of General Marshall's service has been given in the Press, but inadequately—the B.B.C. did not even mention his death—and for this it must be said, in fairness, his own book *Memories of Four Fronts* must share the blame. If modesty can be a vice then Marshall was vicious, and if he had another weakness it was the indiscriminate smoking of cigarettes; not very serious crimes.

Marshall was trained in the hard school of failure over a long period. In France he saw in the early days of the war the fatuity of putting all the eggs in the front line basket and holding useless ground at great cost. He was snubbed for his suggestions. In Gallipoli his ability shone through the defects until he came to be rushed from one command to another restoring order from chaos, a Trench Policeman as he described himself. With the wealth of knowledge gained from these experiences, for he invariably went himself and formed his own opinions in every situation, he ultimately reached Mesopotamia as a corps commander under General Maude in the autumn of 1916 when the Army there was smarting under the fall of Kut a few months previously.

In his book Marshall goes the length of saying that Maude was perhaps the greatest general Great Britain had produced since Lord Roberts, this on the ground that he raised the morale of a practically defeated army and led it in a brilliant campaign from failure to victory. General Maude was a great man, and successful, but it must be pointed out that he participated as a divisional commander in the Kut failure, his methods and tactics then fell short just as completely as those of others. Certainly administrative methods vastly improved in the summer of 1916, but it was not until

Marshall arrived and showed his tactical genius that the real change came. His principle of limited objectives, combined with a sustained offensive—all too tardily adopted over a year later on the Western Front—combined with the masterly handling of the artillery and other arms, made success. Indeed many thought, and still think, that had Marshall been in supreme command the fumbling which took place in February, 1917, under Maude at the recapture of Kut would have been replaced by an annihilation of the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia as complete as that administered by Allenby in Palestine eighteen months later.

However this may be, Marshall's sense of discipline and personal devotion to Maude were only two facets of a great character. Soldiering was innate in him, study of people and things gave him judgment and decision of exceptional quality. He was more than adequate in every situation in which he found himself, his views when put to the test of time proved to be the right ones.

It would be interesting to know if any commander in history ever volunteered to give up redundant troops as did General Marshall. It is a precedent to be followed with caution, for the immediate reaction was that the Eastern Committee of the War Cabinet, urged on by "experts," decided to use them on the now notorious Dunsterforce adventure. Marshall resisted with all his power; he did not believe in dealing with "tentacles reaching ever eastwards" by nibbling at their extremities, and said so bluntly, in spite of being warned that the Eastern Committee, presided over by no less formidable a personality than Lord Curzon, were seriously annoyed with him.

It is curious that when visiting Simla in 1918 Marshall failed to enlist any support for his view from the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Monro, an objective soldier of strong character like himself, and as reluctant to engage in chasing wild geese in Central Asia or vague dialectics round a table. It was said at the time: "To embroil Monro in argument is as caddish as it is to remove a saucer of milk from a blind kitten." Marshall returned to his command realizing that in Simla the Turco-German Pan-Turanian bogey was of terrifying dimensions and that only the Foreign Secretary, Sir Hamilton Grant, shared his attitude. Indeed, interference in Persia and Transcaspia from India was further expanded, and the Pan-Turanian bogey was only exploded when Sir George Milne, as he then was, sent Malleon and his Eastern Persian Cordon packing back to India in January, 1919. Marshall was right; Pan-Turan was never a danger; he refused to have his eye taken off the target, the military defeat of the King's enemies. Years afterwards, in October, 1927, Ataturk stated: "History shows no example of the success of Pan-Islamism or Pan-Turanianism."

In his personal relations Marshall was gifted with the charm of a quiet manner, slow, deliberate speech, and a quizzical humour. His pleasure at the success of others was a delight to see; where victory was cheaply bought he spoke with enthusiasm of the troops, where the price was dear or success incomplete the blame was always placed on his own shoulders, and in most cases quite unjustly. No scapegoats for him.

Politicians, hearthrug heroes, and what Napoleon called "carriage generals" he did not wish to understand. All his thoughts were for "the men," all his brains concentrated on the other side of the hill. A great captain indeed and one who inspired those under him with the magic of his leadership.

W. M. T.

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To <i>Office Expenses:</i>											
Salaries and National Insurance	507	4	8	By Subscriptions received	1,739 11 3
Rent	...	...	...	162	19	10	„ <i>Journal Subscriptions and Sales</i>	...	...	...	76 1 6
Telephone	...	...	...	16	13	7	„ <i>Interest (Received less tax)</i>	...	...	...	23 10 7
Stationery and printing	...	...	...	59	7	0	„ <i>Annual Dinner</i>	...	...	...	163 10 6
Postage	...	...	...	84	1	11	„ <i>Dinner Club (Contribution to expenses)</i>	...	...	...	25 0 0
Office cleaning	...	...	...	34	1	7	„ <i>Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Income</i>	...	...	...	85 7 2
Audit fee	...	...	...	5	5	0					
Bank charges	...	...	...	8	17	1					
Lighting and heating	...	...	...	27	3	1					
Sundries	...	...	...	20	9	11					
				926	3	8					
„ <i>Journal:</i>											
Printing	...	...	...	600	16	9					
Postage	...	...	...	72	2	1					
Reporting	...	...	...	35	2	2					
				708	1	0					
„ <i>Lectures:</i>											
Lecturers' fees and expenses	...	...	...	15	10	0					
Lecture halls and expenses	...	...	...	151	5	11					
Lantern	...	...	...	9	5	0					
Slides	...	...	...	5	1	0					
Printing	...	...	...	27	1	6					
				208	3	5					
„ <i>Annual Dinner</i>	...	...	...		167	12 10					
„ <i>Library</i>	...	...	...		36	5 6					
„ <i>Removal expenses including refurnishing new premises</i>	...	...	...	190	8	7					
Less: Donations received therefor	...	...	...	128	11	0					
				61	17	7					
„ <i>Cost of Lawrence replica defrayed by the Society</i>		4	17 0					
				£2,113	1	0					
							£2,113	1	0		

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PART IV

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NOTICES

TO ALL MEMBERS :

The wickedest war in history has come upon us; we are fighting a cunning man and an evil mode of life.

We are the leaders of the world in a struggle for everything we think worth living for and we have no choice but to see the thing through to the end, and in the end we shall win.

No man can say when that end will come, but for the moment two countries we thought would be against us are not so yet and we have had an invaluable three weeks' freedom of action in the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Above all, we have the moral support of every civilized being in the world.

Never did a nation go to war so absolutely certain that it was a just and necessary war.

Let us keep a high heart and a good courage, believe no rumours and do, each one of us, what we can to help, knowing well we never offered service in a better cause and one which must triumph.

PHILIP CHETWODE, FIELD-MARSHAL,
Chairman of the Council, Royal Central Asian Society.

It is hoped that it may be possible to keep the office open from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. from Mondays to Fridays. The office will be shut on Saturdays.

It may not be possible to send cards every month as before, and Members are asked to look in *Arrangements for the Day* in the daily papers also. It is hoped, however, to have lectures on the multitude of interesting questions which have arisen.

In view of the conversations which took place in Moscow towards the end of September between the German and Turkish representa-

tives, the Note on the building and completion of certain railway lines in Iraq (published on p. 563 of the July Journal) is of special interest.



Members are responsible for their spellings of place-names in the Journal.



Members are asked to send in any change of address and to write if Journals do not arrive.



Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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being desirous of becoming a Member of the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, we recommend ^{him}/_{her} for membership.

Proposed.....

Seconded.....

His
Her connection with Asia is :

THE NEW ORDER IN EAST ASIA

By CHRISTOPHER CHANCELLOR

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on June 29, 1939, Sir John Pratt, K.B.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—The Far East has been in the anxious thoughts of most of us for the last few days. For those of us who, like myself, have lived in Tientsin and have friends there, the interest has been yet more poignant.

It is fortunate that we have to-night a lecturer who has lived a great many years in China, and who has recently come back from China, and who is able to give us an appreciation of the situation. I need not waste very much time in introducing Mr. Christopher Chancellor to you. He is, as you all know, General Manager for Reuter's in the Far East, that very great organization which in addition to being a private news service is of the order of a national institution. Mr. Chancellor has held this very responsible position for, I think I am right in saying, eight years, and I feel sure that he will give us a lecture to which we shall listen with the greatest interest.

“THE New Order in East Asia” is a very familiar phrase to those of us who live in the Far East. But in referring to the Far East, one now has the uncomfortable feeling of clinging to a term which has almost lost its original meaning. It used to cover everything from Singapore to Vladivostock; but to-day (for the farther Far East) Japan insists upon a new expression (East Asia) to give geographical form to the political and economic hegemony which she has set herself to create.

I went to the Far East—for then it still *was* the Far East—in 1931. We lived then in a kind of dream world, governed by the Washington treaties. China was to develop into a modern, unified State, and commercial intercourse between China and other countries was to be guided by the principle of “the open door.”

The change that I see during my eight years in the Far East sometimes staggers me by its magnitude. The whole structure created at Washington in 1922 has crumbled to the ground. The Naval Treaty—which in effect gave Japan predominance in the Pacific—has failed utterly to guarantee the political settlement which was its corollary, the integrity of China.

The Nine-Power Treaty to-day is a meaningless formula as applied to existing facts. But, with the American and French Governments,

we take our stand on it—not as a treaty in being, but as a treaty which has been broken and which can be invoked against the treaty breaker.

We use it as a basis for our protests against Japanese actions in China. Its value to-day lies simply in the fact that it can provide a common guiding principle, giving unity to the policy of the three great Powers whose rights and interests in China are menaced.

Now, what is this New Order in East Asia? After the fall of Hankow last autumn the Japanese Government officially buried the Washington system. The “pre-incident status,” it announced, was gone, never to return, and a New Order was emerging “which would ensure the permanent stability of East Asia”: this New Order would be based upon “a tripartite relationship of mutual aid and co-ordination between Japan, Manchoukuo and China in political, economic, cultural and other fields.” A few weeks later, Mr. Arita, the Foreign Minister, indicated how the New Order would affect the Powers with interests and treaty rights in China. “The economic activities of other Powers,” he said, “should be subject to certain restrictions dictated by the requirements of the national defence and economic security of the countries grouped together under the New Order.” This was a polite, but unequivocal, public interment of “the open door.”

There was, of course, nothing sudden in this development. Ever since the explosion on the railway outside Mukden on September 18, 1931, a new definition of Japan's position in China *vis-à-vis* other Powers has been taking shape. There was the famous “hands off China” declaration of Mr. Amau, the Japanese Foreign Office spokesman. Then in 1935 came talk of British financial assistance to China.

Sir Frederick Leith-Ross was sent by the British Government on a tour of investigation. There was a violently hostile reaction in Japan. The *Asahi Shimbun*—a great, liberally inclined newspaper—reflected the general feeling at that time: it wrote, “Japan holds the view that Japan should not co-operate in China on an equal footing with Great Britain and the United States. Japan should consider co-operation only when she is recognized as being in a position of leadership.” The signals were already at danger. The gap between British and Japanese policy in China was widening.

There was, in the first place, an absolute divergence in economic outlook. Japan had nailed her colours to a process of intensive industrialization; to the development of export trades for which she needed easy and cheap access to an increasing volume of imported raw materials. She looked upon China in a threefold aspect:

- (1) as a market for manufactured goods;
- (2) as a source of industrial raw materials;
- (3) as a potential competitor in the world's export markets.

In the years from 1931 onwards I was a good deal in Japan, and I gained a strong impression that, in the near view, China was regarded increasingly as a vital source of raw materials rather than as an export market. I also came to realize that Japan, in the long view, was really afraid of China as a potential industrial competitor.

Now, the British attitude was fundamentally different. We, too, discounted China as a large-scale importer of consumers' goods. China's four hundred million potential customers were likely to remain for many decades—potential.

For us China was to be a market for capital as distinct from consumers' goods—a market for machinery and the products of our heavy engineering trades. But to become a valuable customer in this respect, China must be helped to develop industrially. Two birds would thus be killed with one stone—for, as well as buying our machinery, China would become an important field for capital investment.

During the years from 1933 onwards, while Sino-Japanese relations were in a state of almost continuous tension, we were laying plans for a new era of foreign lending to China, a process which had been suspended for twenty years owing to the chaos following the Chinese revolution. There were great projects for railway construction: there were plans—fostered by the League of Nations—for “reconstruction” in the Yangtze Valley, which in reality were to pave the way for a resumption of capital investment in China.

These projects not only ran counter to Japan's economic plans for China; but British policy, relying as it must upon the support of Chinese politicians who had Western ideas and were Western trained, came up against the political game which Japan was playing in China in the hope of securing, if possible peacefully, certain economic and strategic concessions.

To put it very simply, there was a division in China between the so-called “pro-Japanese” and “pro-Western” groups of politicians.

The “pro-Western” group, centring round the famous “Soong dynasty”—that remarkable family of which Madame Chiang Kai-shek is a member—were opposed to compromise with Japan and hoped to rise up as leaders of a modern, industrialized China with the help of capital investment from the West.

The Japanese were trying to secure a shift in internal Chinese politics in favour of the pro-Japanese element—many of whom were Japanese-speaking and had been educated in Tokyo.

During the years 1935-36 Sir Frederick Leith-Ross became a sort of symbol of this conflict of policy, and played—despite his own strictly non-political intentions—an important political rôle on the Far Eastern stage. For a year his name appeared almost daily in the Chinese and Japanese press. When he went to Tientsin a Chinese mass demonstration distributed handbills, saying: "The Japanese are trying to enslave us, but Sir Frederick Leith-Ross has come to save us."

In Japan Sir Frederick was dubbed as the promoter of a shrewd scheme for strengthening the Nanking Government at a time when it had been at the point of accepting Japan's proposals for a political settlement in North China. At best, he was described as being "too simple" and as possessing a most unfortunate "lack of understanding of the true nature of the Far Eastern situation."

Japan saw in the industrial growth of China and in China's possible resurgence as a modern, unified state, not only a commercial but a military danger of terrifying potentialities. She was determined to keep China weak and to guide China's economic development to fit in with her own economic needs.

One could hardly expect Japan to view calmly the indiscriminate investment of foreign capital in China—a process which might result in creating a commercial rival and a military Power strong enough to threaten the great stake which Japan herself was developing on the mainland.

Japan, arriving late on the scene, had been a keen supporter of "the open door" as a principle for preventing the exclusive exploitation of China by any single Power; and she had taken her place beside the Western nations in the peculiar treaty structure—concessions, extraterritorial jurisdiction and the maritime customs administration—which had been raised as a protective machinery for foreign trade and investment on Chinese soil. Gradually, however, she came to feel her feet and to realize that she was strong enough to stand in China alone.

The theory of "a special mission" was developed; one began to hear the slogan "Asia for the Asiatics," a vision of Japan leading Asia against the White races. The Japanese in China came to occupy a dual position: as business men and investors they still used the old machinery for protecting their trade and investments in partnership

with the Western Powers; at the same time they came to see themselves as Asiatic leaders with "a special mission" in the Pacific. To-day Japan still occupies this dual position, but this is imposing an ever-increasing strain upon Anglo-Japanese relations.

I hope you will forgive me for giving you this greatly over-simplified historical summary, but I feel that it may be easier to judge the present situation against this background.

I have emphasized the Anglo-Japanese aspect. For in Japanese eyes it was primarily a conflict between British and Japanese policy in China. America and France played a negative part at that period; the initiative for a forward financial policy in China came from ourselves; the Japanese identified us principally with the League of Nations' economic activities in China. Our interests loom large in China; we are the lion among the treaty Powers and we have the lion's share of the spoils.

So, when in 1937 the curtain went up on this tragedy in China, we were not unnaturally cast by Japan for the rôle of big, bad villain.

At the moment our attention is focussed upon Tientsin. This Tientsin crisis, of course, has been blowing up for a long time. In fact, a crisis is always just below the surface, not only in Tientsin, but in Shanghai and elsewhere in China—wherever our nationals live, our ships travel and our trade struggles to survive.

To-day practically the whole of our trading and investment interest lies in the heart of territory which is under Japanese military occupation. It depends for its continued existence upon certain inhibitions, a certain hesitancy, which restrain the Japanese army from forcing a direct issue. It has nearly done this in Tientsin. I have no doubt that there are many Japanese who are nervous about this Tientsin affair. But the bolder spirits have been gaining ground during the last year.

A turning-point came last October with the occupation of Canton. This expedition had been postponed on an earlier occasion partly from fear of embroilment with ourselves. Canton—the commercial hinterland of Hong-kong—touches British interests very closely. But the nine days' march in October from Bias Bay to Canton seemed to vindicate the forward policy of the army. Previously there had been, to my certain knowledge, quite a number of doubters among the Japanese. They were afraid the army might lead Japan into dangerous complications with the Western Powers.

In the early days of 1937 and 1938 Japan was cautious where

British interests and property were concerned. But to the surprise (as often expressed to me) of the Japanese themselves, we showed so little determination to protect our interests that the Japanese army came gradually to realize that it had a clear field.

Up to now we have managed to hold on to our trading position in China through a combination of bluff and commercial resilience and skill. But step by step the Japanese are calling this bluff, and I am afraid the process is likely to gain momentum as the months go by.

In considering this question of Tientsin, it is necessary to remember that the foreign concessions—together with international Shanghai and British Hong-kong—have been by their very existence a thorn in the side of the Japanese army. They constitute a definite obstacle to the establishment of the New Order. It is a subject for irony that, had it not been for those “unequal treaties,” against which the Kuomintang thundered eight years ago, Chinese resistance would most probably long ago have collapsed.

The foreign areas (including Hong-kong) constitute a protection for Chinese capital and for the persons and property of members of the Chinese Government. The financial structure of this Government is very largely based upon them. In the heart of territory conquered by the Japanese nestle these rich elusive prizes—still a source of wealth to Chungking, still a base for moral resistance to the New Order. Here behind a slender façade of supposedly neutral bayonets, the Kuomintang flag keeps flying. In fairness, one must consider the Japanese point of view. If I were a Japanese officer, I know exactly how I should feel about Shanghai and the concessions; and I know that I should not be pro-British.

To-day the Japanese officer regards these prosperous enclaves—harbouring wealth and trade—with much the same feelings of frustration and jealousy as did the young Chinese official in the past.

In Tientsin the French Concession has been—in Japanese eyes—every bit as great an offence as our own; in fact, in some respects more so, because, on account of a prevailing view that the French are more resolute, and also more skilful, than ourselves in defending their rights and interests in China, Chinese banking and other semi-political activities have shown a tendency to gravitate towards the French Concession.

But, in the hope of isolating us and because the xenophobia of the Japanese army has been deliberately canalized against the British, we have been singled out as the target.

But what is happening in Tientsin is really the culmination of a general process which has been going on in China for more than eighteen months.

All through this period British subjects and British trading interests have been subjected almost to consistently hostile treatment by the Japanese army. I have not enough time to give you a list of Japan's innumerable violations of British rights and interests. This would take me too long.

I think the most serious of them all are the continued closure of the Yangtze to British shipping while Japanese ships carry cargo up and down the river, and the continued occupation by the Japanese army of about one-half of the International Settlement of Shanghai.

Japanese officers and officials, if one knows them well, talk with disarming frankness about Japan's intentions. They tell one that the Yangtze is to be closed to our shipping while Japan builds up her trade between the river ports, and there is to be a sustained attempt to weaken our general trading position in China.

Monopolies for transportation, public utilities and all forms of industrial activity have been granted to the official Japanese "Development Companies" for North and Central China which have been established to exploit the conquered territory.

The British-built and financed railways are being operated by the Japanese army for the profit of Japan without any regard for the rights of the British shareholders. These railways have in the past represented—in replacements of materials, rolling-stock and locomotives—one of the most important outlets for British trade in China. That golden age once envisaged for British capital investment and industrial exports to China is, it seems, a lost vision of the past.

The only thing—so my Japanese friends in rash moments of confidence tell me—that holds the Japanese army back is fear of the United States. Were it not for America's stake in Shanghai I feel certain that what is now happening in Tientsin would soon be repeated there.

The Japanese army has very strict instructions to avoid provoking the United States. It has not invariably been successful in interpreting these instructions. But the sinking of the *Panay* caused a tremendous panic in Tokyo. The Japanese Government showed almost indecent haste in its anxiety to pay for the *Panay* and for the Standard Oil tankers sunk at the same time. But to this day it has not shown the slightest intention to settle the British claims for merchant ships

sunk and damaged during the same series of Yangtze incidents—more than eighteen months ago.

It must be emphasized that the British stake in China is a direct investment rather than a direct trading interest. British trade goes to feed and maintain this investment. Much the most important part of our stake is in Shanghai, where the direct investment—consisting of trading enterprises, factories and shipping—is computed at not less than £150,000,000 and where about eight thousand British subjects live. America's investment in Shanghai is less than a fifth of our own, the Japanese less than a third.

There has been a certain amount of talk about the opening up of China's south-western provinces, and it is sometimes said that here British trade may be compensated for its losses in Central and North China.

It is true that rapid changes are taking place in these provinces, but their resources are sparse and communications difficult. The commercial, as well as the military, possibilities of the Burma/Yunnan route are apt to be exaggerated.

The great valley of the Yangtze, with Shanghai at its mouth, and the coastal provinces have been for a hundred years the source from which the profits of our China trade have been drawn—and they must always be the life-blood of foreign trade and enterprise in China.

I feel convinced that Japan-in-China will continue to press ever more insistently against our interests. We must not be surprised at this. It is, from Japan's point of view, entirely natural. Moreover, as the New Order shows slowness in materializing, Japanese disappointment will vent itself increasingly against ourselves.

As you will have seen in the papers, a great anti-British drive and a boycott of British trade is being organized by the Japanese army throughout the occupied parts of China. A special anti-British song has been composed and it is sung—rather unconvincingly, I admit—by the servile mobs who are herded together by the Japanese for the purpose of representing public opinion under the New Order.

I do not see any prospect of this process being arrested unless or until Japan is brought to believe that we are prepared to retaliate.

There is another factor in this situation which may be described as the ideological background of the Japanese army in China. This army—divinely inspired under its god-emperor—can do no wrong. It demands servile respect from civilians—both Japanese and otherwise.

It represents a social movement in Japan—standing for a certain austerity of living and disliking private capitalism.

To the politically minded Japanese officer—usually a man of very small means—the foreign merchant in China is a bloated capitalist, sucking the blood of China's poverty-stricken masses with the help of the Chinese millionaires of Shanghai. T. V. Soong is referred to as "Great Britain's compradore."

To the Japanese army it is almost unbearable to endure the foreign traders at such close quarters, watching unsympathetically while divinely inspired Japanese soldiers sacrifice their lives for the New Order.

To many Japanese officers the divine mission means something quite definite, a Japanese version of the white man's burden, a crusade to rescue the Chinese masses from their exploiters.

You cannot dismiss this picture out of hand. If you go to Manchoukuo you will find an industrially active, go-ahead country—more or less pacified—run by a very able type of Japanese official.

I remember travelling some years ago in a small Japanese ship between Kobé and Darien. Most of my fellow-passengers were Japanese officials leaving their homes in Japan to take up their mission in Manchoukuo. Most of them were painfully reading Lord Zetland's *Life of Lord Cromer* in two volumes, as a guide to enlightened administration. The only weakness in this picture lies in the fact that no provision is made for an educated class of Chinese; this class has disappeared from Manchoukuo, as it has vanished from the occupied parts of China. The New Order—on its idealistic side—envisages a sort of coolie-heaven.

There is no higher education for Chinese in Manchoukuo. In China the Japanese army has waged a relentless war against education. Universities and schools have been systematically destroyed. Steps have been taken, in the words of Japanese spokesmen, to "punish" the higher education in China. Tsing Hua University at Peking, run on returned Boxer Indemnity Funds from America, was very severely "punished" indeed: smashing parties were sent to destroy its valuable scientific equipment, and cavalry horses are to-day stabled on its fine polished floors.

School textbooks for the New Order—all of them printed in Japan—show not only a very low standard but also an exceedingly naive interpretation of history. The teaching of English is being eliminated; Japanese is obligatory. These are the textbooks which Japan

wants exclusively used in the British Concession in Tientsin. Naturally it annoys the Japanese army to see young Chinese—under the protection of the Concessions—able to obtain a higher standard of education than is suitable for good citizens of the New Order.

Japan has given her best to Manchoukuo. But south of the Great Wall she has given her worst. Here the coming of the New Order has been heralded by rape, massacre and pillage on a scale which I think very few people in this country fully realize. It must be seen to be believed. The Japanese army in China has presented a spectacle of brutality which I think it would be exceedingly difficult to exaggerate.

Even to-day, up and down China, any Japanese soldier has complete licence to rape, loot and kill. This has its inevitable effect upon discipline and morale.

My friend Mr. Hallet Abend, correspondent for the *New York Times*, told me that General Matsui, who commanded the Japanese forces during the terrible butchery at Nanking, admitted to him that "the Japanese army is probably the most undisciplined army in the world to-day." Mr. Abend makes a point of being on good terms with Japanese officers in China. One day last year, when he called at the headquarters of Lieut.-General Tada in Tientsin, he was greeted with insults and threats by the sentries. The General, explaining away this unpleasant incident, said, "Mr. Abend, you must realize that these young soldiers are just wild beasts from the mountains."

Reuter's Hankow manager has a claim against the Japanese army for his bicycle, which was stolen by a Japanese soldier from the front door of the Japanese general whom he was interviewing.

Shortly after the Chinese forces withdrew from Shanghai I went with a Japanese staff officer to inspect some foreign property outside the town. We took with us Baron Beck-Friijs, the Swedish Minister, who wanted to see his house. Four Japanese soldiers rushed out of it on our approach, their arms full of the Baroness's clothing. The Baron and I chased them round the bushes, while our Japanese officer stood helplessly by.

This army, spread over an enormous area, is out of hand. By its cruelty and its rapacity it has made the establishment of the New Order very much more difficult than it might otherwise have been.

This brings me to the rather fascinating subject of puppets and puppet-makers—an important element in the establishment of the New Order.

In Manchoukuo the "puppet" Chinese officials occupy an utterly

insignificant position. Nobody pays any attention to them; their salaries are small and their influence is nil. Nobody attempts to disguise the fact that the administration is entirely Japanese.

But to extend south of the Great Wall the direct system of administration established in Manchoukuo would be enormously costly and extremely difficult from the point of view of personnel. Japan does not possess for export enough people capable of conducting administration. If Japan is to pacify and control the vast regions in China from which she hopes to draw economic benefits, she must establish an administration which can keep order and collect taxes.

Unless there is to be a huge Japanese garrison in China for an indefinite period, it will be necessary to have a Chinese force for internal police work. The Japanese have already used a certain number of Japanese-officered Chinese brigades from Manchoukuo in operations against the guerrillas in North China. But from all accounts this has not been satisfactory.

The most eminent of the puppet-makers is General Doihara. He heads the school in the Japanese army which believes that the New Army can only be maintained upon a structure predominantly Chinese—through servile administrations with a large sprinkling of Japanese advisers.

He has had some bad disappointments. He had set high hopes on Wang Ching-wei as a possible President for a New Order Central Government. But, after quitting Chungking at the end of last year, Wang Ching-wei adopted a policy of waiting on events—hoping perhaps that, if he delayed before going over to the New Order, a growing number of Chinese politicians might join him. But this has not happened. Wang Ching-wei has now lost most of his old political standing, and, even if he does take office under the Japanese, this will have little moral or psychological effect.

Another of General Doihara's disappointments is that elderly ex-war lord, Wu Pei-fu. This shrewd old man refuses to commit himself; recent negotiations broke down on his insistence upon a greater degree of independence than is seemly for a puppet and upon the withdrawal of Japanese garrisons.

Chungking's quite successful policy of assassination has made the puppet-maker's task very much more difficult. The game is not really worth the candle, especially as the Japanese army denies its puppets both "face" and funds.

From this point of view the outlook for the New Order is a little

bleak. Wang Keh-min, a disreputable and rather sinister figure, is the best—and it is really a very poor best—that the Japanese have been able so far to produce.

He heads the so-called Peking Provisional Government. Many offices in this Government are still unfilled; even the most unworthy Chinese refuse to come forward.

But, of course, there is really as yet no scope for a functioning puppet administration. The country is in chaos; there are no taxes to collect; communications are all controlled by a subsidiary company formed by the South Manchuria Railway, which at present is little more than the transport department for the Japanese army.

The puppet Government at Peking is merely a rubber stamp for application to the decrees of the Japanese army and a useful screen behind which Japan can advance her claims against foreign treaty rights and trade. The decrees are often written in such bad Chinese that they excite the mirth of the population.

Wang Keh-min and his discreditable associates are believed to be chiefly concerned with organizing—with a section of the Japanese army—the opium business in North China.

The so-called Reformed Government in Nanking cuts an even sorer figure than the Provisional Government in Peking.

Following in General Doihara's footsteps is an army of minor puppet-makers, mostly concerned with small regional and municipal administrations, such as the "Ta-Tao" Government of Shanghai. These puppet-makers are drawn from the Special Service Section of the Japanese army. This powerful branch of the army has charge of the political planning of the New Order.

These active architects of the New Order are a very strange lot; I have had a number of contacts with them. They have a habit of wearing Chinese dress and they favour dark spectacles, in order, I suppose, to make the disguise more complete. Their dominion is built largely upon the Chinese gangster element, combined with a horde of Japanese camp-followers of the most unsavoury type.

The Shanghai Ta-Tao administration is largely supported by revenues from a district in the Shanghai suburbs, outside the jurisdiction of the International Settlement, in which flourishes, under Japanese military protection, a huge establishment of brothels, drug shops and gambling dens.

Japan, as you know, objects to foreign concessions and international settlements being used as bases for political intrigue and activity

directed against the New Order. Yet the Special Service Section of the Japanese army does not hesitate to use these areas for purposes of terrorism and intrigue on behalf of the New Order.

In Shanghai on August 13 last year strict precautions were taken, at Japan's insistence, against the possibility of Chinese demonstrations connected with the anniversary of the outbreak of the local hostilities. But on this day the only terrorists discovered were Japanese army officers, disguised as Chinese, trying to organize riots in the International Settlement and distributing anti-foreign—principally anti-British—pamphlets.

During August, 1938, the British police in Shanghai arrested a self-confessed terrorist who admitted that he worked for an immensely fat man called Zang—an ex-convict of Shanghai and a notorious gangster. Zang's headquarters were under Japanese military protection and he was lauded in the Japanese press as "the father of the Nanking Reformed Government." It is not difficult, as you see, to guess the source of the threats against the life of our Ambassador in Shanghai.

In December, 1937, I received an anonymous letter addressed to me at my office in Shanghai. It claimed to be from a Chinese. I showed it to the Shanghai Municipal Police. They thought it might well be genuine. Anyhow it ran as follows:

"As an employee in a Japanese office for a number of years, I have some important information to impart to you. Recently the Japanese have asked me, as well as several of my Chinese colleagues, to go out and start propaganda for Japan three times a week. This is how I get the opportunity to send you this letter.

"What I have to inform you concerns a meeting held by Consul-General, the General and other Japanese officials last Saturday.

"The conferees discussed measures to be taken to create rice riots in the International Settlement. It was their calculation that the Settlement authorities would call out the police to put down any such disturbances. Should this occur, steps would be taken to denounce the high-handed methods of the British police and to instigate the crowds of Chinese refugees to resort to violence. The resultant bloodshed would be seized by the Japanese as proof of the inability of the Settlement authorities to maintain peace and order, and as a pretext for Japanese troops occupying the Settlement. At the same time a movement would be launched for self-determination in East Asia and a boycott organized against British and other European merchandise."

Whether genuine or not, this letter foreshadowed exactly what is happening in China to-day.

I have given you an unsavoury picture, but I can assure you that I have not over-coloured it. So far, it is really the only visible manifestation of the New Order. Solid reconstruction and large-scale work of development are almost entirely absent.

In Peking there are to-day thirty thousand Japanese civilians, as compared with three thousand in 1937. There are said to be the same number in Hankow—a huge army of adventurers and worse in search of an imaginary El Dorado, out for booty and quick returns. North China simply swarms with Japanese; some of Peking's streets are more Japanese than Chinese. But this is a parasite growth, living off the Japanese army.

The gangster element—in association with the army—has battered itself upon the occupied cities, where it has created vested interests in drugs and other forms of vice.

Perhaps from the foregoing you may have gathered that I do not like the Japanese army in China. But in this I am at one with several of my Japanese friends. One of them said to me the other day: "You British have much reason to complain about the Japanese army; it tramples on your interests and obstructs your trade. But we Japanese civilians who are trying to do something constructive in China suffer very nearly as much as you do."

But the army protects the camp-followers who have come into China under its wing. These camp-followers represent all that is worst in Japan. The Chinese, who are compelled to wave Japanese flags to celebrate the coming of this "new paradise," find their enthusiasm a little forced when their shops are transferred to Japanese tradesmen and their houses converted into Japanese brothels.

General Doihara, when his division captured a town in Honan early last year, issued a proclamation to the Chinese people as follows: "It is hereby proclaimed that the commander of the Japanese army earnestly informs the Chinese people, of all classes, that this army has strictly no other intention than the carrying out of the mission vested in it by the Japanese Empire, that is early to establish peace in East Asia and to enhance the prosperity of the Chinese people."

Yet it was General Doihara's division which later occupied Kaifeng almost without any fighting. These soldiers carried out their mission by looting the town, murdering thousands of civilians and raping every woman they could get hold of.

So the North China "incident" became the China Incident; and the China Incident has become the China Affair.

Baron Hiranuma, Prime Minister of Japan, said to the Imperial Diet in Tokyo on January 21 this year: "We have just greeted the second New Year of the China Affair, and the situation that confronts us is graver than ever. I am filled with awe and trepidation, reflecting my poor power and ability. . . . Obviously no lasting peace can be hoped for unless Japan, Manchoukuo and China, the three countries responsible for the stability of East Asia, are speedily united for the realization of our common objective—the establishment of a new order to replace the old.

"I hope the above principle of Japan will be understood correctly by the Chinese, so that they may co-operate with us with no misapprehension whatsoever. . . . As for those who fail to understand to the end and persist even hereafter in their opposition against Japan, we have no alternative than to exterminate them. . . .

"Happily, in China to-day, the sentiments for reconstruction are beginning to sweep over the whole country, with a rapidly growing number of men and women who fall in line with the programmes put into practice by the authorities of the new Governments at Peking and Nanking."

Thanks to the activities of the Japanese army in China the Chinese may indeed be said to entertain "no misapprehension whatsoever" about Japan's intentions.

I have tried to give you, in perhaps rather a superficial way, a general view of this New Order in East Asia as it appears to-day to those of us who watch it at close quarters. This Japanese invasion of China is in its actual manifestations as predatory and as primitive as any invasion of history. The Japanese army has plunged recklessly deeper and deeper into China; and it now finds itself in occupation of more territory than it can control unless it is very considerably reinforced from Japan.

Some people think that in due course this army may be withdrawn from Central and South China in order to concentrate upon the North. North China, of course, was Japan's first objective; it was to be a tied source of raw materials for the industries of Japan. Owing to the chaos that now prevails and the failure of the Japanese army to establish effective control, this asset—especially the great schemes for cotton cultivation—cannot be realized for many years to come.

But as to the withdrawal of the Japanese army, the more I see of

this army in China the harder I find it to visualize its withdrawal. I have described the horde of camp-followers and the vested interests which everywhere the army is creating; to extract this growth from China would require a major surgical operation. I do not think Japan has a surgeon with sufficient skill and courage to perform this operation.

But it would be rash to prophesy complete failure for Japan. Her people, although certainly uneasy about the future, are determined, united and resolute; and they are prepared to make much heavier sacrifices than they have yet been called upon to make. Japan, with the determination which is characteristic of her history, is to-day engaged upon a process of twisting and readapting her whole economic system to meet this situation that she has to face. On paper the financial barometer is falling fast; there are many signs of danger and weakness.

But if Japan is left alone by the rest of the world, I think she may be able to struggle through the next few difficult years.

Two factors are important to remember. The first is that, militarily, the Chinese are quite incapable of pushing the Japanese army out of China. The second is that the prospects of a Russo-Japanese war to-day seem more remote than they have seemed for a long time. There was never any question of Russia attacking Japan. When I was in Tokyo last March, for the first time there was no talk of Japan attacking Russia. The Kwantung army, convinced that China for the next decade will occupy the whole of Japan's resources, has at last abandoned its long-cherished scheme for occupying the Maritime Province of Siberia.

In China the establishment of the New Order in all its glory may be indefinitely postponed. The great schemes for exploitation and reconstruction may remain for the most part on paper. Chiang Kai-shek may stay in Chungking, and the Kuomintang flag may keep flying in the Far West of China. Nevertheless, I think it is possible that gradually this "undeclared war," without any formal treaty or truce, may become a sort of "undeclared peace." In other words, there may for many years to come be no clear-cut solution.

To-day there are many indications that Japan desires a settlement. Peace overtures are being repeatedly made to Chungking, and there is a possibility that Japan may ask the United States to mediate. But the Chinese, who now have little more to lose, show no disposition to negotiate except upon the basis of a complete withdrawal of the

Japanese army. 'This, as I have said, I find it almost impossible to visualize.

For British trade and investments I think the outlook is extremely depressing. Our interests will remain almost entirely in the parts of China controlled by Japan. In these areas—starting with North China—the Japanese will enforce if they can a system of currency and trade control; this may succeed—in the most effective of all ways—in confining within the narrowest possible limits all trade between China and the West.

In North China this process is well under way. It is, of course, a gradual process. The Japanese, in any case slow and hesitant movers, lack the organization and ability to fasten in one stride their control upon the whole treaty port structure—just as they lack the resources for large-scale reconstruction and the man-power for general pacification.

But the Japanese army is grimly determined to hold on to what it has taken. Its grip may be sterile; nevertheless I think it will not relax.

For many years to come, therefore, we may have a *de jure* Chinese Government in Chungking and a *de facto* military administration in the coastal provinces. There will be a no-man's-land of chaos in between.

As for British policy—hitherto we have been walking on a kind of tight-rope in China. We have proffered occasional, furtive and not very extensive financial help to Chungking, building up bitter resentment on the part of the Japanese without materially altering the situation. At the same time we have been trying to keep intact our great trading interests in the Japanese controlled areas by a form of bluff and compromise, without power to make our will felt. This tight-rope will become more and more difficult to walk as the months go by.

SIR FREDERICK WHYTE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Eight years ago Mr. Chancellor visited me to discuss the prospect that lay before him in going out to represent Reuter's in Shanghai. I did not know then—I do not suppose he did—that he was going to establish himself as one of the most authoritative observers from Europe in the Far East; but you will agree with me that in the picture he has drawn for us to-night he has proved that he has made the best possible use of his opportunities out there to master a very difficult situation.

I think perhaps the picture that he has given us of the New Order in East Asia, of the predicament of China and the very embarrassing

predicament of British business interests, has been drawn in a somewhat too pessimistic light. Mr. Chancellor has lived long enough in China to have adopted the Chinese long view. I suggest that, on the long view, neither China nor Britain need be pessimistic. He has depicted to us the Japanese army in almost complete control; but does Japan possess the resources to fulfil her purpose of domination or to create and maintain her cherished New Order? Can even her present control possibly be permanent?

There is a picture over my *left* shoulder of China, and one over my right shoulder of the whole Continent of Asia with its peninsula of Europe. I am going to suggest that what is happening to-day will not find its answer on the Chinese coast but somewhere in the north-west of Europe.

Many a time we have had to retire from a position we had successfully occupied because it became untenable owing to superior local forces, or because the long view of our interest required us to evacuate it for tactical reasons. You cannot deploy force everywhere and adequately at all points. You must choose your *terrain*; and when you are on the defensive in the main theatre, you must be prepared to face reverses in the minor theatres. This is happening now on the coast of China, and the view I take is, not that the Prime Minister was justified the other day in saying that the insults to our fellow-subjects were intolerable, because after all what is intolerable cannot be tolerated, and we have to tolerate what is happening in Tientsin to-day! We may say to *ourselves* that it is intolerable, but it is no use saying that to Japan. But I detect in the Far East at this moment a certain doubt, a certain questioning in the Japanese mind as to whether the line they have taken—I mean the international line—is perhaps the right one.

Remember, one of the fundamental qualities in the Japanese mind is the tendency to conformity. It is quite true that people in Japanese history have been nonconformists, but fundamentally they are conformists. It was good form in the world from 1919 to 1930 to be internationalists. It has been "good form" in the world since then to follow the totalitarian lead and to practise power-politics. Nobody knows what is going to be good form between 1940 and 1950. The Japanese know that, with the result that one authoritative voice tells us that Japan is neither democratic nor totalitarian—which means that while they are quite prepared to bully us in Tientsin, they are not prepared irrevocably to throw in their lot with the Axis Powers.

That is my reason for not being too pessimistic about our future.

The balance is slowly redressing itself in Europe. I have no doubt the Japanese are right in thinking they are not going to have a Russo-Japanese war, because if they were they would be engaged in a general war in which they would be very unhappy indeed to be on the wrong side. The question is whether to be allied with us, or to be allied with Italy and Germany because they are apparently the stronger combination. The Japanese are in fact still left guessing.

I am convinced of this, that the instructions—and I hope they are authentic—reported to have been given by the General Staff in Tokyo to the army to be polite to the Americans is a definite indication of the view taken in Tokyo of the part which the United States may play in the fate of Japan. If that be the case, you may be perfectly certain that Japan will not engage in war on the side on which the United States are on the opposite side.

The Japanese are not a very intelligent people. They are not nearly as intelligent as the Chinese. But they are intelligent enough to realize on which side their bread is buttered; and while they can inflict on us every conceivable humiliation in Tientsin to-day, they are not going to take sides, in the event of a great international conflict, on the wrong side. That is our guarantee for the future. And, as I believe, the balance is slowly redressing itself in our favour, the right side is going to be *our* side, and even if Japan remains neutral, the fact that she is neutral will be of some advantage.

I was interested in Mr. Chancellor's view that the Japanese army have got themselves deeply imbedded in China at this moment. I am going to speculate for a moment now on one of the results of that.

When I was in Harbin in 1934, I gathered that the intention was, both on the Berlin side and the Tokyo side, to make an agreement of immediate and local application but of eventual international application between the two Powers. Japan had achieved her purpose in Manchuria with comparative ease. She had not encountered any one of the three resistances she might have expected from China, or the Soviet Union or from the Powers at Geneva. She got away with her enterprise in Manchuria with comparative ease.

But then the Japanese General Staff realized that Manchuria was only half-way to their goal. They felt that there must be some sort of guarantee that while they were working their way through they would not be interfered with by the Soviet Union. So they sought some sort of understanding with Germany. I was informed at that time from

reasonably authentic sources that Japan wanted a more explicit undertaking than the German Staff would give.

The German General Staff said, "No, it is quite enough for both of us to have this gentlemen's agreement." No doubt they said to themselves, "It is quite enough for us at all events to know that Japan is on the right side of the fence in 1936, whereas she was on the wrong side in 1914."

Now I gather the boot is on the other leg; Japan having the definite promise of military action in those areas, the situation has turned round. The German General Staff in saying "go ahead" assumed that the North China campaign would be completed in four or five months. We are now within sight of the second birthday, two years, of the China war, and the German General Staff must be saying to themselves, "We made our gentlemen's agreement with Japan on the assumption that she was going to establish herself firmly in North China and then she would not go any further. She has gone a great deal further. She has got herself engaged in a very awkward situation which might prevent her from playing her part in a general war, the part which was decided for her in our minds."

Therefore the Germans are at the present moment extremely discontented with the results of the present Japanese policy. The Germans now see Japan committed to a long struggle in China, with no definite objective in a military sense; and thus Japan appears, in German eyes, as a partner who is using up her resources for a local purpose in the Far East, whereas she ought to have kept her hands free for the bigger task of a possible world war.

A GUEST: As far as Japan is concerned, her motive power is, I believe, sheer unadulterated funk. She has lived as an island country like ourselves. She found, when European penetration came, that she did not like it and was terrified of European ideas filtrating into her, and she shut herself up for a couple of hundred years. Then, when Perry's guns opened up, she made up her mind she was going to make herself strong enough by the foreign methods to get the foreigners out again.

She got herself to the point of saying Korea was close and she might be attacked from there. So she took Korea, and the moment she became a Continental Power she had no sea to protect her; so she began to want a neutral zone. Then she felt she had to control the neutral zone, and as soon as that happened she wanted another neutral zone to control that, and moved on into Manchoukuo. Then she had

to have the North China Government, then the five provinces, and she will go on until she finds another sea.

Mr. GULL: I should like to begin by paying my tribute to what I think has been an extraordinarily good lecture. And, like Sir Frederick Whyte, I feel happier about Mr. Chancellor's attitude towards the Japanese. Like Sir Frederick Whyte, I, too, venture to take a rather more optimistic view of the future than does Mr. Chancellor, though for a set of reasons different from those mentioned by Sir Frederick.

It was noticeable, I think, that Mr. Chancellor scarcely attached the weight to economic considerations which I think should belong to them. He said that he could not see the possibility of the Chinese driving out the Japanese. That is not itself an economic matter, but it links up with economic matters. The fact is, I think, that up to date the huge Chinese superiority in man-power has not really pulled its weight in the game. It has not done so because the Japanese have been so infinitely better equipped than the Chinese have been. It is at this point that economic factors come into play. Is it going to be possible for the Japanese to continue to finance their campaigns in China on the elaborate scale on which they have hitherto managed to finance them? My own personal belief, for what it is worth, is that they are not; that within a period of, I would say, two years we shall find the Japanese up against the central difficulty which is already confronting them—*i.e.*, the difficulty of being able to pay for what they have got to import.

I will not worry you with all the economic ins and outs of that statement. I will just take this main fact, that in order to balance their indebtedness they have been to a large extent living on gold. There is a limit to their use of gold because their supply of it is limited, and when the moment comes that they will no longer be able to balance their accounts with gold they will only be able to get what they can pay for with goods and services.

When that moment comes I think that the balance of forces in China will change, and that the huge man-power which the Chinese possess, undisciplined as it is, ill-trained as it is, will play a very much bigger part than it has played so far.

For that reason—and for others, but that is the only one on which I am going to dwell this evening—I believe in taking a more optimistic view than Mr. Chancellor has done.

There is just one other point I should like to mention in connection with these facts, and that is this. As long as the Chinese are able to

export, so long can they maintain their currency and their purchasing ability. You may say, "How is that going to remain possible in view of the fact that one treaty port after another is being closed, that one treaty port after another is being brought under the domination of Japan?"

So it looks, but there is this apparently significant fact—a fact which has only been in existence for four months, and the significance of which is therefore limited—that during the first four months of this year Shanghai's export trade has been coming increasingly into the picture. While exports from the rest of China as a whole have diminished during those four months, in Shanghai they have increased. And as long as we are in Shanghai, as long as the Japanese are not able to control the export trade by collaring the goods which come down from the interior for export abroad and so getting possession of the monetary proceeds of the goods, I think there is a reasonable chance of the Chinese surviving financially and economically.

If they can survive for another two years, until the factors upon which I touched a moment ago have had a full opportunity of coming into play, I think the probabilities are that the balance of military forces will turn in their favour.

Miss F. UTLEY: I, too, think Mr. Chancellor is a little too pessimistic.

There is one point I should like to touch on, and that is the question of the effectiveness of the guerrilla forces in North China. That question is, to my mind, linked up with the whole financial question, the position of Tientsin and the rights of foreigners in China, because so long as the unity of China is maintained through her guarantee, so long as China's dollar is the medium of exchange even in the occupied areas, that helps the guerrilla forces enormously.

I would like Mr. Chancellor to touch on the effectiveness of those guerrillas. Several of the Americans I met in China last year, who had visited the guerrilla forces near Peking, were very emphatic in saying that the Chinese guerrillas governed a large part of the country. One can traverse a large part of China without ever seeing a Japanese. These facts may have been exaggerated, but at any rate they are a very important factor, and it seems to me the whole thing is linked up with the financial and economic question.

I would like Mr. Chancellor to draw the corollary. He has shown very clearly that Japan cannot get a profit out of her conquest so long as there are those rights and the foreigners in China remain.

Mr. Chancellor also made it very clear how greatly Japan fears the

United States. The point I want to bring forward is, if those two facts are true, that the Japanese are bound to attack us because they cannot accomplish their design unless they do; and, secondly, if they know that if the United States are roused against them, they have to stop their war, the thing that is obvious from the foregoing is that the United States and Britain, if they could get together on this issue, could stop Japan making war on China.

The way you are not going to get co-operation from the United States is by pretending that Tientsin is a small, unimportant matter between the British and the Japanese.

If we took the Japanese army at its word, and also the semi-official statements of the Japanese Government, and said, "It is a violation by Japan," then, it seems to me, we should have a pretty good chance of getting the Americans to stand in with us.

In conclusion, speaking as one who has just returned last month from lecturing all over the United States, I was immensely struck by the fact that there is so infinitely greater interest in the Far East there than here, so very much greater indignation about Japan than there is here.

Lastly, you will have seen in the newspapers a few days ago that public opinion in the United States was in favour of an embargo on war supplies. That is a public feeling which could be aroused if we would boldly ask them to co-operate on the larger issue. At present we lessen the possibility of American co-operation. American traders do stand to lose equally with us if the Japanese acquire a monopoly of trade in North China.

Mr. CHANCELLOR: I must say that I have enjoyed the discussion so much that my enjoyment of it has quite compensated me for the discomfort of having had to make the lecture.

Naturally I had to limit my subject very drastically, and if I were to answer the points Miss Utley has raised I would have to start all over again. Also if I were to deal with Mr. Gull's points, I should have to give another lecture.

Sir Frederick Whyte extended the scope of my lecture to the map of the world. Naturally I have not the capacity to deal with the subject in such a wide way as he did. To my mind everything he said was enormously interesting, and I think undoubtedly true.

Whether one is pessimistic or optimistic, one ought to say first of all what length of view one takes. I was taking in my lecture the short view, and I remain on the short view pessimistic. I was trying to give

you a picture of the New Order and of its impingement upon our great industrial and trading interests in China.

Of all the interesting things that Sir Frederick said, to me the most interesting of all was Japan's attitude towards the whole world situation. I was in Japan exactly a year ago and again last March. A year ago—I know many Japanese and they talk to me pretty frankly—they wanted a European war. Last time they were getting a little apprehensive about a European war. The talk everywhere one went in Japan in March hinged upon this question, whether or not they were going to commit themselves to the Axis. Much pressure was being brought to bear by the Germans, and many Japanese whom I know well were frightened lest a small minority of rather active people in the Foreign Office and in the War Office might be able to stampede Japan into tying themselves up with the Axis, which might in the opinion of my friends be a mistake for which Japan would suffer disastrously in the end.

I am quite convinced now that Japan is going to hold aloof from the Axis. The change that has come about in Japan has been due to the very great change in America in the last few months, the weakening of isolationism and the linking up of the three Powers, Italy, Germany and Japan, in the American mind as aggressors. Japan realizes that if she goes over to the Axis side, if there is a European war, she has to face America being on the other side.

On the wider aspect, which Sir Frederick has explained to you, there are, of course, general grounds for optimism; but if this European situation drags on as it is now, and if Japan is left alone, and in spite of the danger signals, I think Japan may partially succeed.

Mr. Gull dwelt upon the economic aspect. I had not time to cover this in my lecture—which I intended to be descriptive rather than prophetic. But the economic trend is governed by imponderables; for example, if there was a revival in America, the consequent increase in Japanese exports might just tide Japan over that difficult period of foreign exchange stringency that lies before her.

These questions are too difficult for cut-and-dried answers. There are too many imponderables to enable one to be dogmatic about them. So on the short view I remain doggedly pessimistic; perhaps on the long view a little optimistic.

The CHAIRMAN: It only remains for me on your behalf to thank Mr. Chancellor for the very admirable lecture he has given us. (Applause.)

CYPRUS

By SIR RICHMOND PALMER, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on July 12, 1939, the Right Hon. Lord Lloyd of Dolobran, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., in the Chair.

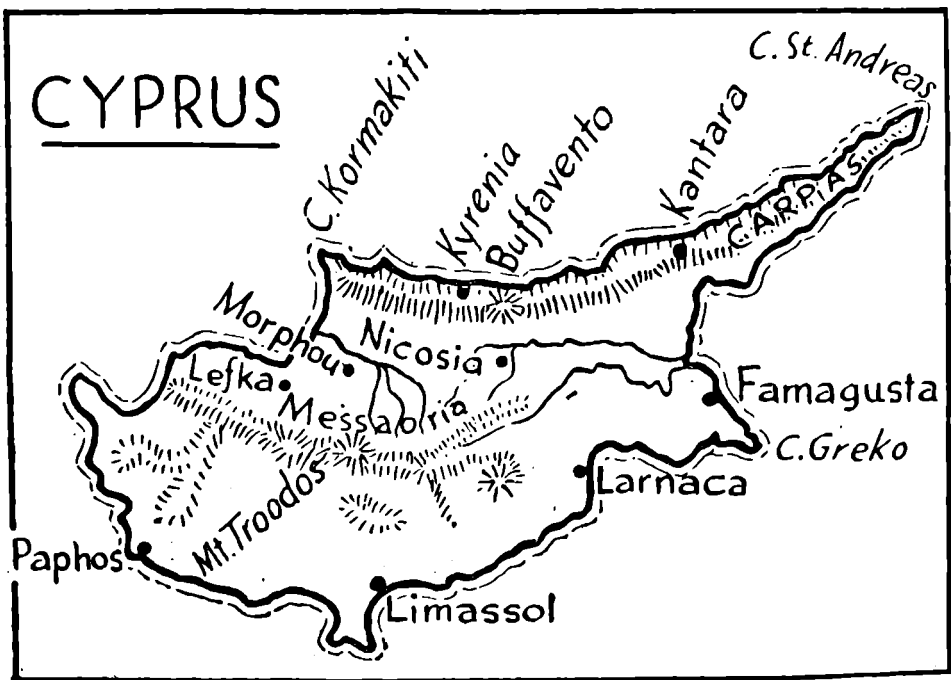
The CHAIRMAN : We are very fortunate in the Royal Central Asian Society to have Sir Richmond Palmer to lecture to us to-night. In the first place, Cyprus and the Mediterranean generally is a subject that has an interest peculiar to the moment : in our crisis-governed mentality, of all areas the Mediterranean is the area that is uppermost in our minds. It is uppermost because it is most important, and in the Mediterranean Cyprus has a peculiar importance both now and in the future.

Sir Richard Palmer's name, long known to all who follow the careers of colonial governors, has been familiar for the last five years as connected with an example of successful Crown Colony government. One of the most distinguished of Lord Lugard's men, he was Lieut.-Governor of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and then Governor of Gambia, and now in the five years since 1933 he has formed an administration and done work in Cyprus of the value of which only time will judge. In connection with the work of the British Council, I have visited Cyprus every year for the last three or four years, and I can speak from first-hand knowledge of the remarkable administrative reforms which he has brought about—and when I say remarkable, I use no unmeasured terms. Cyprus is steadily growing in prosperity, in happiness, and in contentment with British citizenship, and much of that content and progress is due to the Government of Sir Richmond Palmer.

Now I will not longer stand between you and the lecturer, but will only add how grateful we are to Sir Richmond Palmer, not only for his administration of the island, but also for coming here to tell us of it to-night.

THE older tradition in the Service to which I have the honour to belong was that Governors of Colonies, until they arrived at a ripe old age when they came back to England, were to be seen and not heard. The convention was that, however stupid or atrocious a Governor was, he should be whitewashed by his political chiefs in England. I am in favour of that older tradition, but circumstances are changing and anonymous and ill-informed attacks in the Press on the administration of Cyprus have been so numerous of late that it is advisable, since I am about to retire, that I should, perhaps, say something about it to this distinguished audience. For there is reason not only in roasting eggs, but in roasting Governors.

I would, first of all, thank Lord Lloyd for his kind words regarding myself and the improvement which he has noticed in Cyprus of recent years, but I desire to point out, in the first place, that the improvement is principally due to two changes which were made in the method of administration in Cyprus during the last decade and before ever I went there. The first is that the numerous office-holders all over the island, on whom the actual administration of the country very largely depends, have now for nine years been selected and not elected. That now means that you have in positions of responsibility all over the country the men who are, as a general rule, best fitted to discharge responsible posts. The Cypriots are contented with the results of that régime. It



is quite untrue to say that they are discontented. When you remember that the Cypriot office-holders all over the island number, perhaps, four thousand men, that is a factor of the greatest importance making for stability of government.

The second factor to which I allude is that ever since 1931, when the riots were very largely caused by the exuberance of an unscrupulous and venal Press, there has existed a certain supervision of the Press which is essential in the interests of law and order.

I feel it a great privilege that I am addressing on this subject the Royal Central Asian Society. I suppose that most of the people in this country, if they were asked whether Cyprus is in Europe or Asia, would not be sure, but it is essential to realize that not only is Cyprus geographically part of Asia, but it is thoroughly Asiatic and Oriental in

outlook and mentality. It is a country of individualists. There is no such thing as Cypriot solidarity, meaning by that term any generalized form of public opinion. There are about 300,000 Greek-speaking Cypriots, and perhaps 100,000 Turks and members of other nationalities. Several thousand years ago a lady called Aphrodite landed in Cyprus, and the island has never quite recovered. The people of Cyprus make a luxury of discontent and always pretend that they do not like being ruled, and yet, like the lady I have mentioned as a prototype, they expect to be ruled, and, in fact, prefer it. But when a visitor lands in Cyprus, especially if it is known that he is seeking information, he is exposed to the batteries of propaganda, exaggeration, and personal animosities and attacks on every side. It is a country of log-rolling, of individuals who try to make the worse cause appear the better, and who are very clever in attuning their conversation to democratic slogans or shibboleths which they think will tickle the palate of the Western democrat or liberal. In all the towns there are indigent and aspiring agitators, who assure the visitor that the friend of England is Codlin, not Short. It has been observed that—

“Liberalism postulates an underlying loyalty and patriotism in all sections of the population. Where this loyalty and patriotism are absent, democratic liberties—*i.e.*, government by public opinion—become impotent, and impotence of government leads to anarchy.

“Where any considerable body of citizens repudiates all allegiance to the State and follows recklessly either international or purely sectional aims, popular government is virtually at an end.”

As applied to Cyprus this is very true. I quite understand that here in England there are political differences and that one party is out to down the other party, but I would like to remind you that owing to this Press agitation, which has been going on for some months, the position of the new Governor who will succeed me in a few weeks must necessarily be a delicate and difficult one. It will not be made easier by agitation which is founded on untrue statements and misrepresentations of fact.

The island of Cyprus lies about forty miles distant from the coast of Turkey in the region of the ancient Tarsus, and normally the Syrian coast near Alexandretta is easily seen from its eastern promontory, Cape Andreas. It is about 120 miles long and about 80 broad in its centre. Its northern coast is flanked by a jagged range of hills, the

peaks of which average 2,000 or 2,500 feet. This range is composed of limestone pushed up through the sedimentary strata which form the floor of the island. Two-thirds of the southern coast of the island is similarly flanked by ranges of precipitous hills or mountains, of impermeable strata, up to 6,000 feet, at their summit Troodos. Between these ranges, running east to west, lies the great central plain of Cyprus—the Messaoria it is called—with the capital, Nicosia, near its centre, the port of Famagusta at its eastern end, and the important towns of Lefka, which grows oranges, and Morphou, near the Cyprus Corporation's copper mines, at its western end.

The chief towns on the southern coast are of immemorial antiquity—such as Paphos, the prehistoric home of the worship of Aphrodite; Limassol, the ancient Amathus; and Larnaca, the Chittim (Kitium) of the Old Testament. It would appear that the southern range of hills remained wild and wooded throughout most of the ancient and, indeed, mediæval history of Cyprus. In its higher, and until recently more inaccessible, regions there are practically no ancient sites or antiquities. The western part of this range is still mainly forest, and it is the policy of Government not only to preserve existing forests, but to extend them in order to retain rainfall. The peaks of the northern range, on the other hand, were, in mediæval days, at once the summer resorts and refuges, in times of disorder, of the governing classes. On them are situated three elfin castles perched on mountain-tops, and known respectively as St. Hilarion, Buffavento, and Kantara, which look north to the coast of Anatolia on the one hand, and south on to the Messaoria on the other.

The peninsula which runs north-east from Famagusta is known as the Karpas. It is famous not only for the Monastery of St. Andreas, a saint who cures many diseases, at its tip, but for its distinctive stone architecture, and for the good looks of its women and men. The prevalence of fair hair, even flaxen hair, in this region is very noticeable. Doubtless at the time of the Crusades it was in some degree occupied by Northern European races of some sort.

In the south-west corner of the island there is a corresponding though smaller peninsula called Akamas, wherein is situated the famous grotto of Aphrodite—a cool, shaded pool in a cavern, which in the case of both sexes is credited with the power of rejuvenating those who bathe in it. This peninsula is rocky and has been almost deserted for many decades. It is now a forest reserve, and also used by battleships for fixed target practice.

On the south-eastern corner of Cyprus is Cape Greko, in a district—Famagusta—where at one time Phœnician and Syrian settlements, having close ties with Syrian cities of the mainland, were numerous. On the north-west corner lies Cape Kormakiti, near a village of that name occupied by Syrian Maronite Christians, who still speak a dialect of Arabic.

Most visitors to Cyprus are surprised that in driving along the main roads of the island they see miles and miles of arable land under wheat and barley, with trees and plantations here and there, yet but few villages and very few isolated houses. And yet there are, in fact, some 600 villages and towns in this not very large island—many hidden away in the recesses of the hills, perhaps for safety in former days. The original Cypriots, according to the best authorities, emigrated at some prehistoric date to Cyprus from Asia Minor. We are fortunate in having in Cyprus an excavator—Dr. Dikaios—who has done much valuable work on the remains of their prehistoric sites and made them accessible and interesting to visitors. The best known, perhaps, is Khirokhitia, which lies about half-way between Limassol and Nicosia, and seems to have been a kind of fortress commanding the main route from south to north in the island about 5000 B.C. As early as 1700 B.C. Cyprus became subject to the Pharaohs of Egypt, and then was successively colonized by Phœnicians and Mycenæans, the former in the east of the island, the latter mainly in the west and south, where they founded several autonomous cities. The island then became subject to the Assyrian Empire, and later played a part in the wars between the Persians and Greeks in the era of the battle of Marathon, as allies of one side or the other. Certain passages in Æschylus indicate clearly that at that time the Cypriots were not regarded in Athens as Hellenes, and therefore it is not surprising that their sympathies were doubtful.

With the Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great a wave of Hellenism spread over the Near East, and it is probable that from that time may be dated the extended use of a Greek dialect in Cyprus and the persistent cult of Greek mythology and ideology in its chief towns. But on the death of Alexander, Cyprus passed to the Ptolomies, and remained subject to Egypt till in about 55 B.C. it became part of the Roman province of Cilicia, and was governed by Marcus Tullius Cicero. About 300 A.D. it naturally became part of the Byzantine Empire of Constantine I., though after the rise of Islam in 622 A.D. it was the scene of constant Arab marauding raids which worked great destruction. For several centuries Cyprus became a sort of no-man's-land. At

the end of the twelfth century the ruler of Cyprus was Isaac Comnenus, who belonged to an Armenian dynasty from Cilicia, and it was from him that the island was, in 1192, taken by our Richard I., Cœur de Lion, who sold it first to the Knights Templar and then to the French Lusignan Kings of Jerusalem. The Lusignan Dynasty and subsequently Genoese and Venetians held Cyprus for about 300 years till in 1570 it was conquered by the Ottoman Turks. It was ruled by them till in 1878 Great Britain occupied it as an outpost against Russia, with the goodwill of Turkey and on the understanding that Great Britain would aid the Turks to reorganize and strengthen their hold on Asia Minor against Russian expansion southwards.

Now, having regard to these facts concerning its past history, most people would, and, in fact, do, assume that Cyprus is a homogeneous island of uniform character and characteristics. But in fact that is not the case, for the highly individualistic spirit of the people in its various districts and towns, resulting from their past history, has preserved a strong spirit of local independence and rivalry in each of the six districts into which the island has been divided for many centuries. The districts vary considerably in the character of their scenery, their variant association with the past, their occupation, and the outlook of the inhabitants. Thus the people of Paphos are, on the whole, poorer and more backward than the inhabitants of other districts. Until a decade or two ago that district had a bad reputation for robbery and crime in general. Paphos was, in fact, looked upon by the inhabitants of other districts as "off the map." Limassol, on the other hand, is cosmopolitan and commercially the most important district in the island, and, as such, somewhat jealous of Nicosia's premier position as the capital of the island. Larnaca, the chief port of the island for many years in Turkish days, was also the headquarters of the foreign consuls. As such it has an inherited claim to distinction, which it hotly disputes with Famagusta, a port which, though after 1570 neglected by the Turks, has lately become the rival of Larnaca, though Larnaca calls Famagusta the "back door of Cyprus."

Having regard to the history of Cyprus, it might be expected, also, that there would still persist some kind of an aristocracy or upper stratum of society. But with the exception of one or two old families, Cyprus is a country in which there are no clear-cut class distinctions, and consequently few persons who now have any family claim to be representative of Cyprus or inherit a tradition of public service. The aristocracy of the Middle Ages are, as such, lost somewhere among the

village populations, and British rule, after displacing the former governing caste of Turks, has resulted in establishing a nebulous type of social graduation based largely on wealth. This, on the whole, is a disadvantage, because, though the wealthy families of the island own or virtually own a good deal of the cultivable land, they do not live on it, but in the towns. There is thus a chronic opposition of interests between the towns and the country districts, between the professional and industrial classes and the rural classes. While the former are politically minded, the latter are not.

The six districts into which Cyprus is divided are : Nicosia, Limassol, Larnaca, Famagusta, Paphos, and Kyrenia. They remain the ancient and natural units of administration and organization; and as a rule if a district is asked to do anything, to launch some appeal or carry out some reform, it does it well, and does it hoping that it will eclipse the performance of the other districts.

This filial devotion by Cypriots to the interests of their towns or districts is a very valuable trait of character, for not only do many Cypriots who have money abroad—say, in South Africa or the United States—send back considerable sums of money to endow local schools or charities of different kinds, but this local patriotism tends to neutralize or blunt other less beneficial emotional reactions, to which an imaginative and receptive people like the Cypriots are particularly prone. In fact, owing to this parochial spirit, improvement of conditions on the island proceeds with less difficulty and friction than usually occurs in dealing with all the diverse and mutually antagonistic factors in the island as an undivided whole. It may be said that the individual districts tend to be more progressive and more public-spirited than is Cyprus viewed as a whole. There have been many cases where men have been willing to give large sums for some good object in their native town or district, but to a general fund for the whole island—nothing at all. Even in the so-called famine or drought years shortly before I arrived in Cyprus, in no district did anyone, I believe, die of starvation; and it was surprising how soon people found money to spend again after the rains fell in the autumn of 1933. There are many poor Cypriots, especially in the Turkish villages, but in Cyprus it is unwise to judge by appearances. I say this because there seems to be a good deal of superficial talk about the extreme poverty of the Cypriots in general, which is not really justified or true. My experience was that it takes two or three years to understand Cyprus at all, and that even then it is not easy to formulate in writing and explain its compli-

cated personal and other local reactions. People here are apt to take newspaper articles and interested propaganda, which probably amuses most people in Cyprus, too seriously or, on the other hand, not to believe that ill-informed speeches and ill-considered writing, which are harmless enough in England, are not equally harmless there.

Statements that there is serious unrest or general ill-will towards us in Cyprus are due either to ignorance or malevolence. Undoubtedly one of the characteristics of the island is a certain delight in the outward manifestation of discontent. Thus some years ago the "emotion" of Enosis, or pan-Hellenism, was exploited in this way, though few, if any, of its principal advocates were really sincere. Just as almost anyone will sign a petition in Cyprus for anything that is suggested to him, so will any public meeting in Cyprus shout for "Enosis" or "Union with Greece," though in private conversation few of the individuals present would admit that they really wanted it or that it would be to their interest.

In fact, what is called "politics" in Cyprus—that is to say, attempts to upset and discredit the existing Government and make out a case for doing so which will appeal to the British public—is a game that has gone on for fifty years, a game in which the players as a rule play either just for the fun of playing it, or in the hope that their nuisance value may be so great that Government will give them something to stop. To all Cypriots the impersonal nature of organized European government, which we take for granted and accept, is something strange and inhuman. They prefer to deal with men, not machines. "Politics" in Cyprus is thus on quite a different mental plane to that with which we associate public life in England. The objection to Cyprus "politics" in practice is, firstly, that it is not really concerned with the things that matter to the people, and, secondly, that, given rope, it poisons social life in the towns, leads to serious crime in many cases, and leaves the work for which public bodies exist mostly undone or improperly done. In fact, though "politics" in Cyprus is not serious in the sense that firmly held convictions or moral principles are involved, yet it is dangerous and causes too many accidents, such as the burning of Government House, for it to be safe.

Yet in contrast to accidents of that kind, it will be recalled that in 1935, on the day of the Jubilee of H.M. King George V., every school in the island (about 1,000 in all), without any compulsion, sang the National Anthem in Greek or Turkish at 11 a.m. Nothing could have been more enthusiastic or impressive than the celebration of that Jubilee

in every district, and equally so the Coronation of His Majesty two years later. There is no lack of respect and goodwill towards the members of the royal family, as was shown last year when H.R.H. the Princess Royal visited Cyprus. Nowadays all towns and villages in the island are festooned with the Union Jack on any day that may be called an occasion, and not infrequently when, during the last year or so, I have visited remote villages I have heard the National Anthem sung in English by schoolchildren, with adults joining in. This represents, in fact, the general attitude of the islanders as I have seen it in recent years.

But, you may say: "If such is the general feeling, how is it that a minority of malcontents are not suppressed by the populace at large?" The answer is that, though to us that process would be logical, and in England or Scotland inevitable, yet it is not so in Cyprus, where a discordant minority will, if untrammelled, succeed in terrorizing or misleading the majority. In fact, the Cypriots as a whole are easy-going. Few responsible persons in Cyprus, especially if the Press is free, have the courage to say what they really think in public. They prefer to swim with the noisy tide, whichever way it goes. It is, in fact, rather necessary in the case of Cyprus to remember what Lord Baldwin said the other day: "There is a tendency among our people which may arise from a natural conceit, but which is dangerous. It is that we have been too prone to feel that what is good for us is good for everyone else. We have often made the mistake of believing that a democratic government is a government suited to any people in the world."

In Cyprus every villager is keen to improve his village and its amenities, and is grateful for interest and help in doing so, particularly if local labour and local artisans are employed thereby. During the past few years great progress in that direction has been made by district and village councils advised by the commissioners of districts and their staffs. But the Cypriot villager is a conservative, and will do little for himself unless he is helped, guided, or pushed.

In the municipal areas also great strides have been made by the mayors and their councils. In the absence of party politics, which in the old days were never concerned with issues relevant to the public interest, retention of office can now only be justified by keen devotion to duty. And it is these services—the efficiency of the everyday humdrum processes of administration—which vitally matter to the Cypriots. Two-thirds of the population—that is to say, the rural population of Cyprus—really care about nothing else. They expect the Governor to

arrange that the rain shall come in due season and that they shall get good prices for their crops, shall not be "bled white" when they have to borrow money, and shall if possible have a larger and better supply of water both for drinking and irrigation of summer crops than is at present the case.

There is a good deal of misunderstanding about the water problem in Cyprus. It is a complicated subject—too complicated to discuss in detail here. But roughly it has gone through three stages :

(1) In the early days of the occupation the Cypriot legislators thought that if large dams were made to hold up the rain water in the hills or plains, all would be well. Engineers came from India and after some hesitation made a series of dams in the plains, which have been a dismal failure from the time they were built until now.

(2) It was then thought that larger supplies could be obtained from the limestones of the northern range. This idea has only to some extent been justified. Supplies have proved inadequate.

(3) Of late years it has come to be realized that there are only two practicable ways of substantially increasing the available supplies of water in Cyprus. (a) The first is by means of systematic exploration with the help of trained geologists to find all possible underground sources of supply and use them, it being borne in mind that the supply of water is limited by the rainfall and the capacity of the country in general to hold it; (b) the second is by the systematic protection of forests and, even more important, by preserving the fast-disappearing undergrowth on the hills, and other anti-erosion measures, so as to retain more and more water in the ground.

By means of the first a very great addition to the available water supply has been made since the drought years 1930-1932. The work is as yet only beginning, but the results are such that most people feel it to be a matter for regret that the present methods were not adopted twenty years ago. Cyprus, it must be realized, is covered with a network of ancient and complicated water rights. Our aim of late has been to develop new water and not to interfere unreasonably with existing rights. Irrigation projects on a large scale would, it is generally thought, not only fail for the reasons that the former experiments in that direction failed, but even if apparently practicable, they would ruin the hundreds of irrigation systems and chains of wells that at present exist, and on which depend the social life amenities, prosperity, and even existence of the hundreds of villages which own them.

Thus what is wanted is not millions for big barrage schemes, but

enough money to finance all smaller schemes of a practicable type, when they are proved to be feasible and remunerative. As this work proceeds, and provided that the all-important topic of forest and undergrowth preservation is kept well in the foreground, it is certain that the productive capacity of Cyprus will be greatly augmented, and can be profitably augmented, for, in the first place, the cost of living in Cyprus is at present lower than anywhere else in the Levant, and, in the second place, Cyprus as yet has but a slight footing in the English market, though it produces much that, with improved transport, should be acceptable in that market.

At present, with one partial exception—Famagusta, where there is a small but inadequate harbour into which a few ships drawing less than 24 feet can come in good weather—the ports of Cyprus are open roadsteads, and in the winter all, including Famagusta, are not infrequently useless for days on end, when neither cargo can be worked nor passengers landed. That is a very serious handicap to the island from many points of view, both directly and indirectly. At Famagusta, however, it would be possible to utilize to advantage money which has already been spent on the small existing harbour by building an extension breakwater along the nearby reef. This breakwater could be built for about £600,000, and would make the harbour almost as good as that of Haifa. I do not doubt that some day it will be done, especially if, as seems probable, Cyprus becomes an important centre for air traffic.

A peculiarity of Cyprus which affects this question of a good harbour is the fact that it is surrounded on all sides by deep sea-water. Thus, except at Famagusta, the provision of a harbour presents a problem which would have very large financial implications. There are innumerable small bays and headlands, but no large inlets which lend themselves to harbour-making at moderate cost.

Though there is no difficulty in getting to the island in five to seven days from London, and tourist ships sometimes call there, Cyprus, owing to its indifferent communications and undeveloped marine facilities, has remained rather remote from the outside world, and perhaps for that reason has a charm which more-visited countries have lost. It has thus remained in large measure unaffected by the great social and material changes which have taken place in the surrounding regions of the Levant since the Great War. Its people remain, for the most part, kindly, simple-minded, hospitable to visitors and eager to show them the churches, monuments, and other antiquities which occur

in profusion in most parts of the island. These are now being cared for by a Government Antiquities Department, with the help of Lord Mersey's Cyprus Committee in London.

In the opinion of everyone who goes there, Cyprus is an enchanting island in its beauty, its diversity, and its remoteness; an island in which conquerors have come and gone for three thousand years and the people have remained very much the same as they were in 1,000 B.C., using the same ploughs as were used in the days of Hesiod, and though ready to become excited about any new ideology which may turn up from outside, yet keeping a shrewd eye always on their personal interests. A few years ago a touring official asked a village headman, or *mukhtar*, if he had any request to make to Government. He replied: "Oh yes, two things. We want to be annexed to our motherland, Greece, and also the tap of the public fountain is out of order and wants repair." When assured that the latter would be done at once, he said that the former was not really of great importance.

The Cypriots in general as yet see no particular reason to be enthusiastic about the political organization which we call the British Empire. At the same time they have a high regard for those Britons who in their opinion maintain the traditions which they are wont to associate with the British name and reputation—a reputation which, in spite of all the inimical factors of the years since the war, still stands high in the Levant. We have administered Cyprus for sixty years, but we have not yet endowed it, nor, indeed, in the full sense have we made it as yet a British colony. It is, in fact, a friendly but foreign country, more friendly perhaps now than usual, owing to our close friendship with Turkey and Greece. It is a colony, however, which as yet is little more to most English visitors than an interesting palimpsest of past civilization and a pleasant place for sojourn in the winter or spring!

And yet Cyprus—if we except the fortresses of Gibraltar and Malta—is the only country which is British territory between the United Kingdom and Aden, India, and East Africa. Situated as it is in the Levant, it forms a natural focus or lens for British influence and culture throughout the Near East. In that capacity it is receiving substantial help from the British Council under the leadership of Lord Lloyd. In the summer months the hills of Cyprus have only one rival in the Levant—namely, the Lebanon—and year by year more and more people are coming to Cyprus for their summer holiday from Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, and even India, and the old families of British extraction or connection whose

home has been the Levant for several centuries tend more and more to settle in Cyprus as still being under the Union Jack.

Undoubtedly there is now a leaven working in Cyprus—a leaven precipitated largely by the present international situation. There are those who are naturally pro-British; there are those, like the Turks, who have always wanted to be pro-British; and there are those, like most of the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Cyprus, who are quite willing to be British, and fight for it too, if they are made to feel that their country and its people are looked on as an important part of His Majesty's dominions, and that the generous help which they see in process of being extended by Great Britain to other countries and peoples all over the world will begin at home—that is to say, their home, which for the past fifty years, they consider, has hardly received her due as part of the British dominions, more particularly since 1914, when Cyprus was annexed by the Crown.

This is not a question of local politics, nor has the present form of government which Cyprus enjoys anything to do with it—whatever some politicians and publicists may tell us. It is a question partly of material interest and the general prosperity of the island, partly of self-respect and desire to be considered worthy to take part in the defence and development of Cyprus, and partly of a long-standing suspicion arising from financial transactions of the past that, though willing to take, we are not willing to give. And it may be added that not only in Cyprus itself, but throughout the Near East, it is inevitable that appearances count for a great deal. When other Mediterranean Powers spend freely on development and on port facilities in their Mediterranean possessions, such as Tripoli and Rhodes, Cypriots are apt to think that there must be something wrong with Great Britain if she cannot do the same for Cyprus after all these years, especially in view of the fact that Cyprus is a much more fecund field for development than either Tripoli or Rhodes. It is, in fact, the lack of so much that a foreigner would expect to see in Cyprus as a British colony that lends colour to suggestions by unfriendly foreign critics in Cyprus that Great Britain has now become a second-rate Power—a kind of suggestion which, though not implicitly believed by the Cypriot peasant, yet is not without political effect on our prestige.

At the present time the island is indeed comparatively prosperous, but its financial reserves are not great enough to justify more than spasmodic attempts to make up some of the leeway that has accrued since the days when our sojourn was described as an "occupation."

Hotels are better, the roads are steadily improving, exports and imports have more than doubled in the last decade, and all Government departments are working efficiently and smoothly. But Cyprus does not yet fill the rôle or occupy the position it ought to occupy in the Levant, considering that it is the only British possession—and a possession of great potential value—in the Near East. In saying this I have not in mind any considerations which can be called strategic, but the simple fact that whereas all round Cyprus our interest, and our prestige also, are involved in countries which we do not own, yet Cyprus, which we do own, lags behind most of them in nearly all those concomitants of civilization which we are wont to associate with modern progress.

Those defects cannot be made good either by the granting of electoral franchises or by local legislation. They require the bread of capital, not the stone of any ideology.

No one wishes to spoil the beauties of the island by hasty large-scheme projects of intensive economic development, which would destroy much of that which led Mallock to call Cyprus “the Enchanted Island.” But that it should have at least one good harbour, that the development of its water supplies should proceed rapidly and uninterruptedly, and that the process of regeneration of its forests should go forward without let or hindrance, are essentials to the future prosperity of the country.

Without the forests there can be no development in the water supply; without additional water there can be no great improvement in productiveness; and without a harbour which will accommodate ships of large tonnage the island can never play the rôle it should play in the Eastern Mediterranean. Inhabited as it will be ere long, if it continues to prosper, by some 500,000 British subjects, who are mostly of good physique and accustomed to work hard, friendly and intelligent, of conservative instincts and loyal to those whom they hold in respect, Cyprus can never be a negligible factor in the Levant.

The Cypriots have a long history; they are an ancient people and they are an adaptable people. Their value to the British Commonwealth can be very much what we choose to make it, if that choice brings to Cyprus material prosperity and augments its importance in the world.

It is an island where every prospect pleases, and for that reason every visitor to it wishes to help it. The more regrettable is it, therefore, that ever since 1878, when it was occupied by Great Britain at the instance of Lord Beaconsfield, both its present and its future should have been

constantly compromised or thwarted by the interplay of political events, influences, and slogans external to it.

For sixty years this neglected though potentially most valuable centre of British influence and culture in the Near East has badly needed the loaves and fishes which would ensure its economic prosperity; but it has received very little. Indeed, a large part of its annual revenue, which should have gone to make good its economic deficiencies, went until 1926, year by year, into the British Treasury, to pay debts contracted, not by Cyprus itself, but by the Sultans of Turkey. It is, in fact, the only British colony from which Great Britain has in effect exacted tribute. And though there is now a growing perception that more should be done for and with Cyprus, the habit of political stone-throwing in or at Cyprus still unfortunately persists. Inadvisable though fishing in the troubled waters of the Mediterranean is at present, there is still a tendency in certain quarters, both British and Cypriot, to misrepresent the actual conditions in Cyprus and try to persuade the British public that it is maladministered by the Colonial Office.

Cyprus, indeed, does lag behind the development of other colonies.

The general standard of life of the people is precarious and sometimes low, and social services, public buildings, and equipment, as well as the numerous historical monuments, all require money if they are to be brought up to a standard which will do credit to British administration.

Since 1927 the internal political situation has altered, and Italy, for instance, has poured out money on such colonies as Tripoli and Rhodes. In 1931 there were riots in Cyprus. The colony is not one with a traditional British connection or a traditional British loyalty. The bulk of the inhabitants, though not at heart disloyally hostile, have not yet had sufficient inducement to become actively loyal. The difficulties of internal politics, therefore, handicap the Government of Cyprus at every turn. The island must, for the present, be governed and not self-governed, though its notables have a very large say in what shall be done by the Colonial Government, and also considerable power of local self-government, both in the municipalities (of which there are eighteen), the district towns and villages, and various other spheres of local enterprise. A form of government more on the normal model of colonial government, to which we are accustomed, cannot with safety be initiated in Cyprus until at least a sound British sentiment has been built up, and that can only be built up if Great Britain takes a much more practical and sympathetic interest in Cyprus than has been the

case in the past, and herself makes up in some measure the leeway arising from fifty years of financial servitude, coupled with considerable political licence and an unwise degree of self-government.

The meeting was then thrown open for discussion.

Commander R. FLETCHER: We must all feel very indebted to Sir Richmond Palmer for what I think was a singularly fair and impartial account of affairs in Cyprus at the present moment. But I was impressed by some of the expressions he used when he referred to Cyprus as "a neglected island," as "lagging behind other parts of the Empire," when he referred to the standards there being low in the matter of social services, the people in general poor, and when he advocated that the island should receive more sympathetic treatment from the home Government. I am constantly amazed at the lack of imagination which this country shows about these vast colonial estates. I have never heard that the office of Colonial Secretary was sought after as one of the plums of Cabinet office. I have heard of a struggle for the post of Foreign Secretary, but I never heard of any great battle being fought over the Colonial Secretaryship. It is scandalous the miserably small portion of time that is allotted to the discussion of colonial problems in Parliament. Very often only one political day a year is allotted to the consideration of colonial affairs.

I hope that some other speaker will tell us more of the strategical importance of Cyprus; recent events have certainly added enormously to the military importance of the island. I doubt its ever becoming a great naval base, as the necessary harbours could only be constructed at prohibitive expense, but it has enormous potentialities as an air base. The defence of Suez seems to be gravitating to the Palestine coast and Cyprus; and with the formation of Italian air bases in Rhodes and the Dodecanese, Cyprus as an air base becomes of the first importance.

If I criticize recent policy in Cyprus in some respects, it is only because I am jealous for the good name of Britain abroad and desire that the name of our colonial administration should stand high. Our prestige in the Near East is affected by events in Cyprus. I could not take so lightly as the lecturer seemed to do what was said about the Press. Something might well be said for the prevention of agitation pure and simple. But when it is a case of the *Manchester Guardian* being forbidden in the island, and the local Press of Cyprus not being allowed to reproduce questions and answers asked about Cyprus in the Houses of Parliament, it is a serious matter. If such a state of affairs

has been reached that Parliamentary proceedings cannot safely be reported in the local Press, there must be something rather wrong about our administration of the island.

With regard to the economic condition of the island, there is a weight of testimony of all shades of opinion that the poverty of the islanders is distressing; the villages are squalid and miserable, wages are low, and the hours of work are very long. *The Times* correspondent in Cyprus has admitted the poverty of the people and that the standard of living was extremely low. With regard to medical services, there is again a weight of testimony that tuberculosis is a scourge in the island.

Just a word in conclusion about the question of introducing a Constitution again. The Constitution of Cyprus was abrogated in 1931—eight years ago. It was abrogated “pending consideration of the new form of government to be introduced.” Eight years is quite a considerable time to be given to the drafting of a new form of government. Unless Cyprus is to be under an authoritarian form of government for ever, the question arises as to when we are to make a start, and whether the old Constitution or some amended form of it is to be set up. There is no question whatever of the loyalty of the different communities to the Throne. But they have certain legitimate grievances which should be redressed without delay. I hope some speaker may touch upon the question of adequate steamship services.

Mr. MONTAGUE: Sir Richard Palmer has told us so much that I do not know that I have much that I can add. But I must say that when we come to talk of poverty, the poverty of the Cypriot is nothing like the poverty of the Arab or the Egyptian. The food is good; it is true that some of the buildings are poor, but then the Cypriot sleeps outside practically all the year round.

Sir Richmond Palmer has greatly improved the position where medical services are concerned. The ordinary villager has everywhere easy access now to a doctor or to a health centre, and I do not know any other part of the British Empire where free medical services are free like that. I have spent thirty-seven years in the Colonial Service, and I know no other colony where so high a percentage of the revenue is spent on free medical attention and medicine, so much so that the medical expenditure in Cyprus is sometimes criticized on that ground.

I would like also to mention the question of the newspapers. Anyone who has worked as a colonial servant in Cyprus has suffered, for the Cyprus service does suffer, from the bitter attacks made by the local

Press on the Government. The Press has no responsible backing, and is run by people of very little education. The papers will publish any attack on Government officials that will make a good sale. They seem to have no sense of responsibility to the community. During elections I myself have seen a local paper say in print: "Do not mind which side you vote on, but take the money of either side."

The whole Press has been constantly used simply as a weapon against the Government. There is no reason why people should not know the truth. But without guidance and control they will certainly hear little of the truth from the local Press, little but what is untrue and malicious.

ANOTHER MEMBER: I should like to ask the lecturer if he can tell us what was the exact amount of tribute originally levied from Cyprus? I have heard some very unfair criticisms of recent Governments of Cyprus, unfair because they took no account of the burden of tribute which the island had to carry. In 1878, when Great Britain took over the administration of the island, Disraeli decided that the tribute formerly paid by Cyprus to Turkey should have to go to repayment of the Turkish debt on which she had defaulted, to repaying the bondholders of the Turkish debt which had been raised in England. I think £42,000 were provided by the Cypriot taxpayers, of which £31,000 went to the Turkish debt bondholders and £11,000 to the Treasury at home in London. With a sum like that to raise every year, it is unfair to blame the administration of Cyprus for not spending more on the island. The tribute was raised, I believe, on the salt revenue. Under the Turkish régime they got their salt free from Asia Minor, and now they have to pay duty on it.

The LECTURER: The amount of the tribute to Turkey from Cyprus was assessed at £98,000 per annum by Disraeli in 1878. The Turkish Government had raised a loan in 1855 secured on the Customs revenue, the interest on which had been guaranteed by England and France. When the Turkish Government defaulted on the loan, the tribute from Cyprus was taken to pay the loan interest, which came to £88,000 per annum. The British Government had only guaranteed the interest, not the capital, to the bondholders. That left a balance of £11,000, which was retained in the British Treasury until 1926, when further payments were discontinued.

The CHAIRMAN: If no one else has any questions to ask, I will call on the lecturer to answer any points in the discussion that he may wish.

Sir RICHMOND PALMER: I do not think I have very much to say. I

would say, however, that "loyalty" is a difficult term to use of a country like Cyprus. The people of the island are well disposed to the British connection, but I cannot say that it has inspired any real loyalty in them as yet. That is not surprising, as we have done so little for them.

As regards the Press in Cyprus, we have not got well-established organs of public opinion as here, having well-established habitats in separate buildings. There is no separation in Cyprus between the writers of articles and the men who publish and own the papers. The freedom of the Press has been misused in the past disgracefully. Why let the minds of the whole community be poisoned with utter nonsense when the people have not the education or the opportunity to realize the true position?

Mr. PENDARVES LORY: Might I just ask one question? What is the revenue from imports and exports in Cyprus?

The LECTURER: The revenue—I speak from memory and subject to correction—is well above £900,000 and just under £1,000,000. The Budget balanced last year at roughly £900,000. Exports and imports were about £2,000,000 each.

The CHAIRMAN: It remains for me to express, as I know I may do, your thanks to Sir Richard Palmer; but in doing so may I just add a few words of my own?

I cannot profess to be an expert on Cyprus, but I have visited the island several times, and have lately taken an unimportant part in the study of its affairs. None of us would pretend that Press censorship is always agreeable or even that it is always completely successful. But in an island like Cyprus or Malta, which occupies a fortress position, and whose population, if not wholly illiterate, is largely uneducated, to think feasible the completely unbridled liberty of the Press, which is possible but only barely possible even in this country, is sheer fantasy. Liberty of the Press, like other democratic institutions, is only a means to an end. There is no inherent value in parliamentary government as such. I suppose that even the most convinced Liberal here to-night would not contest that the value of democratic institutions is the liberty and order which these things may bring to us. Democracy is only a machine. It has even happened in some cases that under an autocracy men have enjoyed more of liberty and order than under some democracies. We here value democratic institutions as the means of a greater degree of liberty and order than any other machinery could achieve. It is by that achievement that they must be judged.

Where the public is very little trained and unapt in the use of democratic institutions, it is pure idealism to think these institutions must possess such virtues for them as Parliamentary government may have for us. I call it pure idealism, but I might use a much worse name, for it is a real danger to the country.

We all unite in wishing to see Cyprus well governed, prosperous, orderly, and free. It may be that under a more autocratic order freedom and prosperity in the country will be more speedily achieved. We are building the foundations on which free institutions can grow up. I say "we" because the British Council is taking a small share in this work. (Applause.) We are trying to train a new generation of instructed youth in Cyprus. We want the peasants to emerge from their ignorance, to develop less elementary forms of agriculture, and yet not to become black-coated workers instead. The boys in the schools of to-day are going to be very fine young men, men with character as well as knowledge. But, as I said, we have to build a whole new generation; they are not ready yet for fully democratic government. The Cypriot had no conception that he belonged to the British Empire until lately. No one ever taught him, and it is only in the last three or four years that he has begun to understand his heritage as a member of that Empire. The visit of the Princess Royal made an enormous impression because the Cypriot felt it meant that royal attention was being paid to Cyprus by its Sovereign.

The need of the island to-day is for the loan of capital sums for the development of irrigation schemes, finding new sources of water supply, building of harbours and the like. Any Members of Parliament present could not possibly find a better use for their powers than in helping to take these first steps towards the betterment of the island. Much too little has been done for Cyprus, but that does not mean that we ought to encourage a very narrow fringe of fanatics and agitators, to the detriment of everything that will be ultimately for the good of the island.

I should like now to thank Sir Richmond Palmer in your name very warmly for everything he has done for the island, and for coming here to-night. (Applause.)

POLITICS IN THE PERSIAN GULF

By A. R. LINDT

Lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on July 26, 1939, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated with slides.

When introducing the lecturer the Chairman said that Dr. Lindt had travelled far and wide through Asia, studying its problems with an independent mind. As the son-in-law of General L. C. Dunsterville, he had every opportunity of knowing a great deal of England's work and of forming fair and unbiased judgments.

HAVING the honour to address this very expert society on politics in the Persian Gulf, I feel almost as nervous as if I—a Swiss citizen—were to lecture you on naval tactics.

Two years ago I was standing in the bows of an Arab dhow, gazing down into water so crystal clear that the gleam of a shark's belly or the waving fin of a big ray-fish was visible fathoms deep. Suddenly two yard-long grey monsters came slowly twisting their way through the blue water. "Sea-serpents," said the captain. And doubtful though the existence of these creatures is said to be, here I could not but be convinced of their reality. Now, I feel that the sea-serpent, that relic of legendary time, is symbolical of the whole Persian Gulf. For in the midst of an Orient which year by year becomes more and more rapidly modernised and less and less distinguishable from Europe, the Persian Gulf alone—and I include the Gulf of Oman—has kept a touch of the Arabian Nights. Here alone there is yet a faint afterglow from the age of Haroun al Rashid and of Scheherazade.

The Sultans of Muscat used to close their harbour against pirates and foreign warships by stretching a heavy iron chain from cliff to cliff across the bay. To-day it lies, overgrown with shells and coral, on the bed of the sea. Yet it still seems effective, an impassable barrier against the influence of the twentieth century.

But even in the Persian Gulf this trance of the Sleeping Beauty seems to be nearing its end. Axis of the old Arab caliphate, stronghold in the sixteenth century of the Portuguese empire of the east, the Gulf seemed in danger of falling into neglect after the opening of the Suez canal. But the technical and political developments of this century

have gone far towards restoring its importance. Any air communication following the shortest route connecting Europe with India, Singapore and Australia is bound to follow the Persian Gulf, so that to-day the airlines of the three European powers owning Indian possessions fly over this ancient trade road. To put it epigrammatically, the Persian Gulf has become the Suez Canal of the air.

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia, by strengthening the Italian position on the Red Sea, has made this route less dependable for Great Britain in case of war. It tends to restore the vital importance of the alternative and shorter connection between Europe and India, the Persian Gulf. The recently established Middle Eastern military command may even rely on it for strengthening its reserves by the transport of Indian troops. The establishment of mandates in Palestine and Transjordan, and a treaty alliance with independent Iraq, made it possible for British airways to be served in all these countries by aerodromes controlled by the Royal Air Force. And though the political agents who created the British position in the Persian Gulf in the last century could not possibly have foreseen this aerial development, it so happens that the Arab states in treaty relationship with Great Britain form a chain of stepping-stones between Iraq and India. The old ambition of a land-route to India has been achieved as an air-route.

The manner in which this position was created is one of the best examples for disproving the theory that the British Empire was built according to a prefixed imperialistic scheme. The credit for it goes not so much to the government in London as to the individual British residents on the spot. They acted entirely on their own initiative, and very often presented the somewhat astonished home authorities with a *fait accompli*. I should like to say in this connection that it is perhaps a pity that in these days of modern communication the decision no longer lies with the men on the spot. Had the residents of those days been able to receive cabled instructions immediately after sending in their reports, Britain would very probably not stand where she does in the Persian Gulf.

The treaties concluded with Arab states form a coastal belt which, uninterrupted but for the small stretch of the El Hassa shore, encircles the Arab Peninsula from Kuwait through Bahrain, the Trucial coast, Muscat and Oman and the Hadramauth to Aden. It is a tribute to the elasticity of British policy that it is almost impossible to find a constitutional term to express the relationship between these states

and Great Britain. Roughly, the aim of Great Britain has been not to acquire territory but to prevent other powers from gaining control over the principalities concerned. In general—I omit the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, which is in a special position—Britain undertook to guarantee the frontiers of these states and to conduct their foreign policy for them by means of a local political agent. The interior policy was left entirely in the hands of the native ruler, who remained perfectly free even in economic matters. Commercial statistics show that not the slightest attempt was made to gain preference for British trade. It would be hard to conceive a less imperialistic method of controlling a foreign country. In none of these states are British troops garrisoned, though in some cases the local police force may be administered by a British expert in the employment of the native ruler.

This was originally a purely coastal policy, but the development of the airlines has necessitated the acquisition of landing-grounds. These are under the administration of the Royal Air Force, which to an ever-increasing degree is replacing the Navy as the guardian of security in the Persian Gulf.

In common with most foreigners I once believed that British officials were the most distant, unapproachable beings—in the words of Lewis Carroll, “very stiff and proud.” The political agents in the Persian Gulf may indeed have their early morning tea and put on a stiff shirt in order to consume their solitary dinner, but they have admirably adapted themselves to the democratic outlook of the desert Arab. They do not find it beneath their dignity to accept an invitation to dine with a ragged old gate-keeper. These men have solved to perfection the most difficult of all problems of social conduct. They remain Europeans and stick to European life whenever circumstances permit, yet at a moment’s notice they can mingle with a crowd of dusty, unkempt desert caravanners as one of themselves, or face life cheerfully aboard that most unhygienic and privacy-lacking of vessels, an Arab dhow. And all this in an average summer temperature of 120°. And no representative of any other European power could maintain authority as they do without even so much protection as a small standing bodyguard.

Thanks to this very discreet way of exerting influence, the Arab principalities have been brought into very gentle contact with modern Europe. Their geographical position has prevented them from being suddenly overwhelmed by Western civilization. The twentieth century

has brought to the Arab states of the Gulf no sudden cultural upheaval such as may be witnessed in so many other countries of the Middle East. The Gulf Arabs approached Western civilization with the conviction that their own way of life is immeasurably superior to any other. They had leisure to select what was useful to them and to reject anything that they felt foreign to their natures. As a matter of fact they drew a very cunning line between culture and technical conveniences, making a shrewd use of all that makes life more comfortable or that furthers commercial ends. The big merchants of Kuwait still rely on a simple handclasp as the only bond between parties to a deal involving thousands of rupees—but they use not only typewriters but the European filing system. And in the palace in Muscat the Sultan's representative, still robed and turbaned in the manner of the East, uses the telephone. Sometimes this leads to somewhat quaint anomalies, as when sheikhs follow their hunting falcons in a 1939 Chevrolet car. Once my wife was dining in the *harem* of a wealthy merchant—a very popular form of entertainment on the Gulf, but one from which men are of course rigidly excluded, so that I was frequently left to sit at home with folded hands, like an English wife whose husband is doing a round of regimental dinners. She showed her hostess a photograph of our children, and, "In the name of Allah," said that silk-robed, henna'd lady, "thy daughter is the image of Shirley Temple."

In foreign propaganda British influence in the Persian Gulf is pictured as a kind of cold storage in which the backwardness of these areas is artificially perpetuated. I must admit that the British somewhat play into the hands of these authors by an exaggerated secretiveness where anything connected with the Gulf is concerned. As a jealous sheikh veils his favourite wife, so the British authorities shroud conditions in the Arab states in such thick mystery that ill-disposed propagandists might almost be excused for thinking that something dreadful is going on there. Britain would be better served if every detail of her splendid relationships with the Gulf principalities were broadcast to the world. The ruins of vast fortresses bear witness to the past glories of the former rulers of the Persian Gulf, the Portuguese and the Persians; all that will remind future generations of British influence will be aeroplane hangars and quarantine stations and hospitals.

So far, then, only a very light hand on the reins has sufficed to maintain peace in the Persian Gulf. But now a new factor has

appeared on the scene which may necessitate a certain tightening of the control. Until recently the Gulf has had importance in world markets only as producer of pearls, dried fish and dates. In the last decade these barren shores have suddenly produced that most vital commodity of the modern world: oil. How oil-conscious the Gulf has become is perhaps best exemplified by the remark that a Beduin companion of mine made, when his camel collapsed from exhaustion: "The brute's run out of benzine." And the Sheikh of Kuwait's favourite falcon is called "Petrol."

The Persian Gulf has become the scene of fierce competition between daughter companies of two big oil concerns of the world, the Anglo-Dutch Shell Trust and the Standard Oil of California. As far as the ^{western} eastern shores are concerned these two powers have now divided up all possible concessions between themselves. The oilfields of Bahrain, so far the biggest producing centre in the Gulf, are held by the Standard Oil. (It is, by the way, a consoling thought that even oil magnates are not infallible. This concession was first offered to the Shell group, who after prospecting announced that there was no oil in Bahrain worth exploiting!) At first the concession only covered part of the islands, and at one time the rival concern tried to obtain the remainder. As the friction between two competing trusts in such close quarters would be likely to lead to internal disturbances, it is in the interests of the tranquillity of Bahrain that the whole concession is now in the hands of the American-owned Bahrain Petroleum Company. The American oil group also acquired the rights to exploit oil in El Hassa, where production is now beginning, and will assist Ibn Saud in the development of his new port, Al Qatif. In Kuwait, where oil has just been struck south of the capital, the Kuwaiti Petroleum Company, owned half by the Iranian Petroleum Company and half by the American Gulf Company, is in sole possession of the rights. Along the Trucial coast and in the sultanate of Muscat and Oman predominantly British oil interests have secured concessions—less perhaps with the intention of exploiting them immediately than in order to prevent potential oilfields falling into rival hands.

It is sometimes regarded as a weakening of the British position that American oil interests have been allowed to take such firm root in the Persian Gulf. As a matter of fact it has its advantages. The Arabs are not always capable of making a sharp distinction between the policy of a power and the policy of its commercial interests, and as the sudden development of a big industry is likely to cause some

friction, it is as well that any resultant unrest cannot be laid at Great Britain's door.

What chiefly interests us here is the change in the political and cultural field that may result from the exploitation of oil. It might be supposed that because the eastern coast of Arabia is traversed by European airlines the Persian Gulf has already been strongly subjected to European influence. But the Imperial Airways planes which land in Kuwait, Bahrain and Sharja do so for a very short time, and contact between the passengers and the native population is limited at the utmost to the negotiations necessary for the purchase of an old coffee pot as a souvenir. At Sharja the aerodrome is even fenced in with barbed wire. So it is that the oil industry brings the Arabs into touch for the first time with an Americo-European community of some size. Until recently the Arabs of the Gulf were accustomed to believe that impeccably tailored white linen suits are as characteristic of the European as a hump is of the camel. They meet now for the first time the Western worker—engineers, electricians, mechanics and the like; men who for the most part have no previous experience in dealing with that very sensitive person the Arab. In the case of the Americans this difficulty is aggravated by the racial prejudice which clings to them even on Arabian oilfields. I shall never forget the very hurt face of my well-born Arab interpreter when, accompanying me on a tour of the Bahrain oilfields, he was refused admittance to the hospital. And the presence of oil prospectors in those districts, such as the Trucial coast and the Sultanate of Oman, which have formerly only been traversed by a few Europeans experienced in Arab life and etiquette, naturally gives rise to certain misunderstandings. As Great Britain is held responsible for any incidents arising in the states with which she is in treaty relationship, this must lead to a certain strengthening of her control in the territories involved, and it may lead to this control being more strongly felt than was hitherto the case. Nationalist agitators would be ready to take advantage of any slight resentment. And for such agitation the new proletariat created suddenly among a people who hitherto had no real working-class—date-growers and pearl-fishers are not paid wages, but share in the profits—would provide a fruitful field.

The inland frontiers of Oman and the Trucial coast have never been demarcated, and in the case of a certain part of Kuwait, the rival claims of the Sheikh of that principality and Saudi Arabia have only been temporarily settled by declaring the land in question neutral

territory. As a matter of fact nobody worried very much whose land was whose so long as it was merely a few extra square miles of scanty camel pasture. It is quite a different question now that a small stretch of barren desert may be worth a fortune to its owner as a potential oil concession. It is only fair, however, to add that if the coming of the oil industry is no unmixed blessing, the increased revenues that it has yielded have allowed the creation of many social services for which there was never enough money before.

I should like now to give a short description of the various Arab states which are the seats of a British political agent.

The northernmost part of the Arabian shore of the Gulf is occupied by the sheikhdom of Kuwait. Consisting entirely of very barren desert, broken only by one oasis of any importance, Kuwait is essentially a city-state. Its whole existence depends on the prosperity of the capital of the same name, whose unique position in a large sheltered bay makes it the natural port of central Arabia. The harbour crowded with shapely *booms*, the merchant sailing vessels, the old-fashioned yet efficiently organised ship-building wharves, make of Kuwait a town very like what Basrah must have been in the days of Sinbad the sailor. Under the wise rule of His Highness Sheikh Sir Ahmed bin Jabir as-Subah it has preserved all the best aspects of patriarchal government. The old family system is maintained, under which each individual holds himself responsible for the wellbeing of the most distant members of his clan. This is so effective that there is no real beggary in the town, and not one single time did the word "Backshish" greet my ears in Kuwait. As most of the influential families of the town have sprung from Beduin tribes and as they have maintained contact with the life of the desert there is not that deep cleft between town-dwellers and nomads which is so great an obstacle to national unity in other Arab countries of the Middle East.

His Highness the Sheikh is in daily contact with public opinion through the morning reception, the *mejlis*, which he holds in the old palace by the harbour. The guests stride upright into the royal presence with a loud "Subbah el Kehr"—a simple good-morning without so much as a "your highness" to adorn it. "Subbah en Nuhr," replies the Sheikh, and the visitor seats himself without further ado.

The Sheikh murmurs, "Kahua." A slave takes up the word and "kahua, kahua, kahua," is bellowed from bodyguard to bodyguard as they line the stairway down to the kitchen where the coffee maker is warming his pots. He hurries up, clinking his coffee cups invitingly,

and serves the newcomer with his drink. There is a perpetual bustling about, for anyone can come and go at will—members of the royal family (at whose entrance the Sheikh rises), merchants, ship-builders. The rich and mighty shift along their benches to make room for a ragged Beduin. Rank counts for nothing, and the owner of a few sheep takes his place as a matter of course beside the master of ships and wharves. The sea-breeze is pleasantly cool in the pillared hall, and from the harbour come the shouts of water-carriers or the melancholy bleat of a camel. The Sheikh chats informally with his subjects about the price of sheep and the voyages of Kuwaiti ships, or asks for news of the pearl fleet. He is as ready to answer as to ask, to receive as to give advice.

Yet there is a certain amount of discontent in Kuwait. The port cannot exist on the limited requirements of its own hinterland. Though Saudi Arabia has renounced all territorial claims on Kuwait, which was last attacked by the Wahabi in 1928, her frontier is still closed to trade. The continuance of this economic war with Kuwait is perhaps intended to further the development of the new Hassa ports, which will naturally make Saudi Arabia independent of any harbour outside its own territory. Officially, though, its object is to wipe out the smuggling to which Kuwait has been driven to resort in self-defence. The good personal relationship between the ruler of Kuwait and the Wahabi king and the negotiations now in progress make it likely that the Saudi frontier may be reopened in the near future. The punishment accorded to a smuggler in Ibn Saud's territory—his hand is cut off—prevents the illicit trade from assuming any very alarming proportions. Smuggling between Kuwait and Iraq is a more serious matter. Certain political groups in Iraq have made it a pretext for an anti-Kuwaiti campaign. Taken up by the Iraqi press and wireless broadcasts, this activity reached its climax in the spring of this year. It claims that Iraq has a right to Kuwait, whose inclusion within her frontiers would be a valuable extension of her narrow sea coast. This movement—with which the Bagdad Government had no association—found an echo within Kuwait itself. There are a certain number of young men in the town who, on their return from the University of Bagdad, criticized the Kuwaiti Government as backward and demanded rapid modernization. Like most Western-educated Orientals, they are influenced by modern European political philosophy. Hitler and totalitarianism have usurped in their eyes Rousseau and the Rights of Man. Their agitation coincided with the negotiations set

on foot by the Sheikh for the formation of an advisory council to replace the informal *mejlis*, and in the unsettled conditions disturbances broke out. As Great Britain made it abundantly clear that she stood by her guarantee to maintain the existing frontiers of Kuwait, this unrest has now ceased both in Iraq and in the sheikhdom itself.

The recent discovery of oil tends to make the economical plight of Kuwait less desperate. The final solution, however, must lie in a customs union, however difficult to achieve, with at least one of her neighbours.

Travelling southwards—and I found that an Arab dhow is by far the most attractive method of travel in the Persian Gulf, though his Highness the Sheikh of Kuwait considered it barbarian and ungallant that I should impose such hardship upon my wife—we come to the Islands of Bahrain. The luxuriant palmgroves of the main island form a sharp contrast to the barren Arabian coast, and the islanders themselves are more given to enjoying the little comforts and refinements of life than the puritanical mainlanders. The present Sheikh, Sir Hammed bin Issa al Kalipha, with the assistance of his able adviser, Mr. Belgrave, has modernized his domains to a far greater degree than is to be found anywhere else on the Gulf. These reforms were not inspired by an abstract idea of progress but by the real needs of the islands. The flourishing oil industry has created a demand for skilled labour, so that in Bahrain education is turning out not, as so often in the Orient, idle politicians, but workers who find immediate employment.

Since the abandonment of the naval stations on the Iranian coast, Bahrain has become the most important Navy and R.A.F. base in the Gulf, enjoying the rare advantage of a local fuel supply. Lying almost exactly halfway between the mouth and the head of the Gulf, its strategical value is similar to that of Malta in the Mediterranean. One may imagine that it might at some future time become the seat of the British Resident in the Persian Gulf.

At various intervals Iran has raised claims to the possession of the Bahrain Islands on historical grounds. (She has even done the same with regard to Kuwait, though there the foundations of the claim are still vaguer.) This has one embarrassing consequence for the traveller in the Gulf, who, if he has the Bahrain visa on his passport, will be refused entrance to Iran. I had to have a second passport made out for me, and relied on my wife to tell me at the critical moment whether the required document was the one in the left-hand pocket

or the one in the right. The considerable Iranian community in Bahrain is on the whole quite innocent of irredentist propaganda, as it is mostly composed of Iranians who disapprove of the recent secular reforms of their country, particularly of the abolition of the veil.

As there has been little change of recent years in conditions along the Trucial coast, which falls into various small principalities, I shall now pass on directly to the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Cut off from Arabia by a high mountain range, it has always been less closely connected with the continent than with the opposite Indian coast. This is reflected very clearly in the life of the capital. Muscat, with its great Portuguese fortresses still surmounted by wonderful old cannons, is an odd mixture of the Arabian Nights and mediæval Europe. Its citizens have been from the bygone prosperous days of slave-trade and gun-running a very cosmopolitan lot. Apart from the Arab ruling class, who up to the end of the last century ruled jointly over Muscat and Zanzibar, a large part of the population has a strong admixture of negro blood, and there are Persian, Baluchi and Indian communities. It speaks highly for Arab rule and for the tact of the political agent, who is a judge of all disputes concerning foreigners, that Muscat knows nothing of the minority problem, that curse of present-day Europe. Nobody attempts to denationalise these various peoples by making them conform to the language and religion of the majority.

To-day, the great white palaces on the seafront are little more than an empty, though resplendent, shell concealing tumbledown, half-deserted bazaars. For the decline of Muscat's trade the world crisis is partly responsible. A further cause is that the hinterland of the Sultanate, under the leadership of the Imam, has broken away from the authority of the Sultan. A *modus vivendi* has been agreed upon which allows the Omani tribes to bring their date caravans down to the coast on payment of an export duty. The nomads who are not living close to the coast have found that it is more profitable to conduct their business through the port of Dibai, where the duties are lower. The time lost on the longer journey is a matter of no importance to an Arab caravan leader. A forceful attempt on the part of the Sultan to bring the Imam to heel entails the risk of his declaring himself under the protection of Ibn Saud—though in actual fact the enormous distance between the capitals of the two rulers would prevent the relationship between the Imam and Ibn Saud from ever being effectively close.

As I mentioned before, the principalities in treaty relationship with Great Britain occupy the whole eastern coast of Arabia with the one exception of El Hassa, where Saudi Arabia touches the Persian Gulf. Saudi Arabia has a peculiar strategical importance as being the only Arab state which stretches right across the peninsula and thus borders on both the routes of communication between Europe and India. In the early days of his spectacular conquests, Ibn Saud was very much a disturbing factor in Arabian politics. Now he has become the great stabilizing force of the Middle East. The desert, with the limitlessness of its ever-receding horizons, only too easily robs its inhabitants of the capacity to distinguish between Utopia and reality. Much of Arab history is the recurrent story of princes whose rapidly acquired empires crashed to ruin because they failed to realize their own limitations. Ibn Saud, rising from a lonely exile in Kuwait to the ruler of the biggest kingdom the peninsula has known for centuries, might well have fallen a victim to unbounded ambition. It is perhaps the greatest of his achievements that he could restrain the thirst for conquest of his warrior hordes at the critical moment. He had the courage to incur temporary unpopularity by recalling the Wahabi fighters who had set out to raid Transjordan, Irak and Kuwait. While so many Arab princes had been dragged to disaster by their tribesmen's lust for booty, Ibn Saud proved statesman enough to impose peace. It is this moderation and clear-sightedness of his policy that made him resign any dream of uniting the Arab states under one ruler. It is his moderation too that made him unpopular with the Arab nationalists of the towns, whose imagination has a splendid disregard of political facts. As a final proof of his readiness to tolerate other independent states beside his own, he concluded in 1936 a treaty of Arab brotherhood and alliance with Irak. In 1937 this pact was extended to include the Yemen. While not actually providing for mutual assistance, it gives an assurance of immediate consultation should one of its members be aggressed. It constitutes the first practical nucleus of the still distant Federation of Arab States.

A further proof of this great king's acceptance of facts is his refusal to proclaim himself caliph, though many times pressed to do so by members of his entourage recruited from outside his own kingdom. He realises that other Arab states would scent a desire to extend his personal power in his acceptance of the caliphate. He would incur, too, the hostility of other Mohammedan sects opposed to the Wahabi faith. And perhaps the strongest argument of all against his

taking this step would be that it would hinder the fusion of pan-Islam and pan-Arabia. Of late years the Arab Christians have been giving increasingly strong support to the nationalist movement. It must, however, be made quite clear that if Ibn Saud does not want the caliphate for himself, he would be very strongly opposed to any other Arab prince assuming it.

It is a current belief that the Wahabi kingdom is likely to disappear with its founder. This view seems supported by the example of Arab history and by the very character of desert rule. Arabia has never developed a law of succession. Its only maxim is that the strongest shall govern. The tribes have never resigned their right to decide for themselves who is best fitted to rule them, and their method of testing a prospective sovereign is to rebel. The Arab princes of past history have never been able to pass on their power to their successors. Their strength was purely personal, lying in their own might and gift for leadership. Having no standing army under their direct control, but relying entirely upon the goodwill of the tribes, they were autocrats without a police force. To use a modern simile, the Arab ruler was a Hitler without Gestapo, S.S. or Reichswehr. Ibn Saud differs from his predecessors in that he has created a real governmental machine for the first time in Arabian history. By taking over this organisation, and it includes a small air arm, his son Saud should be able to carry on the government. The pilots of bombers are more in the habit of accepting orders than are the tribesmen, and this will probably prove more useful to Prince Saud than his recent nomination as successor by an assembly of the notables of Saudi Arabia.

So far I have dealt only with the western shores of the Persian Gulf. Between them and the Iranian side there stretches to-day a cultural and economical gulf which could not be wider were they separated by an ocean. While on the Arab side a slow evolution is taking place, Iran, under the energetic leadership of Riza Shah Pahlevi, has in one sudden sweep thrown overboard the whole culture of the Orient and accepted Western civilization and all its works, from modern military organizations down to the felt hat. Many of these reforms are contrary to Moslem law and custom. Yet they meet with little opposition in Iran and were scarcely commented upon by other Mohammedan countries. This shows how much easier it is for a native ruler to break with religious tradition than for a European power, who would be decried as the enemy of Islam for far less sweeping measures.

This sudden transformation of one of the most fascinating countries in the world seems to be more regretted by foreigners than by the Iranians themselves. The feeling of the younger generation of Iran is perhaps best expressed in the words of one of my interpreters: "We are tired of being a museum of picturesque costumes and customs," he said. "You foreigners may have enjoyed it, but we have realized that in a world dominated by the West only a state run on European lines can exist." The same thought was more crudely expressed by a less cultured Iranian who asked me why I should waste good films on a crumbling mosque when there were motor cars to photograph.

To understand modern Iran one must realize her extreme terror of foreign domination. Nothing is more revealing than the construction of the Trans-Iranian railway, which deliberately avoids linking up with the railway systems of either Irak or Russia. Running from north to south instead of from north to east, which would be the more natural direction in a country whose geographical position makes it a transit country for commerce between the Middle East and the Orient, it proclaims loudly that Iran is self-sufficient. Its importance is more political than economical. It links the north and south of Iran, which, divided by high mountain ranges, are so different in culture and population that they have often had a tendency to drift apart. Formerly the only export route of the highly industrialized north led into Russia, thus putting Iran, economically at least, at the mercy of the U.S.S.R. The railway has provided the products of the north with a new outlet to the Persian Gulf.

To carry out an enterprise of this magnitude without having to resort to any foreign loan, a complete change in the commercial system was necessary. Iran had to enforce drastic currency restrictions, while the creation of an amazing number of Government monopolies provided new sources of revenue. These, by causing a considerable increase in the cost of even the most essential commodities, have resulted in a lower standard of life. The Gulf coast was particularly hard hit by the decrease of imports, as it was not compensated by any considerable industrialization. The old ports such as Bushire, Lingeh and Bandar Abbas suffered yet more from the growing competition of the new port of Bandar Shapur. In comparison, the conditions on the Arab coast seem positively flourishing.

Uncertain as the future of Iran may be, dependent as it is upon a one-man Government, it has at least stemmed for the time being any Russian penetration to the Persian Gulf. It is often said that the

Oriental policy of Bolshevist Russia remained fundamentally unchanged from Tsarist days. But the imperialistic appetite of pre-war Russia was due to a desire to dazzle a discontented home population by brilliant foreign successes. Stalin's Russia, on the other hand, has made interior reorganization its foremost aim, and is purely defensive so far as foreign policy is concerned. It has made this quite clear by abandoning its numerous consulates in Iran. And as far as Comintern activities are concerned, they seem to exist—in the Middle East at any rate—less in reality than in the propagandist pamphlets of totalitarian powers.

Iran has one problem in common with all the larger Middle Eastern states—interior consolidation while trying to catch up in a few decades with a development which it has taken Europe centuries to achieve. This mutual difficulty has made possible the conclusion of the Middle Eastern Pact in 1939. The states of the land-bridge between Europe and India—Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan—have bound themselves not to resort to aggression in the case of any disputes that may arise between themselves. During the negotiations a settlement was found for the Iranian-Iraqi dispute over the frontier on the Shatt el Arab, and thus removed the only bone of contention between these two countries. Though the tension in the Mediterranean was partly responsible for the conclusion of the pact, recent events in Europe have had no direct influence on the politics of the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, the Arab broadcasts of the great European powers are still vying with each other in the ether for the sympathies of the Islamic world. Gone are the days when Doughty could write that the Arabs thought of all Christians as one large tribe pasturing their common camel herds in some distant desert. The Arab of to-day is kept well abreast of European squabbles, as the following true story, with which I should like to end, shows :

The odour of shark-oil hangs heavily over the fort-like houses of the Arab town. The last dusty flock of sheep has come home from the desert, the watchmen have bolted the gates in the city wall. With their hands on their silver dagger-hilts, black slaves keep guard over their masters' warehouses. The women are alone in the harems, for all the men are down at the waterside. The most famous of their sea-captains has come home from Zanzibar, after four month's absence in his two-masted ship. As his dinghy threads its way through the maze of tall masts and long curved prows, drums thunder out on the quay. Mullah Sala, councillor of the Sheikh of Kuwait, lifts his voice

in welcome. "O Abdulla! White are your lashes from long reading of the stars in the many moons of your journeying." Sailor and statesman sink down on to the carpet which a young negro has spread upon the seawall. "O Mullah Sala," cries the seafarer; "the new American wireless set which you recommended has worked splendidly throughout my voyage. And what think you of Franco's chances after this long hold-up on the Ebro?"

Speaking after the lecture, Admiral Sir HOWARD KELLY gave a vivid description of Lord Curzon's historic visit to the Gulf in the beginning of this century, a time when Kuwait was battenning on gun-running. Arms were pouring into Arabia, and there was also a lively traffic in slaves. Lord Curzon determined to take matters in hand, sailed up the Gulf in the grand manner and gave audiences to the rulers of the coastal sultanates. He turned the full battery of his majestic speech on them, assuring them that Britain would stand by those who became her friends, took such steps as the Government of India deemed to be necessary for the suppression of illicit arms traffic, and what has been said of these States to-day is the result of that visit.

The CHAIRMAN said that without in any way belittling what Lord Curzon had done, he would like to call to mind the work of Sir Percy Cox, who had given the best years of his life and his brilliant brain to the Persian Gulf, establishing law and order, defending the freedom and rights of the States themselves, guiding them to a more peaceable way of living.

He congratulated Dr. Lindt on his brilliant command of the English language, on his work and slides, and thanked him in the name of the Society for his lecture.

THE EVOLUTION OF BRITISH DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST*

By J. RIVES CHILDS

UNTIL modern times diplomatic embassies possessed a temporary rather than a permanent character, being dispatched only on occasions demanded by special circumstances. The development of British trade relations in the Middle East, notably the establishment of the Levant Company, the Muscovite Company and the East India Company, contributed to the transformation of British diplomatic relations with Persia, Turkey and Russia, and the placing of British diplomatic establishments in the Middle East on a permanent basis.

The first English embassy to Persia was that of Geoffrey de Langley, commissioned in 1290 by Edward I., to Arghun (1284-1291), the Mongol sovereign. Reports of the embassy were no doubt still current at the Il-Khan's Court at Tabriz when Marco Polo reached there in 1294 as the escort deputed by the Great Khan in Karakorum of a Princess of the Royal House intended as the bride of Arghun. De Langley's mission was in answer to the overtures of Arghun, bent on obtaining the co-operation of the West against the Seljuk Turks, then in possession of the Holy Land, the Mongol's most formidable adversaries.

Three centuries elapsed before the resumption of diplomatic relations between England and Persia. The occasion was the quickening of commercial intercourse between the England of Elizabeth and the whole of the Near and Middle East—that age which saw also the extension of England's interest in the West under Raleigh and Drake.

The sixteenth century witnessed the formation of the East India Company, the Muscovite Company, the Levant Company, and soon thereafter the Virginia Company of London. The last-mentioned, of course, led directly to the establishment of the first permanent English settlement in America at Jamestown in 1607.

* Sources used in the preparation of this paper include, in addition to the works cited in the text, *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)* and *Letters Received by the East India Company*.

This present brief study is concerned, however, more particularly with the East India Company and the Levant Company, and the manner in which English diplomatic and consular representation in the Middle East grew directly out of the development of the interests of those Companies.

The Levant Company nominated and defrayed the salaries of the British ambassadors and British consuls in Turkey from 1582 until 1804. That Company was founded in 1581, and one year later, on November 20, 1582, William Harborne received the royal commission "constituting him 'our true and undoubted orator, messenger, deputie and agent' at the sultan's court." In Wood's *A History of the Levant Company*, from which the above is taken, it is added that:

"From its inception therefore the embassy at Constantinople had a dual aspect; its holder was at once a royal representative, commissioned by the sovereign and employed in diplomatic duties, and a commercial agent paid by a company of merchants, and pledged to safeguard and promote their business interests" (pp. 12-13).

Sir John Chardin, in his *Travels . . . into Persia*, published in London in 1686 (pp. 4-6), has this to say on the subject:

"I arrived at Smyrna the seventh of March, 1672 . . .

"The English drive a great Trade at *Smyrna*, and over all the *Levant*. This trade is driv'n by a Royal Company settled at *London*. . . . It has stood almost these hundred years, being first confirm'd towards the middle of *Queen Elizabeth's* Raign. A Raign famous for having, among other things, giv'n life to several Trading Companies, particularly those of *Hamborough*, *Russia*, *Greenland*, the *East Indies* and *Turkie*, all of which remain to this Day. Trade was then in its Infancy; and there is no greater mark of the Ignorance of those Times, in reference to countries, though but a little remote, than the Association which those Merchants made: for they joyn'd several together in one Body, for mutual conduct and Assistance. That Company which relates to the Turkish Trade, is of a particular sort: For it is not a Society, where every one puts in a Sum for one Central and United Stock: It is a body which has nothing in common, but a peculiar Grant and Priviledge to Trade with the *Levant*. It assumed to it self the name of *The Regulated Company*. None are admitted into it, but sons of Merchants, or such have serv'd an Apprentic-

ship to the Trade, which in England is for Seven Years. . . . The Company never commits to any one single Person their Power, nor the sole Management of their Affairs, but manage their Business among themselves by the Plurality of Voices. So that who has sufficient to drive a Trade that will bear an imposition of Eight Crowns, has as good a Vote as he that Trades for a Hundred Thousand. This Assembly, thus *Democratical*, sends out Ships, Levies Taxes upon all their Commodities, presents the Ambassador whom the King sends to the *Port(e)*, elects two Consuls, the one for *Smyrna*, the other for *Aleppo*, and prevents the sending of goods which are not thought proper for the *Levant*. . . .

“ . . . the Company gives a Pension to the English Ambassador, who resides at the *Port(e)*; to the *Consuls*, and all their Principal Officers, as the Minister, the Chancellor, the Secretary, the Interpreters, the Janisaries and others. Which Officers have no Power to Levy any Taxes of Sums of Money upon the Merchandize, whether under the pretence of Duties, or Presents, or any other Extraordinary Expences. That when anything of that Nature is to be done, they give Notice to the Deputies of the Nation, who are two Persons appointed to Act in the Name of the rest. These Deputies examine and debate with the Ambassador, or the Consul, what is fit to be given, what Journeys are necessary to be made to the *Port(e)*, and what is there to be transacted. . . .* Thus the Ambassador and Consuls have no more to do but only to mind the Security of the English Nation, and the good of Trade, without being incumber'd and diverted by their own Interests.”

The association of the Levant Company with the British Embassy in Constantinople for more than two centuries was terminated only in 1804, or a brief twenty-one years prior to the liquidation of the Company. In 1804 the Levant Company was instructed by the British Government to appoint a consul-general at Constantinople to look after its commercial interests in order that the ambassador might confine himself to political concerns. Wood adds that :

“Henceforth the crown appointed and paid the ambassador, whose duties now became exclusively diplomatic, and the Com-

* Such Deputies of the Nation continue to form a part of the organization of the French communities in Egypt. They may survive in other parts of the former Ottoman Empire.

pany's business passed into the hands of its new agent at Constantinople" (Wood, p. 184).

The transfer of the appointment and control of British consuls in Turkey followed in 1825. Wood, quoting from the *Proceedings of the Levant Company*, notes that :

"On Friday, February 11, 1825, a special general court of the Company was summoned to meet at South Sea House, with Lord Grenville, the veteran governor, in the chair, to hear a new communication from Canning. He now wrote to advise the merchants that a bill was being prepared for the better regulation of the consular establishments, one object of which would be to transfer the Company's authority in this respect to the crown. The change was designed purely from motives of public expediency and from no feeling of disrespect to the Company or blame for its past administration and he hoped that it would readily acquiesce in the transfer. The letter closed with a hint which decided the Company's fate. 'I cannot refrain from suggesting to you,' the foreign secretary wrote, 'whether it may not be expedient to give up the remaining privileges of your charter, which being no longer connected with the protection of public interests may be deemed by parliament and the public to be useless and injurious restrictions upon trade'" (Wood, pp. 199-200).

The attention of the writer was first drawn to the interesting genesis of British diplomatic representation in the Middle East while stationed in Teheran several years ago. Efforts were made at that time to obtain a full list of British diplomatic representatives in Persia. Through the kind co-operation of his British colleagues he succeeded in obtaining a list of those representatives appointed by the Crown, but, as was discovered, British diplomatic missions to Persia until the beginning of the nineteenth century were only occasional. However, the list furnished did not include agents of the East India Company stationed from about 1617 until well in the eighteenth century at the then Persian capital of Ispahan. Moreover, some question was raised as to whether such agents possessed the quality of diplomatic representatives.

Research into the accounts left by contemporary travellers to Persia brought to light information which suggested that, whether or not such agents possessed a formal diplomatic character, they acted in the

capacity of diplomatic representatives and were clearly the direct forerunners of the present permanent British diplomatic mission in Iran.

The Muscovite Company was formed in 1557. Soon afterwards Anthony Jenkinson of that Company crossed Russia overland and journeyed to Kazvin, where he presented a letter dated April 25, 1561, from Queen Elizabeth to Shah Tahmasp. The letter, which is published in Jonas Hanway's *Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, requested the granting to "our saide servant Anthonie Jenkinson, good passports and safe conducts" for the furtherance of his enterprise "to establish trade of merchandize with your subjects." Jenkinson, however, was driven from the Shah's Court.

British connections with Persia were not resumed until 1617, with the arrival at Ispahan in that year of Edward Connock, representing himself as a British ambassador. Connock appears to have been sent to Persia by the East India Company factors at Surat without the express sanction of the authorities of that Company in India. He took with him, however, a letter from King James and "suitable presents," departing from Surat on November 8, 1616, on the ship *James* commanded by Captain Alexander Child, with Thomas Barker, George Pley, Edward Petters, Wm. Bell, William Tracy, and Matthew Pepwell, Factors. Sir Thomas Roe, of the East India Company, though entirely disapproving of the action of the Surat Factors, undertook to support the expedition once it was launched, and with this purpose he wrote to his correspondent at Ispahan, an English jeweller named Wm. Robbins, inviting the latter's co-operation in Connock's mission.

Pietro della Valle, the Italian traveller, records under date of December 8, 1617, at Ispahan, that :

" . . . this year an English vessel has anchored for the first time on the Persian coast in the Persian Gulf near Ormuz. (It bore) among others a certain Seigneur Odouard Conac or Connoke, who enjoyed the quality of Agent or Resident of their Nation and whom the Persians treat as Ambassador. However that may be, he arrived at Ispahan the last day of March past. And because he could not find the King; after having been received by the Officers; and treated with all the civilities possible as guest of His Majesty . . . he left to find the King with the Army. . . .

" This gentleman proposed to the King of Persia, in the name of his King of England, and of their company of merchants who trade with the Indies, to bring every year to Persia vessels to trade,

and especially to obtain at the ports of the Persian Gulf quantities of silk in order to transport them by sea to England without being obliged to tranship them in Turkey" (della Valle, *Voyages*, vol. iii., p. 120, edition 1745).

Sometime in August, 1617, Connock, accompanied only by Robbins, reached the Shah's camp on the Turkish frontier at a distance of twenty-five days' march from Ispahan. According to the account of this mission :

"King James's letter to the Shah, though genuine, was old, and the body of it had apparently been written in India over the royal signature or seal,—a circumstance which seems to have occasioned Connock some anxiety; nevertheless, in spite of doubts cast on its genuineness by a Spanish friar from Isfahan, who had managed to anticipate Connock in the Shah's camp, the letter was accepted by the Shah; and the Englishmen met with a very cordial reception. The Persian monarch even went so far as to style King James 'his elder brother,' to drink his health in a large bowl of wine, and to promise that Jashk or any other port which they might require should be given to the English. The 'grant of privileges,' which Connock had been sent to negotiate, was obtained in a highly satisfactory form.

"The Shah's *Farman** provided for the perpetual residence of an English Ambassador at the Persian Court, and for the despatch, should circumstances make it desirable, of a Persian Ambassador to England; the right of buying and selling freely in the Persian dominions was conferred on all English subjects; they were to be protected in the exercise of their religion; they were authorised to possess arms and to use them, if necessary, in self-defence; a power of appointing Agents and Factors in Persia,—who should be treated with respect and assisted by the Persian authorities,—might be exercised by the English Ambassador, when he should arrive; in criminal cases Englishmen were to be punished by their own Ambassador; and in civil suits between English and Persians, if the value of the subject matter exceeded 20 Tumans, the decision must be pronounced by the English Ambassador, apparently with the concurrence of Persian judges, while in

* The text of this *Farman* does not appear to be extant, but its substance is embodied in a later *Farman* (1629) of Shah Safi. (See *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. vi., pp. 293-7.)

smaller cases justice should be done upon the spot by the Persian legal authorities. At the time of granting this Farman, Shah 'Abbas also wrote 'a very noble letter' to King James."

Meanwhile considerable criticism appears to have accumulated in India against Connock. The chief charge against him appears to have been that he had styled himself "Ambassador," and it seems that he did actually pose as a royal messenger from a belief, as he explained, that the Shah would not condescend to negotiate with a mere mercantile factor representing the East India Company. The fact remains, however, that he was the bearer of a letter from King James.

Connock fell ill and died soon afterwards at Gatan in Biyaban, Thomas Barker becoming the principal representative of the East India Company in Persia. In India, Sir Thomas Roe directed that Connock should be avowed "to have beene a Messinger sent from the King, though not with absolute Power as Ambassador to treat and Conclude."

In 1619 a letter from the King of England was delivered to Shah Abbas, and in November of that year Barker died in Persia.

The first envoy from the Crown to Persia of whom there is official record, subsequent to the embassy of de Langley in 1290, was Sir Dodmore Cotton, appointed under instructions dated April 15, 1626, after having been knighted on April 12, 1626, presumably when kissing hands. He arrived in Persia January 6, 1628, and was received in audience by Shah Abbas I. at Ashraf, near the Caspian Sea, May 25, 1628.

According to the account given of the audience:

"Shah 'Abbas, rising from his seat to reply, . . . cheerfully embraced the proffered league of friendship and made the Ambassador himself heartily welcome, adding 'and seeing you have done me that honour none of my predecessors ever had before, for you are the first Ambassador that ever came from Great Britain in that quality to my country, you may deservedly challenge the more respect; yea, as I account your Master chief of the worshippers of Jesus, so do I of yourself in a superior degree to any other Ambassador now present.' After the audience, in another apartment, the Shah called for a bowl of wine and drank to King Charles's health, whereupon 'the Ambassador stood up and uncovered his head, which being noted by the Padshah, the

more to oblige he lifted up his turban, and, after an hour's entertainment dismissed him with much satisfaction.' ”

Sir Thomas Herbert, secretary of Sir Dodmore Cotton, who has left a most entertaining account of the mission in Herbert's *Travels in Persia*, records that Sir Dodmore Cotton died in Kazvin in July, 1628, where he was buried “ amongst the Armenian graves.” Sir Dodmore's embassy was followed by one of the Earl of Denbigh in 1631.

Following the replacement of Barker by Monox as the East India Company's representative at Ispahan in 1621, there is next mention of a Mr. Gibson as the Company's Agent there in 1636 and of a Mr. Craddock in 1662.

According to Sir John Chardin, *The Coronation of Solyman III.*, London, 1686, pp. 66-67, the Agent of the British East India Company in Ispahan in 1667 was Sir Stephen Flower, who was received as had been his predecessor, Edward Connock, with the dignity accorded an ambassador. Thus :

“ The English Agent in Persia, *Sir Stephen Flowre*, understanding that the Dutch had had Audience of his Majesty, was not a little surprised, but much more vexed to see himself prevented; and therefore he was no less importunate to have his; and, therefore, to the end he might be admitted to kiss the King's Feet, he took the same way and method which the Dutch Ambassador had done: for indeed there was no other way: and had therefore the same success. For two days after, being accompanied with his Second in the Factory, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning he was introduced by the *General of the Musquetteers* to make his obeysance to the King; his Interpreter and his Colleague coming behind him. After the usual Ceremonies he presented the Prince with two hundred half Guineys, according to the self-interested Custom of the *East*, where the Kings Stiling themselves Gods Lieutenants, forbid all People to appear in their Presence without an Offering. Presently he sate down by the Command of the Prince, and by his Interpreter, and in the behalf of the English Nation and Company, wished him a long and flourishing Reign. Afterwards he made a short rehearsal of the great Services which the English Nation had done to Kings of *Persia* his Ancestors of Immortal memory. For which reason those triumphant Monarchs had always favoured the English Nation more than any other

Nation of Europe, of which he was assured his Majesty was well informed; for which reason he hoped that his Majesty would continue the same favours to the English Nation, and grant them a confirmation of all the Treaties and Priviledges which had been granted formerly to the English.

“To which the King returned the same answer which he had done to the Dutch Envoy. *Mr. Agent is my Guest, and all the English Nation are most dear to me. Whatever my Predecessours of Glorious Memory have granted to your Company I shall also confirm. And if you have anything further to request of Me for the advantage of your Nation, you may confidently propose it, and it shall be decreed if reasonable.*”

In 1669 it was stated that the company's trade in Persia had been, during several years, to a great extent relinquished and that only an Agent had been maintained at Bandar Abbas, from which it would appear that Sir Stephen Flower may have visited Ispahan as a representative of the Company on special mission. In 1669 the Company's Court in England sent a Mr. William Rolt to Persia as their special nominee. Five years later a letter from King Charles II. was transmitted to Shah Sulaiman and a collection of the *farmans* in favour of the Company was made by the Agent in Persia. In 1680 there is mention of Mr. Pettit as the Company's Agent in Persia, in 1682 Mr. John Gibbs, in 1698 Mr. Barwell, in 1699 Mr. Bruce, and in 1700 Mr. Oliver.

On July 23, 1699—

“the Shah, attended by the ladies of his Haram, paid a visit in state to the English Factory at Isfahan, then under the management of Mr. Bruce, where sumptuous preparations had been made for his reception. The visit was prompted by his own curiosity to examine a building of which the agreeable exterior had attracted its notice, but it did not take place until the Shah had satisfied himself that a precedent existed, to prove its consistence with his dignity, in a similar visit by Shah 'Abbas I. to the English Factory after the taking of Hormuz. . . .

“The expenses of the reception amounted to more than £12,000, but the results were advantageous. Not only did the Shah testify to his gratification by presenting a robe of honour, a valuable sword and a horse to the Agent, but one year's arrears of customs were immediately paid at Bandar 'Abbas, and other solid advantages followed.”

The Dutch traveller Le Brun in his *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and Parts of the East Indies*, London, 1759, records that :

“On August 24th, 1704, Mr. Owen, Agent of the British Company, died in Isfahan in the 40th year of his age.”

He was succeeded by a Mr. Prescott, who was sent from England to convey a letter, accompanied by presents, from Queen Anne to the Shah and to take charge of the Company's Factory in Persia. Like so many of his predecessors, he lived only a brief time after reaching Persia, succumbing near Bandar 'Abbas in November, 1705, three months after his arrival in the country. There the scroll of Agents of the East India Company in Persia ends so far as the records available to me extend.

Jonas Hanway, a merchant and traveller to Persia in the eighteenth century, whose work had been previously cited, has this to say of the character of the East India Company representative in Persia :

“When Persia enjoyed repose, the Agent of the East India Company of England lived in splendor: the regal government being held in great veneration in that Empire; he acted as immediately under the Crown of England” (Hanway, *An Historical Account of British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, London, 1754, vol. i., p. 375).

I can find no further reference in the eighteenth century to Agents of the East India Company in Persia by name. One of the last episodes, however, in the direct connection of the East India Company with British diplomatic representation in Persia offers one of the most curiously anomalous situations which has probably ever arisen in the history of British diplomatic missions.

Diplomatic activities inspired by Napoleon to induce Persia to further the designs of the First Consul upon India provoked great uneasiness on the part of the British authorities in India. These activities led to the dispatch in 1800 by the Honourable East India Company of a mission to Persia under the direction of Sir John Malcolm with a view to counteracting French designs. The mission's objective was realized in the conclusion of a treaty with Persia of far-reaching import.

The Peace of Tilsit gave Napoleon the opportunity to pursue his design upon India through Persia. Accordingly, in 1807, a French

military mission headed by General Gardanne was commissioned to proceed to Teheran.

By this time both the British Home Government and the East India authorities were thoroughly alarmed. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, who had spent many years in the East India Company's service, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary by the Crown and sent from London to Persia "with a commission which, although placing him in subordination to Lord Minto, the Governor-General (of the Indian Government), gave him full powers to negotiate a treaty between the King and the Shah" (Sykes, *History of Persia*, ii., p. 306).

Sir Harford, in his own published *Account of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia*, 2 vols., London, 1834, recounts that it was only as a result of his strong remonstrances before leaving London that he was able to choose his own staff instead of having to accept secretaries appointed by the East India Company. The British envoy was informed by the British Government in explanation that "as the East India Company 'pay the piper,' and Government appoint the Envoy, it was thought but fair the Company should have the appointment of the two secretaries."

In the meantime, however, the Government of India (close to the absorption of the East India Company), in ignorance of Sir Harford Jones Brydges' appointment, delegated Sir John Malcolm as envoy to Persia. Malcolm reached Persia before Brydges, but, unable to achieve his mission, withdrew and returned to India, from where he was re-dispatched "to teach the Shah that, in all matters which regarded the Persian connexion, the Governor-General was the equal of the King of England" (Rawlinson, *England and Russia in the East*, London, 1875, p. 27).

The Government of India, in their exasperation at Sir Harford Brydges, went so far as to endeavour to obtain the suspension of his functions, and the more effectively to embarrass him went to the extreme length of permitting his drafts on the Company to go, to protest against his expenses being defrayed by that Company.

Sir Harford publishes in his memoirs a copy of the despatch addressed by him to the Governor-General of India in answer to the minatory accusations brought against the envoy :

"I have now, my Lord," he wrote, "served the East India Company in active service upwards of *twenty-five years*, therefore the greater part of my life has been spent in their employment;

and I can safely say, I have never omitted anything in my power to promote their interests, or support their credit. I am, my Lord, still in their service, but if I am *their servant*, I am the *King's subject*, my allegiance is due to him; and beyond all this, in the present instance (unworthy as I am of it), I have the high honour to represent His Majesty at this Court. If there arose, therefore, a necessity of explaining to the Persians the powers of my Sovereign, as contrasted with those possessed by yourself and the East India Company, it was not very likely, with such sentiments as I have expressed above, I should put Your Excellency and the Company before, or even in the same rank, with my King" (p. 218).

Robert Grant Watson, sometime member of the British Legation in Teheran, in his *History of Persia*, London, 1866, pp. 160-161, remarks:

"The exact relation in which the Anglo-Indian possessions stood with respect to the British Crown was not easily understood by the Persian Government. They saw the two envoys striving against each other for influence, as if so far belonging to the same country, they had been the representatives of two hostile Governments; but a solution of this puzzling enigma, which seemed eminently satisfactory, soon suggested itself to the Persian mind. General Malcolm was the more open-handed of the two envoys, and as he was known to be the representative of the Government of a commercial company, they inferred that he of course received a per-centage upon all the money which he spent during his mission, and that therefore it was for his own interest that he should disburse as much money as he might find the Persians willing to accept."

The mission of Brydges was, of course, in the end sustained, but the interest of the Government of India in British representation in Iran has persisted to this day.

According to the *Final Report of the Royal Commission of the Administration of the Expenditure of India*, 1900, vol. iv., pp. 92-93, the Home Government supported the cost of the British diplomatic mission in Persia from its first permanent establishment in 1810 until 1823, when the expenditure was assumed by the Government of India. From 1823 to 1831 it was wholly supported from Indian funds. In

1835 it was retransferred to the British Foreign Office, the Indian Government contributing £12,000 a year towards its cost. In 1859 the Mission at Teheran and the Consulates at Teheran, Tabriz and Resht were placed under the Government of India, but in 1860 they were retransferred to the Foreign Office, the Indian Government undertaking to contribute to the support of the Mission. The Government of India continued to accord such financial support to the British diplomatic mission at Teheran until well in this century. In the *Report* cited it was noted that :

“ The two Governments are not agreed as to the extent of their respective interests in Persia. It is, in our opinion, desirable to adopt a general principle of division which will put an end to these discussions. Both countries have admittedly a large interest in Persia, and we think that the charges of the Mission and Consulates should be evenly divided between the two countries. We think, also, that the British Foreign Office should not create or add to the establishments and services under its control without the consent of the Government of India, and *vice versa*, that the Government of India should not add to the establishments and services under their control without the consent of the Foreign Office.”

It will have been observed that there appears to have been a distinction from the beginning in the respective relations of the Levant and East India Companies to British diplomatic representation in Turkey and Persia. In Turkey the ambassador, although paid by the Levant Company from 1582 to 1804, was appointed from the outset by the Crown, and the mission was from 1582 a permanent one. On the other hand, in Persia no permanent diplomatic mission was appointed until 1810, by which time the East India Company had become merged in all of its important attributes with the Government of India.

The Levant Company disappeared more than a century ago from the scene in Turkey, and even before its passing it had been forced to relinquish its connection with British diplomatic representation in that country. In Persia official relations were maintained by Great Britain through occasional formal embassies and at other times through the Agents of the East India Company, who appear to have assumed for themselves as much as possible the character of diplomatic envoys. In 1784 the direction of Indian policy passed definitely from the East

India Company to the Governor-General in India and to the Government in England. It was only subsequently that a formal diplomatic mission appears to have been sent to Persia by that Company for the first time—namely, the first mission of Sir John Malcolm.

In Turkey the Levant Company disappeared entirely; in India the East India Company was transformed into a Government. It is significant that it was during the period of this transformation that the respective relations of the Government of India and the British Crown to British diplomatic representation in Persia entered their most acute phase. Even by 1900 the issue had not been completely resolved, and to this day the interest of the Government of India in Iran is strikingly illustrated in the appointment of British consular officers in Meshed and in southern Iran from the Indian Civil Service rather than from the British Consular Service.

THE RUSSIAN DOMINATION OF SINKIANG

A PERIODICAL containing many articles of special interest to members of this Society has recently appeared in Germany. It is concerned with Central Asian affairs and the great Eurasian highway leading from Eastern Europe to Western China, a highway which is becoming important once more as the natural airway to China. It is no secret, since in this periodical Professor Filchner writes of it, that it was he who has mapped so much of this air route and has given possible landing-grounds along it in his great Tibetan and Central Asian journeys.

One of the most interesting of the articles tells of recent events in Sinkiang, and of the Soviet success in adding a country of twice the size of Germany and of great potentialities to its already large dominions. Since the spring of this year the title "Chinese" Turkistan can no longer be used. It is now Russia's "new province."

The opening chapter summarizes the history of this greatest of Chinese provinces, Sinkiang. The country has for twenty or thirty years been divided into three zones—Chinese, Russian, and English. It goes on to narrate: Some ten or twelve years ago Japan sent paid "prophets" into Sinkiang to rouse the Muslims against their "oppressors," Russia and England, most probably with the idea of making Islam in Sinkiang her advance guard against Bolshevism in the West.

"I know only the names of three of these 'prophets': Mustapha Djarula, Mussa Bekh, and Dr. Schiakr; the last, it was said to me in Sinkiang, had been for some time in Germany. These gentlemen promulgated the gospel of freedom for Islam in Sinkiang and in Russian Turkistan, were followed and harassed while they were in Russian Turkistan, and were supposed to be fighting Communism by word of mouth and by their writings. How far they succeeded in Russian Turkistan I cannot say, but they did succeed in rousing the Sarts in Sinkiang, and it is without any doubt through the propaganda of these three that the Sarts rose in 1933 and 1934. It was this push of Japan into Sinkiang that made Soviet Russia decide to put the province under her own thumb, and the way in which this was done is one of the most interesting chapters in Central Asian policy.

“To go back to the year 1927, when the Moslem rising of the Tungans of Kansu and Chinghai broke out. It was in this year that Ma-chung-ying first came on the scenes of Central Asian history, and founded therein a new epoch. Ma-chung-ying is one of that type of conqueror that Inner Asia has from time to time produced—Chingis Khan and Timur being the most celebrated examples—a type which is half field-marshal and half gangster, who, when they succeed, are heroes, and, when they fail, lose their lives.

“Ma-chung-ying’s rising (in 1927) was simply one of the usual Dungan sort with which Chinese history teems, and Ma’s motive was to revenge himself and the Dungans on that enemy of all Muslims, Feng Yu-chiang, the once Christian and later Communistic General who had murdered Ma’s father. The ‘Little General’ ran his rising so cleverly that in 1931 his brigand army began to play a part in Central Asian politics. It was in this year two people joined his army whose life histories are most interesting. One was the Turk, Kemal, who held the rank of General and Councillor to Ma. This remarkable man was before 1914 attached to a German infantry regiment on the Baltic, and, when he had learned all they had to teach him, went to Paris and studied military matters there in the Military Academy. He went back to Turkey during the world war and worked on the staff of Colonel v. Epp on the Caucasus front against Russia, was taken prisoner, and at the time of the Russian Revolution was teaching Turkish in Harbin. Afterwards he came to North-West Kansu, and it is generally supposed that it is owing to him that General Ma made his attack on Sinkiang. Kemal understood modern methods of warfare, and his help and direction were invaluable and enabled Ma to win.

“It would be impossible for any Western brain to unravel the tangle of politics which arose out of Ma’s success in Sinkiang. Russia stepped in and worked with all her craft and power. It must be remembered that the population of Sinkiang is very divided, and, although the majority are Sarts, there are also Kazaks, Kirghiz, and others whose homes are in Northern Sinkiang or in the Tien Shan. They, too, are Muslims, but nomads. Again, there are the Mongolian Torgots, who also live in the Tien Shan, who are Buddhists, and in the outermost regions of the province there are mixtures of Sarts, Tibetans, Khar-galiks, and the so-called Andijanis, for the most part Mullahs from Soviet territory who have sought refuge here in their thousands during the last years. Added to this there are also the Manchurian troops, Ma-chang-shan’s 5,000 men who fled from Manchuria towards Sin-

kiang. Add to this also the White Russians, last but not least of the peoples added of late years to this mixed company. In the north, especially in Chuguchak and Kuldja, Russian influence has long predominated.

“In the first instance, many years ago Chinese and Dungans had taken the land in order to colonize it, and they became bankers, merchants, and to a certain extent handworkers. They have during their many years in the country more or less ousted the original inhabitants and have become rich themselves. More especially is this true of the Chinese ruling class, the governors and officials.

“It was into this hotch-potch of peoples, religions, and politics that Ma-chung-ying brought the torch of war and with the help of the Sarts tried to wrest the governorship of Urumchi from the Chinese governor. He was helped by the Japanese, both morally and practically, and also by that section of the Chinese who hoped with his help to drive out Russian influence.

“Sarts and Kazaks ran to join him under their leaders. Then the Chinese governor, seeing their strength and his own weakness, called on the Russian forces and asked their help to drive Ma out of the country. There stood, then, the two parties—Ma with his Sarts and Kazaks, and on the Chinese side the Chinese troops, Manchurians, White Russians, who had been conscripted, and Bolshevik troops who had been smuggled into the country, and also the Mongolian-Torgot troops. Unbelievable though it may sound, the White Russians and Mongols were fighting here for the Bolsheviks without realizing what they were doing, and they were the deciding factor in defeating the Little General.

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“As far as the actual fighting went, the White Russians understood the tactics which were being used against them from their long wars in Mongolia after the world war, and were thus able to extricate the Bolshevik troops. The Bolsheviks, in their turn, working by their usual methods, managed to divide Dungans and Sarts the one from the other, and, having made this division, were able through their political tactics to gain power throughout the country. The Japanese sent in agents, some of whom were imprisoned, some of whom were murdered. Sven Hedin, working for the Nanking Government under cover of a scientific research party, was also outwitted. . . .

“I have the feeling that England throughout all this period con-

tented herself with her old policy of watching the situation, although she established throughout the province a publication called the *Central Asian News*, which gave the position only too clearly.

“From now on the bolshevization of the Province went only too fast. In 1934 Russian Bolshevik consuls were established in many of the towns as counsellors, who were thus able to spy on the White Russians and hinder anything they might try to do. To the Chinese governor they praised China and the Kuo-min-tang. ‘Long live China and the Kuo-min-tang,’ was their phrase.

“In Hami they set themselves to stir up the Hami troops, urging them to increase their borders, talked to them of the importance of Hami, said that the commandant of the town should be commandant of the district, and flattered them until they saw the necessity of mechanizing the small army. And so the military authorities sent for motor-lorries, which came from Urumchi with Russian chauffeurs—first one, and then a whole train. Who could guess at that time that the White Russian chauffeurs were really G.P.U. officers with pistols concealed in their supply waggons, or that the Chinese and Sarts who came with them and said they were so poor they had to come by this way were highly trained Bolshevik workers? These hangers-on disappeared into the bazaars without anyone guessing their disguise.

“It is the age-long habit of the Sarts of Sinkiang to gather round the village fire of an evening and discuss the small happenings of the district—their crops, their taxes, the characters of the governors and magistrates, war and peace, the price of camels and donkeys, and so forth. There are in the neighbourhood of Hami three towns, one overwhelmingly Sart, one Dungan, and one Chinese, each with their own commandant and their own town organizations; the commandants, in their turn, sit on the district board. Now began the devilish work at which the Soviets are past masters. In a short while the three commandants, worthy men all of them, found themselves in gaol; this always plays a great part when Russian penetration begins. The peace-loving people held their breath and wondered how all this had happened. For fourteen days agents of the Bolsheviks, seemingly innocent citizens, would get into talk with certain of the better-class inhabitants, men they had marked out. ‘Isn’t this Chinese governor a rascal?’ they would say, and whatever the answer was—yes or no—the man found himself gaoled. Mistrust and confusion spread through the land, the news-sheets, which had been free and outspoken, dared to give only such things as the price of melons. Caravans came to and

fro, merchants still plied their wares, but the daily gossip which plays so large a part in that region dwindled away—no man dared criticize, no man dared trust his neighbour. Each town was in this way cut off from its neighbour, each man distrustful of his neighbour; the inns and camping-grounds became silent.

“Within fourteen days the whole life of the townships was killed. Hand in hand with this organized policy went the separating of Sinkiang from China, which was largely done through propaganda gossip. The Russians had now to do with a people bewildered and without leaders, living in anxiety and uncertainty.

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“And now let me go back to the Turkish counsellor of Ma-chung-ying—Kemal, who once again came in this summer of 1934 undefeated on to the Soviet Central Asian stage. He had loosed himself from obedience to Ma-chung-ying and came once again trying to fight his way through Central Asia. At the moment when he came to Hami every town had on its notice board a paper offering a reward for him, dead or alive. He was taken prisoner in Hami, and, of course, under pressure from the Russian, Dubrowsky, ‘Jollbars Khan’ sent him to Urumchi. And in the capital, Urumchi, it came about in an indirect manner that Ma-chung-ying’s desire to gain control of Sinkiang, which Kemal had originated and forwarded, became a part of the Soviet policy. Kemal, who had been attached to the German Army, who had studied at the Paris Academy, who had been staff officer to the Turkish Army in the world war, who had been right-hand man of the Little General, became, through ‘the kindness’ of the Soviets, commissar of the motor transport road, with the private commission that he was to betray the holders of the Chuguchak road to Urumchi and build it up for his employers. Can one doubt that the Ma-chung-ying attack on Sinkiang was furthered by the Soviets in order to give them an excuse for sending troops into the country and taking charge? Whether this was so or no, from this time on the greatest of Chinese provinces, Sinkiang, a country twice as big as Germany, became a province of Russia, completely in their hands. . . .”

The article goes on to speak of two other smaller influences at work—the Vatican and the Japanese, both of which are destined to lose all weight in the present turn of affairs. It concludes by saying that Russia will try and bring the Bolshevik system to Sinkiang direct, but, as she

is doing in Outer Mongolia, will take all the children wholesale and bring them up in Russian Communist schools, where, instead of the ethic of the Koran, they will be taught Marxism; they will then through their beliefs become estranged from their parents, who are firm Muslims, and who will either have to emigrate or to become one with the vast mass under Bolshevik rule and propaganda. All those who could do so have already fled through the deserts and wastes of the Black Gobi and the Kashun Gobi into Kansu. Great hordes of Kasaks have settled here from Outer Mongolia when the Bolsheviks came. So also Bolshevism is responsible for large migrations into the salt wastes of the Tsaidam and into the Kuenlun hills, where they must die off little by little after years of misery and want. It is to be remarked that these poor people prefer to die slowly under their own faith and under their own people than remain in Sinkiang under Bolshevik rule, where their whole well-being will have to depend on the whim and wishes of their Russian neighbours. . . .

It must be very bitter for those who have made the study and exploration of this great highway, the back door to Iran, to Afghanistan, to India, and China, their life's work to find it in the hands of an implacable ally (*Berichtedes Asiens Arbeitskreises*. Siebenberg-Verlag Vienna, Peking).

THE RT. HON. SIR MORTIMER DURAND, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I.

THE memory of Sir Mortimer Durand was honoured on August 26, when a Memorial Tablet, presented by his friends and relatives, was unveiled at Penmayne House, Rock, where Sir Mortimer lived from 1915 until his death in 1924.

“Sir Mortimer’s admiration for the beauty of Cornwall was profound. It had been so for many years and found expression in his first novel, *Helen Trevelyan*.

“Now he soon got to love it as a place of residence. He studied the sea-birds on the tidal waters of the Camel; he made friends among his Cornish neighbours; he mused and observed and thought and wrote the thoughts of a poetic philosopher throughout his closing years.

“It was a great privilege to know this many-sided man who had lived so active a life in India and in the courts and chancelleries of the world and was content with so quiet and serene a sunset.”

So wrote a friend in a West-Country paper. It was on a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Dana at Rock that Sir Mortimer resolved to live in the midst of the beauty which meant so much to him, and it was Mrs. Dana who unveiled the Memorial Tablet, while Mr. R. W. Dana gave a short address. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, Sir Mortimer’s biographer, paid a tribute to the work he did throughout his official career for his country.

SIR PERCY SYKES said: Sir Mortimer Durand, whose memory we celebrate to-day, came of fighting stock. His father, Major-General Sir Henry Durand, when a junior officer of the Bengal Engineers, won lasting fame during the first Afghan War by blowing up the Kabul Gate at Ghazni, which led to the capture of that important city. At this date—1839—the Victoria Cross had not been founded to reward such signal acts of valour, but in memory of the feat a Durand medal was instituted by his brother officers, which is still awarded to Indian officers of the Corps of Sappers and Miners.

Mortimer Durand somewhat naturally wished to enter the army, but, much to his regret, his father decided on the Indian Civil Service.



IN MEMORY OF THE RT HON
SIR MORTIMER DURAND
P.C. + G.C.M.G. + K.C.S.I. + K.C.I.E
HE SERVED AS FOREIGN SECRETARY
IN INDIA, AND NEGOTIATED THE
DURAND LINE WITH THE AMIR OF
AFGHANISTAN. HE ALSO SERVED AS
AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN AND THE USA
HE LIVED IN THIS HOUSE FROM
1915 TO 1924.

Posted to Bengal in 1873, he was appointed to the Political Department in the following year.

His first chance of distinction came when, upon the murder at Kabul of the British Envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, in 1879, Sir Frederick Roberts applied for him to be his Political Officer. In this capacity Durand, who saw some fighting, displayed remarkable acumen in dealing with the treacherous Amir, Yakub Khan, while the experience he gained of Afghanistan and the Afghans was invaluable.

In 1880, Abdur Rahman Khan was appointed Amir by the British. He was no easy man to deal with, and his relations with the Viceroy, Lord Lansdowne, were unsatisfactory, since he declined to discuss the questions of his northern frontier which marched with Russia, or those of the north-west frontier of India. He intensely disliked Lansdowne's proposal to send Roberts on a mission to Kabul, if only because he would have been escorted by a powerful British force, but he finally, in 1893, agreed to receive Durand, who came without an escort of any description. Abdur Rahman Khan, touched at the confidence shown in him, welcomed Durand to his capital.

The negotiations that followed were very difficult. At first the Amir was suspicious, but, as he himself put it, "confidence begets confidence," and finally not only was the most important international question of the frontier with Russia settled, but also the complicated problem of the north-west frontier of India. This boundary is known as the Durand Line to-day. By the successful issue of these negotiations Durand justly acquired fame and undoubtedly contributed to peace on these frontiers.

Transferred shortly afterwards to the Diplomatic Service, Durand held the posts of Minister at Tehran, of Ambassador at Madrid and at Washington, with special distinction at the first-named post.

Durand had a distinct strain of poetry in his nature, and wrote some stirring verses. He also wrote excellent English, his despatches being models alike in matter and style. He published two novels and two biographies. He strongly favoured the ideal of physical fitness. He played football at Simla, where he captained the team. He also presented a trophy which, known by his name, is annually competed for by army teams in India. He learned to play polo at Tehran in middle age, and also played at Madrid.

By his imposing appearance and somewhat formal manner, which was due to shyness, Durand at first inspired me with awe. But he was essentially kind-hearted, and his friendship, which was given to me,

was a gift that I was very proud of. To sum up, he was an intensely patriotic Englishman and a far-seeing statesman, courageous and sagacious. In his generation he was undoubtedly the outstanding figure of the Indian Civil Service, while his name will be honoured by generations to come as the great Boundary-Maker and Peace-Maker.

Sir Mortimer Durand was Chairman of the Society from 1914 to 1917 and took a deep interest in its welfare until his death.

REVIEWS

Imperial Defence—a Problem in Four Dimensions. By Major-General Henry Rowan-Robinson, C.B. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. 342. Frederick Muller. 10s. 6d.

To appreciate this remarkable book to the full, it must be realized that it was sent to press a few days after the Munich Agreement, and that much of the material was written in 1937 or even before. It will then be seen that the author has read the signs and portents of the times with a perspicuity that verges on intuitive genius.

The deductions he makes are logical and convincing, whilst the value of his recommendations for reforms and improvements may be gauged from the fact that the majority of them have already been adopted by the Government.

Indeed, it may be said that the rapidity with which the political situation has changed and developed in the last eight months, and the bewildering speed with which the rearmament of the British Empire is being effected, has deprived the book of some of the constructive value it otherwise would have. Such a criticism, however, would show that the real object of the book has not been correctly appreciated.

It is a study in strategy in four dimensions, and as is noted in the preface, "This book represents an attempt to point out the possibilities, the potency, and the pitfalls of the new conditions of warfare, and to indicate that though in seeking solutions to the new problems they create, we may have to base ourselves on fundamental and age-long principles, we must at the same time rid our minds of a variety of thickly encrusted conventional conceptions not only of strategy but even of life itself."

In one instance, however, it is open to question whether the author himself has followed this dictum. For, on page 16, we read, "Surprise . . . is the keenest weapon in the armoury of the Commander . . ." yet he does not develop this theory sufficiently to show that, in these days of aviation, wireless, secret service, etc., strategic surprise on a large scale is probably impossible, and that even tactical surprise with anything but very small forces is much more difficult to accomplish than it has ever been before.

The book is a mosaic of chapters which have been placed in logical sequence rather than the order in which they were written, which results in frequent and awkward references to later chapters.

Of special interest are the proposals for the organization of National Defence in peace and war, which is given on page 201, though it is curious that till page 264 no mention is made of the Home Office, which is so intimately connected with A.R.P. "Static Defence" and man-power.

The author's solution of the Palestine problem is noteworthy inasmuch as it closely resembles the plan adopted by His Majesty's Government; but it is apparent that he looks on the Arabs as a homogeneous nation, and has

not realized the fact that many of the tribes and States of which they are composed are bitterly hostile to their neighbours and to other religious factions.

He expresses his opinions in no uncertain terms on such controversial subjects as the relative value of the capital ship, the powers of the Minister of Defence, our policy with regard to the Covenant of the League, etc. It is doubtful whether he would still maintain his opinion that the Government did not realize the implication of a national war; but so much is certain, that anyone who wishes to do so should read and re-read this book.

C. A. B.

Some Influences that made the British Administrative System in India. By M. Ruthnaswamy. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. viii+660. London: Luzac and Co. 1939. 21s.

The author, in a modest and disarming preface, foresees some of the just criticisms of this book. The book is the child of a series of lectures delivered for the Sir William Meyer Endowment at Madras University; and it is obviously nourished on long and painstaking research into original authorities available in India.

The author observes that it is much easier to write a big than a small book. Possibly: but after all, the end of a book is to be read, not to be written.

The author hopes that "this effort will irritate others into more solid work in this fruitful field of Indian administrative history." The book may well stimulate interest, but Mr. Ruthnaswamy would have been kinder to his hoped-for successors had he provided a bibliography, or, better still, a reasoned critique of the sources he used in compiling his material. As it is, they may easily despair of competing with a work of so great erudition. There is no index and no table of contents.

The book is well got-up and printed, and it is unfortunate that there should be some evidence of inadequate proof-reading. A freer use of inverted commas, or indentation for the many interesting and lengthy quotations would have eased the reader's task. As it is, he often suddenly finds himself back with Mr. Ruthnaswamy when he imagined himself still in company with the original authority, and *vice versa*. In a review it is possible only to take a few of the salient points of the many embedded in the great wealth of historical illustration which forms the bulk of the book.

The first chapter, with the title of "The Commercial Origins," is an interesting discussion of the early policy of the Company. The author traces the origin of the "Investment" to the cessation, "for some reason or other," about 1765 of the practice of remitting bullion from Britain to India in payment for goods. Instead, he says, the Company invested its surplus revenues in goods to be shipped to England. "For some reason or other"—exactly—this is an opportunity missed. To refuse discussion of possible reasons is to follow Burke and his rhetorician successors into the Great Drain.

Of greater value are the discussions on "government by Boards" and "government by Record," and the author provides a balanced judgment on

these two institutions, each of which has, in its time, been much decried. The former, at least in its later shape, gave a reasonable guarantee, if not of rapid action, at least that the action taken would be well considered and the fruit of a policy and not of a whim. As for "government by Record," at least it allows the world to know what the Government has been up to!

In summing up the Company's work (pp. 116-121) he concludes that all things considered the Company's rule was creditable, "in spite of all its *lâches* and social indifference." And indeed, as regards the latter, with which Mr. Ruthnaswamy makes some play, it seems doubtful whether the Company's government was not as good as that of contemporary England. The author's own citations show that the Company and its servants were on the whole nearer in spirit to the Tories Wilberforce and Shaftesbury than to the Whiggery which was blind to the horrors which accompanied the Industrial Revolution in England.

The chapter on the Army contains a collation of much material on the rather unedifying squabbles between the civil power and individual commanders and a second on the many and valuable services of the many great men who were soldiers first and administrators later. Each could be worked up into a valuable monograph, but neither ultimately tells us much of the permanent influence of the Army as a corporate entity on the administration. More relevant are the sections dealing with the organization of army headquarters, finance and supply. These are short but to the point, and one would be glad of more. The chapter ends with a note on the baleful influence of the legacy of the Sepoy Mutiny, and a protest against the "punjabization" of the Army. This is compared to the divorce in the later Roman Empire between the citizen and the soldier, and a warning is given of the probable results of having an army not fully representative of India.

The vast chapter on Land Revenue provides material and documentation on a scale exceeding even that of the rest of the book, and is of undeniable interest. We may take, for instance, the study of the *sheristadars* in Madras and Bengal. They seem to have inherited the mantle of the Moghul *wazirs*. It is recorded that the Madras Government was of opinion that "one of the causes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was the ignorance of the Collector of the currents of popular opinion in Northern Indian Collectorates which had no *sheristadar*." There is a good deal else that is quaint, entertaining, and valuable, but the subject on the scale attempted requires a book to itself; too many facets are exhibited here for a comprehensive view to be possible, if indeed such a thing is possible at all in this subject.

Any attempt at the history of policy on the North-West Frontier is bound to reflect the changing circumstances which called forth from time to time variations and experiments, followed by successes and failures. Mr. Ruthnaswamy fully appreciates the situation, but, following the title of his book, is more concerned to examine the effects on the rest of India. He concludes that the frontier, by its demands on the attention of the Government of India and on the finances of the country, is, in some measure, responsible for the lack of internal progress. "From 1838 to 1897 progress and advance beyond the Indus have timed with the arrest of progress to the

east of it." On the other hand, he notes that the very prominence of frontier problems has served to develop the idea of the unity of India as a nation.

The two final chapters present us, first, with detailed accounts of almost every branch of the administration not already dealt with. The author holds that as a result of all the ebb and flow and trial and error which is the history of British administration a machine was evolved which worked, and, in spite of occasional seeming to the contrary, was tended by personnel elastic enough in mind to refuse worship to its creature. "Impersonal rule in the secretariat and personal rule in the district sums up the golden rule of Indian administration." He goes on to discuss what he calls the motive power of this machine. "The practical needs of administration," he says, "have bred the ideas that have served as motive power of administration in India." "Cut off by physical and intellectual distance from the main currents of European thought, with nose held to the grindstone of the most complicated and detailed administration in the world, called to the administration of an alien people, whose ideas and constitutional modes were not his own, it was no wonder that the English administrator in India has had to rely on Indian facts and circumstances to teach him the ideas that were necessary to supply the administrative machinery that he had set up in India" (p. 571). Looking at the muddles and contradictions of European political "thought," one can only say: "And a good thing too." But taking into account his recognition of these facts, is it right for him to say (p. 656) that it was only in 1885, with the inception of the Indian National Congress (and other things), that public opinion began to influence the course of administration? It is only a half-truth. The change was in the channels of public opinion and its direction. Public opinion was always there and always taken account of.

The Epilogue is a sympathetic epitaph for the British administration of India.

J. T.

After the Reforms : Communal Versus Democratic Psychology.

By R. S. Vaidyanatha Ayyar. Karur, South India. 1939. 12 annas.

The title of this little book does not adequately explain either its contents or its object. The writer reviews the Indian Reforms of 1935, with extensive quotations from the Report of the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, which helped to give legislative form to the present constitution. He finds democracy unsuitable to India with its different castes and communities. Indeed, he calls British democracy itself "a rare incongruent mixture of Imperialism, Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy, the wheels of which can work only under the conditions of red-tapism, circumlocution and procrastination." But he thinks that Provincial Autonomy has so far worked well in India, and he puts in a strong plea for the introduction and working of an All-India Federation, including the Indian States. He gives a fairly detailed analysis of the Federation scheme, and quotes largely from Lord Linlithgow's address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta in December, 1938. He considers Federation to be "inevitable,"

and warns his countrymen against the dangers of internal disintegration at a time when the whole world is suffering from insecurity and anarchy.

A. Y. A.

Health and Nutrition in India. By Professor N. Gangulee, C.I.E., Ph. D. With a foreword by Sir John Orr, K.B.E., F.R.S. $8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 5\frac{5}{8}''$. Pp. 337. Faber and Faber. 15s.

Better Villages. By F. L. Brayne, C.I.E., M.C., I.C.S. With a foreword by Major Sirdar the Hon. Sir Sikandar Hyat-Khan, K.B.E., K.B. (Second edition.) $7\frac{5}{8}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xvi + 296. Illustrations. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1939. 3s.

Up from Poverty. By Dr. D. Spencer Hatch, B.Sc., M.Sc., in Agr., Ph.D. With a foreword by the Right Hon. the Earl of Willington, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., G.C.M.G., G.B.E. (First published in 1932.) (Fourth edition, 1938.) $7\frac{3}{8}'' \times 5''$. Pp. xx + 208. Illustrated. Oxford University Press. 4s. 6d.

Professor Gangulee's book is new. The other two are only in new editions. All three are the outcome of a movement which is already world-wide, but yet, we may hope, only in its infancy. All three books, though not unbalanced nor sensational, contain much that is grim reading, yet are they all of good omen. They are of good omen because they show that at last mankind is beginning to realize—and books like those under review are helping us to realize—that health is the birthright of all living things, of humanity no less than plants and animals. Moreover, the wheel of life being all one, the pathway to the achievement of that state of well-being which is their birthright is one and the same for all. First the soil must be brought into right condition by careful attention and correct methods of agriculture. Then it will produce healthy crops and its yield will be increased. The animals which feed on those crops will also in turn become healthy—so much so that, as Sir Alfred Howard was able to prove by actual experience at Indore and elsewhere, they become practically immune against the attacks of disease. So also will the human beings who both directly, in so far as their diet is vegetarian, and indirectly, if they are meat eaters and consume the flesh of animals, derive their nourishment from the same source. For the great factor is nutrition, and amongst human beings, both in the East and the West, malnutrition is wellnigh universal.

This is not the place in which to show how disastrously the industrial revolution and the changes in food which have followed in its train have affected the health of the Western world. Our three books are concerned with India, and malnutrition in India is as yet only to a very limited extent the malnutrition due to the over-sophistication of diet and the replacement of natural foods by over-refined and processed articles. In India conditions are still for the most part primitive, and the malnutrition of India is mal-

nutrition in its simplest and starkest form. As Professor Gangulee puts it in his dedication, "For every three mouths there are only two rice bowls."

This is the theme developed in the first six chapters of Professor Gangulee's book. Chapter VII. is devoted to a survey of nutritional research and experience in other countries. Chapter VIII. contains suggestions based upon the knowledge thus made available for dealing with the problems arising from malnutrition in India. These suggestions in the main are prudent and practical, but one would like to see them put forward in a rather more hopeful spirit. After all, difficulties exist only to be overcome. Apart from this the book, as a whole, as might be expected from its author's record, is a temperate and impartial statement of the position. There are, of course, points over which one might join issue with Professor Gangulee—for example, the extent to which "foreign imperialism" is to blame for the present state of things in India. But considerations of space forbid any such attempts. We cannot do more here than remind Professor Gangulee that it is not very long ago since Sir Robert McCarrison conducted his researches into the nutritional condition of different races in India; and if his conclusions as regards Bengal and other rice-eating provinces did not greatly differ from Professor Gangulee's lugubrious findings, he was at the same time able to show that the diet of the Sikh peasantry of the Punjab and the Pathans of the N.W. Frontier and other virile races of adjoining regions was something approaching an optimum, as indeed anyone who has seen those peoples in their homes would very readily believe.

Mr. Brayne's book, like that of Dr. Spencer Hatch, and unlike Professor Gangulee's, is far from having any depressing effect. On the contrary, it is possible to derive from it a feeling which almost amounts to exhilaration, and the reason for this is not far to seek. Mr. Brayne and Dr. Hatch are obviously men of very different character and antecedents. Their method of approach is different, and the countries in which they laboured, at the opposite poles of the Indian continent, are as different as Moscow and Madrid. The similarity which their books show in spite of all these differences is a similarity of spirit. Both alike present a modest and manly account of things already done and results already achieved. Both alike contain much practical wisdom and breathe high hope and confidence that the much more which yet remains to do will also in time be done. Both alike are convinced that in the development of the spirit of co-operation, in teaching the people how to help themselves and one another lies the pathway to success. And if anyone doubts this, let him read Dr. Hatch's plain unvarnished tale of what has been and is now being done at the Martandam Rural Demonstration Centre.

EVELYN HOWELL.

The Industrial Worker in India. By B. Shiva Rao. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ".
Pp. 263. Allen and Unwin. 1939. 10s.

Before reading this book the enquiring reader would be well advised to scan the inside flap of the paper cover. If he is not already violently prejudiced in one direction or the other, he will be inspired both with

eagerness and caution : eagerness to approach the subject from what is very likely to him a fresh and authoritative viewpoint, and caution to correct the inevitable bias arising from that viewpoint. It will be well also to remember that certain words convey different meanings to different people. In England the phrase "industrial conditions" usually means the actual conditions of work. To the Indian reformers it means the "conditions of industrial life," including much that we are apt to include under the heading "Social Conditions."

The employer of industrial labour on a large scale in India is justly hurt, and thereby rendered the less willing to enter into a discussion of quite legitimate grievances if the terms "terrible" or "ghastly" are applied to industrial conditions in the narrower sense with reference to those under his immediate control, even when, as often, they include the housing and medical care of some or all of his employees. Used to include "social conditions" he will probably agree that the indictment is justified in many respects.

Again, in India "industry" includes both plantation and minery labour, and Mr. Rao attempts to treat them on the same lines as purely manufacturing industry. They are, however, so different in many respects that it is easier to deal with tea at least as a separate subject.

Another great cleavage in India is the difference between regulated and unregulated industry. The Government has often been blamed for not extending protection to the worker in the domestic workshop as we understand it. He certainly stands in need of it, but the difficulty of adequate inspection would be almost overwhelming; and except in so far as the public health authorities can reach him he is left to his fate.

Hence, although there were probably about thirty million Indian workers engaged in industry of one kind or another in 1936, the Factories Acts covered only between three and four million, of whom less than two million were employed in the 10,226 registered factories, of which more than 3,700 were seasonal, working only for part of the year. Textiles (cotton and jute) accounted for 727,000 of these workers, of whom only 234,000 were women and 12,000 children, a number that has probably decreased since.

If we include the 270,000 mine workers in British India and the workers on plantations, transport, etc., we still find that only seven or eight million come within the protective influence of any form of industrial legislation.

There have long been factories in India, and industry is far more ancient, but the development of large-scale manufacture during the last twenty years has been almost phenomenal, and this rapid increase emphasized existing dangers and brought to the fore the danger that the darker sides of industrial history would repeat themselves in India. However, not only our own country but the world in general has learnt to some purpose the sad story of the black age of industrial history in its pioneer stage in England, and though the seed of the same evils certainly existed in India they were early arrested.

There has been another curious parallel in the industrial histories of the

two countries. In England the devastation of the Black Death caused a shortage of labour in the Middle Ages that made possible an insistence on reforms as then understood and long overdue. India has had her visitations of plague and famine in the past, but a death-roll of at least twelve million from the influenza epidemic immediately after the war caused an acute shortage of labour and a consequent increase in bargaining power. Added to this is the Indian's almost unlimited power of passive resistance, which enables him to make his own conditions in many matters that he considers essential to his personal comfort to an extent not always realized in this country.

The historical chapters enable the reader to draw a not too discouraging contrast between 1906 and 1936, and if the writer repeats somewhat uncharitably the usual allegations of unworthy motives underlying desirable reforms, some of us are accustomed to feel that it is unnecessary to enquire too closely into motives if reform is accomplished.

Between 1906 and 1936 we have seen revolutionary changes in every quarter of the globe. India has seen unrest, an awakening of political consciousness, many commissions and many changes and yet—behind it all—lies something of the power of “the unchanging East.” Within the industrial sphere this arises largely from the fact that the great majority of India's millions still live in villages, to which, when they are driven into urban industry by the pressure of poverty and debt, most of them have a passionate desire to return. They bring to the cities their low standards of health and living. Aggregation enhances these and brings in its train fresh difficulties that they are only too apt to take back to their distant homes.

Some of these difficulties of the countryside are vividly portrayed by Mr. Rao. There is the problem of the pressure of the growing population on the limited fertility of the country and a consequent shortage of food supply. Irrigation schemes and improved agricultural education may effect some improvement, but, quoting from a recent survey, “even on the old standards adopted by the village doctors, it was established that only 39 per cent. of the people were well nourished, 41 per cent. poorly nourished and 20 per cent. very badly nourished.” Added to the curses of under-production and grinding poverty “the quantity of milk available is utterly inadequate,” “a large part of the population of India really lives on one meal a day,” and, in some districts, tradition and prejudice militate against such reforms as are immediately possible, a difficulty by no means unknown to social workers in our own country.

It is said that India possesses nearly one-third of the world's cattle population, but again the proportion of sub-standard cows is a real drain on the resources of the community, and one of the most valuable gifts that could be made, at any rate to a great part of India, would be the discovery of a cheap fuel that would restore cattle-dung as a cultivating agent to the soil.

It is not surprising that the Indian employer complains of inefficiency in his workers and that disease is widespread in a country whose climate demands many precautions if a fair standard of health is to be maintained.

“Almost every year since 1924 a conference of medical research workers . . . has pointed out that the number of deaths in the country from preventable diseases alone was five to six million.” According to another high authority, “at least a hundred million individuals suffer yearly from malaria in British India alone,” while the indirect morbidity caused by malaria may affect between twenty-five and seventy-five million additional cases, and “the amount of quinine available in India is far too inadequate” (the Government are at last endeavouring to extend cinchona cultivation). Another snare to health is the prevalence of hookworm, especially in the Madras Presidency, where the proportion of the population affected is as high as 90 per cent. in some districts. This disease also has the effect of lowering the moral as well as the physical standards, and one authority, “when in charge of one of the smallest jails in India, found . . . that habitual differences and village parasites could, by being tested for hookworm and by treatment in jail, be made into useful members of the community.” Again, “it is of interest to note that tea-garden experts estimate a 10, 25 or even 50 per cent. increase in labour efficiency under effective hookworm control.” Indeed, in the tea-gardens in Assam other valuable experiments in raising the health standard have been made, including caring for expectant and nursing mothers, feeding dependent children and the provision of medical and hospital services. As a result, it has been claimed that “smallpox had become almost unknown; malaria had been reduced by 50 per cent. . . . there was only one case of cholera during the year, although it was widespread in the district. Dysentery had been reduced by 40 per cent.; hookworm was rapidly disappearing.” So there can be hope!

Added to, or part of, the problems of poverty is the problem of debt and its entanglement with social questions and the widespread prevalence of jobbery and bribery, the last particularly oppressive as infiltrations of factory organization, in spite of every kind of effort to combat them on the part of the more enlightened employers.

Thus the debilitated and debt-burdened worker brings his troubles to the city. Overcrowding and new ways of life and the increased temptations to indulge in alcohol and drugs only augment them, and he risks taking back to his village the added terrors of tuberculosis or venereal disease. But he has probably heroically paid off much of the family indebtedness.

The excuse generally put forward for the low wages in the factories is that they are higher than can be earned outside. This does not make them adequate. In most industrial districts the housing conditions are so appalling as to beggar description. Even when an industry makes some provision, “such schemes are often initiated by higher officials who bring little imagination to bear upon the working out of details.” (After all, their business is not to be housing experts.) On the other hand, Mr. Rao does scant justice to the part that can be played and the experiments that have been made by enlightened welfare organizations and co-operative movements.

However, his whole experience leads him to rely on the Trade Union Movement, and his account of its history in India is enlightening in spite

of the usual dreary record of the hostility and fear of employers, injustices, strikes and the peculiar difficulties inherent in teaching an Eastern population the elements of trade unionism. The movement has suffered from the intrusion of politics and communistic propaganda, fraudulent organizers imposing on a credulous and illiterate population, the powers of the "foreman" and the lack of leaders among the workers themselves, necessitating their importation from outside. On the other hand, "there will be general agreement among those who have worked in the Indian Trade Union Movement that the workers' shrewdness and practical sense are much beyond what one would expect of men with little education." The present writer has often heard like tribute paid by employers to the reasonableness of the average worker.

Government provision for registration and audit does something to give the disinterested labour leader (and there are many) a fair chance. In addition, the chapter on legislation proves that British India does not stand back in relation to other manufacturing countries in this respect, despite the almost insuperable difficulty of introducing our Western systems of insurance. Low wages, bad housing and low efficiency due to bad health and illiteracy and the oppression of the moneylender and the jobber—these problems may make the boldest reformer quail, but "rural indebtedness is being tackled in every province. . . . Cottage industries are receiving special attention . . . the rights of tenants are being safeguarded in a variety of ways . . . a drive against illiteracy has commenced in several provinces," old misunderstandings between employers and labour leaders are being removed . . . what can India not achieve if she can achieve peace and toleration within her borders and the pooling of the resources and experience of East and West that is at her disposal?

Is it fair to have left tea to a postscript? The writer gives an account of measures that have been taken to regulate recruitment and contracts of service; we have quoted his appreciation of efforts to improve health and living conditions on the gardens, so we may accept his statement (and regret) that he knows little of conditions at first-hand and suggest that the Tea Planters Association should some day see their way to invite him to make a tour that will cause him to withdraw his reiteration of the terrible assertions made some years ago by one itinerant delegation that had likewise been denied the opportunity of first-hand investigation.

M. CÉCILE MATHESON.

The Restoration of the Peasantries. By G. T. Wrench.

Interesting conclusions, with which the reader may well agree (as does the present reviewer in this case), may be attractively drawn from evidence which is inadequate and unconvincing. Dr. Wrench selects his authorities, sometimes of indifferent weight, to support an argument which is valid, but which they do not suffice to prove. Very wide travel and first-hand experience of many countries would alone enable him to adduce the full evidence, and the further he goes from England, the less relevant are his instances and

the less critical the writers from whom he quotes. Dr. King's picture of Chinese agriculture in *Farmers of Forty Centuries* only applies to a small part of that vast country; Dr. Ping hua Li's account of the Tsing Tien system of land tenure is only true of a very limited period of Chinese history; Danish agriculture was not revolutionized by Danish farmers, but by urban leaders whose advice the farmers accepted; and the Indian village *panchayat* did not function in the ideal manner attributed to it, otherwise than at some times and in some places.

Nevertheless, Dr. Wrench is on the right side. Civilizations have perished through the indebtedness of their cultivators, the absenteeism and indifference of landlords, and the denudation or exhaustion of the soil. These evils in India and China were not prevented by wise government, but by misgovernment. Wars, famines, and disease kept down the population, swept away landlords and peasants, and gave the soil a rest. The increase of population and the commercialization of agriculture are now destroying the soil and subjecting to the power of the financier the peasantry, who could formerly escape from him by migration. Better government creates its own problems and must solve them. The fertility of the soil has to be restored and thereafter protected if modern nations are not to suffer from malnutrition and under-nutrition. Healthy and contented cultivators, owning the land or enjoying reasonable security of tenure, happy and self-governing villages, and a high rural pride must be recreated if any people is to be stable and contented.

Does Dr. Wrench indicate the solution of these two problems? In one case, yes; in the other, no. He is on safe ground in advocating afforestation, as in the United States, and the making of a humus compost, as in Indore and in certain regions of China and Japan. These are essential remedies for desiccation and exhaustion to which the world must increasingly resort if its massed population is to be fed. Drainage in the moister countries should be added as another remedy. (Possibly Dr. Wrench did refer to it, but, as his book contains no index, the reviewer cannot refresh his memory.) On the other hand, no *means* of restoring the peasantry is proposed, and the reader has to be satisfied with assurances that action is urgently necessary. True, but what action? Many governments are struggling with this question, and would welcome an answer. It is useless to talk of returning to the old village self-government. The old village and its institutions are no longer there, and the problems of to-day—health, education, technical agriculture—would lie outside their range. A new plan of rural self-government has to be invented which will revitalize the peasantry, and a new system of land tenure which will give the land to the peasant and will enable him to cultivate commercial as well as subsistence crops without falling into debt.

So few writers have the real rural point of view that Dr. Wrench's book deserves reading. He is fundamentally right, though his evidence is strangely collected, and he fails to be constructive in answering the second of his very important questions. If someone does not produce an answer which governments and the urban classes will accept, the world will be in a sad state a generation hence.

C. F. STRICKLAND.

Mœurs et Coutumes des Fellahs. By Henry Habib Ayrout, S.J. Preface by Professor André Allix of the University of Lyons. With diagrams and photographs. 9" x 5½". Pp. x+184. Collection d'Études, de Documents et de Temoignages pour servir à l'Histoire de Notre Temps. Paris: Payot, 106, Boulevard St. Germain. 1938.

The Reverend Father Henry Habib Ayrout has written his book, *Mœurs et Coutumes des Fellahs*, with a real feeling and sympathy for these "horny-handed sons of toil" who are the human instruments through whose efforts the Nile Valley is persuaded to render up her riches to the world. One sees at the outset of the book that here is a writer who holds near to his heart all peasants and tillers of the soil; in fact, he says on the first page, "La classe paysanne . . . justifie plus que d'autres, la dignité de la personne humaine." Yet he makes it quite clear that he is no sentimental admirer of the idealized rural. "'La geste auguste de semeur,'" he says, "nous a caché le semeur lui-même." He knows well how to face the reality of Egyptian peasant life, weighing their merits, seeing the latent possibilities in their characters, yet far from blind to their faults. His sympathy is the *αὐν-παθὼν*, the "feeling with," of the Greeks; so when he analyzes the causes of hardships, which seem to fall in so large a measure to the lot of the fellah, his analysis is not the bare telling of the statistician, but is the living account of one who feels as well as knows. To use the words of Mrs. Minniver of *The Times*, it seems as if the author has learnt "to feel with his brain and think with his heart," in addition to the more usual and converse functioning of these organs. The result is a book of most living erudition.

Professor André Allix of the University of Lyons has written a preface, which is in itself an interesting and reasoned treatise on the fellah from many angles, containing in its ten pages a vast amount of thought and substance. The book itself is divided into an introduction, ten chapters, and a conclusion. The first three chapters are about the status of the fellah and his setting, social, political and physical. The next seven are on his work, bodily condition, village, house and family, and traditions; the last two deal with his psychology and character, and discuss in what measure he has benefited by the change and evolution around him. The conclusion is called "La Misère du Fellah," and here the author stresses one of his main points, that of the two, physical or intellectual and moral misery, the latter is "infinitely more degrading . . . with that misery the fellah is abundantly endowed. His ignorance, unconsciousness, rudeness and servility under a developing élite are more tragic than his poverty." Such a statement by itself might seem exaggerated, but coming to it as the reader does, in the last pages of the book, he will almost certainly agree, for that is the conclusion towards which Father Ayrout has worked from the first chapter, with a reasoned insight based on an intimate knowledge of his subjects. The author is in a markedly advantageous position for making such a study, coming as he does from a well-known family of property owners, Syrian by race, but Egyptian by nationality. He must have been in contact with the Egyptian peasant from his youth up, and his calling presupposes a deep

caring for their well-being, which is indeed made abundantly clear in his book. Being himself of Egyptian nationality, he has more right than a foreigner to voice his opinion, which he does in no uncertain terms, on the rich land-owning class of Pashas and Beys and on the usual Government official of the provinces, *mudir* and *mamour*. "The big land-owner," the author says, "even if he is of fellah origin, is not interested in his 'ezba' except as a revenue producer. . . . He knows his worker only via the money remitted to him by his steward; their families he does not know at all. He takes no account of their manhood or their social needs. The big land-owner is westernized. He lives in Cairo or Alexandria and spends the summer in Europe. One knows there how he spends his money. The riches of Egypt. He wastes in one evening that which would keep his fellahs for a year, finding most natural their misery and his luxury. There is no touch between his men and himself . . . there exists no landed nobility in present-day Egypt, but only the aristocracy of money; and money prefers the town." This as a generalization is a very severe indictment, but none the less for many it is only too true. Mercifully, however, the other side of the picture does exist and is growing where real disinterested effort is made by the land-owners and their families in person to better the peasants' lot. One can instantly bring to mind the names of land-owners in the latter category. And is not the type of rich Egyptian which Father Ayrout describes in just as much need of patience, understanding, and, to use a modern term, moral and spiritual re-armament, as is the poor fellah for whom the author so strongly advocates such remedies?

Speaking of the Government attitude, he says: "Then the ministers who occupy themselves more with politics than governing, and travel more in Europe than in the provinces. As in all new countries, they change often, and their initiatives are neutralized by their successors. Meanwhile, the Government being very centralized, their signatures are required for details; much slowness can be explained by this. As they know things only by official reports, their decisions on that which concerns the fellah often lack adaptation or opportunity." Though that is far from being the whole case, yet it is unfortunately true to a great extent. But here again there is a brighter side to it, which is mentioned by Father Ayrout. For instance, the suppression in 1936 of the *ghafir* or watchman tax which the fellaheen had been obliged to pay. We also learn that on August 15, 1939, the tax of ten piastres per kantar of cotton has been removed. The Ministry of Public Health have 67 stationary or travelling dispensaries for treating bilharzia and ankylostomiasis. In 1936 there were 111 ophthalmic centres which treated 1,133,599 cases. Endless good is done by 10,000 midwives who have all done a course of at least three months in maternity work, and many of whom are very fine women. That is only mentioning a few of the Egyptian Government's actual achievements. It is indeed noteworthy that the newly formed Egyptian Cabinet contains a ministry of Social Services, and that it is under the able direction of Abdel Salaam Shasly Pasha, who has done such good social work as Governor of Cairo.

Two experiments which have also gone beyond the realm of project into

that of realization come from the Co-operative Movement and the Royal Agricultural Society; in each case they are largely due to the indefatigable efforts and sincerity of individuals, Fouad Abaza Pasha and Hussein Ferid Bey of the latter Society and Dr. Ibrahim Rashed Bey of the former, to mention three. The reviewer had the pleasure of hearing Dr. Ibrahim Rashed Bey lecture earlier this year on the effect of the Co-operative Movement activities on the fellaheen; it was most encouraging. The Royal Agricultural Society have built at great expense a model village, an extremely interesting experiment which the author describes in detail. It is surprising to read in connection with this that model villages of a sort were built as long ago as the time of Mohamed Ali. Constructed by the famous founder of the present Royal House, they were meant to "serve as examples to others. But the example of others has been too strong, and to-day these places can hardly be recognized from those built without plan." That is sad reading, and makes one wonder a little what will be the ultimate fate of the present model villages, of which there are now several, as the Government have built some, and, owing to the initiative of His late Majesty King Fouad, the Royal Domains possess specially constructed houses for their workmen. Father Ayroul suggests that a more practical way of beginning reforms would be to start a widespread system of comparatively pure drinking water for the villagers. It would cost so much less than the heavy expense of model villages and would benefit so infinitely more people. He admits himself, however, in another place, that the peasants would probably prefer the turgid liquid they now drink and would mess up the purer quality till it resembled it. This brings us back to his main point, which seems to the reviewer to be the most important contribution that the author makes—*i.e.*, that it is new men that are needed more than new schemes, and, incidentally, is this not the real answer to all the present world problems? To make a start in that direction with the fellaheen the need is for personal contact with them. "Private enterprise," writes the author, "and we speak from experience, less rich and more restrained because it works with the fellah, and not only for him, because it advises but does not force, promises but does not threaten, has known how to win his confidence, and in spite of inevitable vexations has obtained excellent results." He then goes on to suggest that those whose business takes them to the provinces should learn to get beyond the mere political or administrative contacts to meeting the peasant disinterestedly "*homme à homme*," "*seuls ces contacts élèvent*," he adds. And he advocates, too, that which seems even more important, and what might be called "*femme à femme*" contacts for the educated Egyptian women, telling of how it only needed a young girl of good family, spending her holidays in the country and caring for the people, to group around her every evening the peasant women and to tell them stories for their instruction and benefit. The reviewer could add to that most encouraging instances of a real interest and desire to help on the part of educated Egyptian women and girls. May they keep in mind Father Ayroul's advice, that what is needed "is much more an affair of understanding and personal service than of committees, speeches and decrees."

The influence of the English in past years is alluded to from time to time in this book; the work of Cromer and Kitchener is appreciated. However, there are two references to the English in which, whether intended or not, a criticism could be understood: firstly, "les Anglais qui ont tout développ  en Egypte sauf l'instruction," and, secondly, "les Anglais distants du Turf Club." Cases could be made for and against the veracity of these implications, but apart from whatever the author may mean, are there not some grains of truth therein?

There is one point on which the Reverend Father seems to be slightly unappreciative, and that is Miss Winifred Blackman's interesting and unique work chiefly on magic, superstition and their derivations, called *The Fellaheen of Upper Egypt*. When he mentions on page 122 the superstitions of fellaheen, he says, "Il y aurait tout un livre   écrire sur la sorcellerie au village et sa parent    travers l'Islam et le Christianisme, avec la magie de l'ancienne Egypte." Then further on, when he again alludes to superstition, all he has to say about this fine work on the subject is, "To describe the thousand forms M. (?!) Blackman consecrates the greater part of her book as if the whole life of the fellah takes place in this infra-rational zone."

For a book that largely consists in statements of fact as well as opinions *Les M urs et Coutumes des Fellahs* contains comparatively few inaccuracies; but there are some, mostly of minor importance. On page 136 one reads, "En Haute Egypte o  il ne pleut jamais." In January, 1938, rain fell on the head of the reviewer in Luxor; it also rained in Assouan during a remarkably cold winter a few years ago. Early in the book the author writes, "L'absence de l'houille dans le sous-sol Egyptien." He forgets Hurghada? Perhaps it is only fair to say that a few pages further on he writes, "  l'Est vers les c tes de la Mer Rouge il trouvera des exploitations de petrole," which changes the former statement from an inaccuracy to a contradiction. The second photograph on Plate I. is entitled "Le laboureur, la charrue, les gamousses squelettiques." "Squelettiques" they certainly are, but *gamousses* they are surely not. The animal in this picture is the working breed of Egyptian cow, which is of a different colour, contour and temperament from the *gamousse*, which is a buffalo. Lastly, reading on page 172 about the Agricultural Bank of Egypt, the average person might get rather a wrong impression of the facts. The Agricultural Bank of Egypt, he says, "avait le privil ge d' tre rembours e avant les imp ts." This was allowed and encouraged, but was never a legal privilege. He then says, "Too complicated formalities, agencies too far away for borrowers from the small villages, terms of payment too irrevocable and too public made preferable the services of the usurer, obliging and to hand." This was not exactly the case; that the organizations were well suited to the circumstances of the fellaheen was proved by their abundant use of the bank facilities—in fact, they were almost too anxious to avail themselves of such things as mortgages. The author continues by saying that the Agricultural Bank would have developed in spite of what he mentions as difficulties, "had not the application of the '5-feddan law,' removing all

guarantee from its advances, given it the fatal stroke." The 5-feddan law was certainly the "coup fatal," but did not come, as Father Ayrout leads one to suppose, after a series of other, though minor, setbacks—it was the only "coup."

To turn to the transliteration of Arabic words—always a debatable point—the author says at the top of his glossary that he has tried "to approach as far as possible to the fellah pronunciation," a good principle which he has carried out; but I put in a plea for consistency. In spite of T. E. Lawrence having provided a well-known precedent for such inconsistencies, most readers agree that it detracts from a book. Father Ayrout, writing in French, rightly uses "ch" for ش, and one accordingly reads "chetoui" "cheikh," etc. But why suddenly "shadouf"? Then he transliterates ك by "k" and ق by "q," as do most scholars, so the reader knows where he is with such words as "qadim" and "abriq," or "keif"; but an apparently meaningless exception is made for "arouset el kamh," which latter word begins with a ق. Then the word for "a cap" is written "taquia" in the glossary and "taqiah" in the text. One sentence reads thus: "Il prennet le 'trombile' (vieille Ford transformée en autobus)." With no further explanation than that, a reader not conversant with the modern Near East might well believe the word "trombile" to be Arabic, instead of an arabicized version of "automobile," which is the case! The author has perhaps wisely avoided the complicated Arabic plurals, even "fellaheen," the well-known plural of fellah, but has made an exception for *fellaha*, where he uses the far less commonly known plural "fellahtes." The printer has only gone astray twice. We read in one place of so many "trots" of milk, in which fancy word one recognizes the familiar Egyptian weight "rotl." Somewhere else a fellah has been decapitated, reducing him to an "ellah."

There are many points of specific interest on which Father Ayrout gives statistics and opinions, such as population figures, the prevalent and disastrous consumption of "black tea" by the Egyptian peasant, and his signs of a change of attitude towards military service. Here and there the author introduces short passages from fourteenth-century Arab historians such as Maqrisi and Ibn Khaldoun, which are amusing and instructive.

For a book that contains so much perhaps it is ungrateful to suggest additions, but would not a few translations of fellah songs have been well worth the while and space? The photographs are original and show a wide range of the fellah's life. There are also two diagrams of births and deaths and of infant mortality and a survey plan. The author has added a good bibliography, a glossary, and some interesting short footnotes. He also conscientiously mentions various sources of his information in the footnotes. An index would have added greatly to the value of the book as a work of reference. Far be it from an English reviewer to comment on the author's French, but suffice it to quote from Professor Allix's preface, that he is "parfaitement maître, en le verra, de notre langue qui lui est aussi maternelle que l'arabe." Readers will find for themselves many delightful sentences

such as this, describing a village market, "c'est un pullulement hétéroclite et bruyant, d'hommes, de bêtes et de choses."

One almost wishes, unreasonably, that it had been an English production, as it would then have had better paper and a more attractive cover, which seems the natural inheritance of English books, whether worthy of them or not. But it is an unreasonable wish, for being in French it is more likely to be read by those in whose power it lies to better the lot of the fellaheen. Would it be a good thing to produce it in Arabic too? If it would thus bear more fruit it would certainly be worth while. The author himself is probably the best judge of that.

In conclusion, this book deserves to be read as widely as possible, as it is a great championing of the cause of the fellah, who is worthy of it, and who, when all is said and done, possesses four great virtues—patience, a sense of humour, love of his village and children, and an unshakable faith in God.

M. E. ROWLATT.

Agrarian China. A Compilation. Selected Source Materials from Chinese Authors. Compiled and translated by the Research Staff of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations. Introduction by R. H. Tawney. A Report in the International Research Series. 9¼" × 6⅜". Pp. xviii + 258. Allen and Unwin. 1939. 10s. 6d.

It is generally believed that Chinese administrators are occupied in the practices of nepotism and graft, and that Chinese reformers are theorists who ignore the realities of their national life. This collection of articles, written within the last ten years by Chinese students of public affairs and edited by Professor Tawney for the Institute of Pacific Relations, tends to show that the former evil is still widely prevalent, that corruption and oppression are rife, and that the condition of the peasant population was, even before the Japanese war, becoming worse. In particular, the peasants were losing their land to merchants, moneylenders, and absentee landlords (the latter being closely identified with the official classes), and China was ceasing to be a country of small cultivating owners. The reformers, however, are no longer mere theorists, and are studying the facts. They are biased in the direction of pessimism by the iniquities and inequalities which their study reveals, and are on the whole not constructive. They point to the nepotism and graft, to the increase of usury and the dispossession of the smaller peasants, and are unable, not unnaturally, to propose a large remedy. It is fortunate that they refrain from seizing the first specific which is offered. Communism in China was not a faith, but a desire to escape from usury and oppression and to obtain more land; and since Chinese men of education have now realized this fact, they will not pursue a will-o'-the-wisp which has once led them into sad trouble.

The time for constructive proposals will arrive in the end, but the situation will, thanks to the Japanese war, undoubtedly be then even more distressing than it now is, and patient suffering will be needed before the peasant enjoys a better life. These articles dwell on his helplessness in face

of the official, the merchant, and the landlord (all three of whom are moneylenders), and make plain to the reader (though, being objective and non-constructive, they do not state) that a radical reform of land-tenure and of agricultural credit, which are indispensable, can only be carried out when China has an honest and efficient civil service. As Professor Tawney in his introductory chapter warns us, she will not receive this priceless gift from the Japanese, who do not possess it in Japan or in their overseas territories. China must make her own civil service and then reform her land system. Until these tasks are completed, the improvement of agriculture or handicrafts by technical methods is almost a waste of time. They will not be completed in one generation.

C. F. S.

The Mystical Philosophy of Muhyi'd-din Ibnu'l-'Arabi. By A. E. Affifi. Pp. xx + 213. Cambridge: University Press. 12s. 6d.

This is the most illuminating study that has yet appeared of Ibnu'l-'Arabi of Murcia (A.D. 1164-1240), whose imposing personality, colossal imagination, and subtle speculative genius—to say nothing of the vast extent and influence of his writings—make him the outstanding figure among all Arabic-speaking mystics. It may seem strange that hitherto there has been no comprehensive and critical survey, such as is given by Dr. Affifi, of a pantheistic system which has dominated Islamic religious philosophy since the middle of the thirteenth century. Western scholars, especially Asin Palacios and Nyberg, have studied it and thrown light on certain features without attempting to formulate it as a whole. That, however, is difficult, because Ibnu'l-'Arabi himself was incapable of doing it. Only when the relevant materials scattered here and there through his multitude of volumes have been collected and put in order is it possible to fit them into the universal and more or less harmonious scheme which its author undoubtedly envisaged. And even then one has still to face the obscurities, not altogether uncalculated, of a highly technical, ambiguous, and fantastic style.

Dr. Affifi, an alumnus of Cambridge, where besides lecturing in Arabic he graduated in Moral Science, and now Lecturer in Philosophy at Cairo, is well qualified for the task. Naturally his main sources are the *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* and the *Fuṣūṣu'l-Ḥikam*; but the bibliography (p. 195) includes twenty minor works of Ibnu'l-'Arabi, not counting the *Insān al-Kāmil*, a famous work of Jili, which should be transferred to p. 197. These first-hand materials, though far from exhaustive, are amply sufficient as the basis for a summary that aims at giving “the bare outline of a picture of Ibnu'l-'Arabi's mind.” Of course “mind-reading” can never be simple when the subject is an Oriental theosophist of the type depicted here. We often have occasion to recall what Rumi says: “The number of locks upon a treasure are the proof of its value: the long windings of the way, the mountain passes, and the brigands announce the greatness of the traveller's goal.” Dr. Affifi is an expert guide and his work enables us to

take a bird's-eye view at every stage in the route he has mapped out. While some chapters, in particular those dealing with Ibnu'l-'Arabi's ontology, terminology, and dialectical method, are stiff reading and perhaps need a specialist to appreciate their full significance, the questions discussed in this book concern all students of mysticism and philosophy. It abounds in passages which illustrate, for instance, Plotinus, Philo, Eckhart, Spinoza, and Hegel.

Ibnu'l-'Arabi is an absolute monist. He finds the ultimate ground of everything that exists in One Reality, which is identified with God and regarded alternatively as the Essence of phenomena or as the phenomena manifesting that Essence. These two aspects of Reality are logically distinguishable, like water and ice, but merely serve to express our subjective idea of the relation between the One and the Many without affecting the indivisible unity of the Reality itself. It is obvious on the one hand that such a theory does away with the notion of an ethical and personal God who created the world in Time *ex nihilo*, and on the other that Moslem pantheists are bound to "Islamize" their universal religion in order to make it presentable. This aim, however ingeniously disguised, pervades every part of Ibnu'l-'Arabi's system. According to him, "Creation," an eternal process not to be confused with Neoplatonic emanation, involves the appearance of Reality under the aspect of consciousness or, what is the same thing, the self-revelation of God as the immanent rational principle of the cosmos; and the object of creation is realized in the fullest manifestation of that principle, the Perfect Man, through whom God becomes completely known to Himself. Here the Logos, as it may be termed, enters into Islam; for Ibnu'l-'Arabi identifies it with the pre-existent Idea or Spirit of Mohammed whence all Perfect Men—*i.e.*, prophets and Moslem saints—derive their inspiration. As Dr. Affifi has remarked, the conception of the Perfect Man as the Mediator between God and the world shows interesting affinities, due to its partly Hellenistic origin, with the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Ibnu'l-'Arabi goes so far as to say in a mystical ode, "My Beloved is three, although He is One." But in his trinity there are no persons, only relative aspects of the Essence; and in other ways, too, his doctrine appears fundamentally divergent. The whole chapter on the Mohammedan Logos (pp. 66-101) is excellent for its acute analysis of ideas which lie at the centre of Sufi pantheism and give substance and meaning to the many-coloured picture drawn by Persian mystical poets. The following chapters explain precisely how Ibnu'l-'Arabi's metaphysical principles work themselves out in his epistemology, psychology, mysticism, ethics, æsthetics, and attitude towards positive religion. It is impossible to review these developments in detail, but a few illustrative extracts may be quoted.

"Now, perhaps, we are in a position to understand what Ibnu'l-'Arabi means by mystical union with God. . . . To start with, the term 'union' must always be taken, on his view, in a metaphorical sense. How can there be a *real* union in a mystical experience when all particular souls are already united with the Universal Soul, which in his view is God Himself? The so-called 'union,' therefore, is but a state of 'waking up' for the particular

soul and the realization of the already existing union between itself and All-Soul. According to Ibnu'l-'Arabi the final achievement of the mystic and the ultimate goal of his endeavours is not *to become* one with God, for he already is, but *to realize* the meaning of such oneness."

"We are born into the world with predetermined beliefs which, like everything else in Ibnu'l-'Arabi's universe, obey their necessary and unchangeable laws. Beliefs are eternal potentialities and become actualities in this world. They are determined by, and vary according to, the nature (*isti'dād*: capacity) of the individuals, which itself is fixed and predetermined. The monotheist and the pantheist, the gnostic and the agnostic, the theist and the atheist, are so from eternity, and their beliefs are determined by *their own nature*. . . . The part that God plays in the matter is that of an Omniscient Being who *knows* from eternity what every individual belief is going to be, but even His Knowledge is determined by the nature of the beliefs and that of the people to whom they belong. . . . Such is the religion of Ibnu'l-'Arabi. Rigid and static as it seems, it contains some of the noblest ideas a philosophy of religion can offer us. Its universality alone is commendable. Its ultimate goal is the deification of Man through realizing the best that is in him and through comprehending his essential unity with the One Reality which is the All. Its ethical end is no less important. It is the full recognition of the Principle of Love—for God is Love—which pervades and unites the Whole."

"The One whence all come is the One to whom they will all return. But on their return they will experience various degrees of happiness (intellectual happiness) in a measure proportionate to their knowledge of His nature and their relation to Him. Ibnu'l-'Arabi emphasizes the importance of 'gnosis' to such an extent that he makes it the sole distinction between the people of Heaven and those of Hell. . . . When we return to the One we shall realize the truth or falsity of our beliefs, and our position relative to Him will be determined entirely by the nature of such beliefs. The Gnostics alone will be in immediate contact with Him, and this will constitute the highest and most intellectual happiness in Heaven. In Hell there will be the 'torture of the veil' and the 'torture of ignorance,' which are negative and will only last until the true knowledge is revealed. Then, and only then, will the universal Mercy of God embrace and reign over all."

The Appendix on Ibnu'l-'Arabi's sources provides new and valuable material for further investigation of many problems that are never likely to be solved completely. Dr. Affifi holds, justly in my opinion, that notwithstanding the mass of foreign ingredients which it has absorbed, the system, when reduced to its first principles, is "a natural outcome of typically Islamic thought"—the doctrine of monotheism (*tauhīd*) and the Ash'arite theory of one substance with an infinity of attributes—and he criticizes rather trenchantly the view that its ideas were borrowed from the pseudo-Empedoclean philosophy attributed by some Moslem writers to a much earlier Spanish Sufi, Ibn Masarra, and his school. It only remains to congratulate the author on a work which will long be indispensable to anyone seriously interested in the subject.

R. A. NICHOLSON.

Studies in Oriental Musical Instruments. By Henry George Farmer, Ph.D. Pp. 98, with four plates. Glasgow : Civic Press. 7s. 6d.

This second series of Studies in Asiatic Instruments raises questions of marked importance for those who are interested in a subject which Dr. Farmer has made peculiarly his own.

Four of the seven papers deal with the mediæval tuning and technique of the Arabian and Persian lute, with a short notice of its Moorish relative. Another paper discusses at length the musical instruments in use by the Arabs of Spain at the opening of the fourteenth century. It is fortunate that we possess in the sumptuous Codex of the *Cantigas de S. Maria* (late thirteenth century) numerous and excellent illustrations of these various instruments; many of them will be found in Riano's *Early Spanish Music* (1887) and Dr. Farmer enables us to recognize their names and purpose.

Two of the papers, however, are of special interest to this Society, as is shown by their titles—"Reciprocal Influences in Music 'twixt the Far and Middle East" and "Instruments of Music on the Taq-i Bustan Bas-Reliefs." It is with these I wish to deal more particularly in this short notice.

That cultural contact was established between the Asiatic peoples in primitive times is well established. In my recent work on *The Music of the Sumerians* I traced an early mark of its development; and, although many would perhaps hesitate to endorse to the full the close relationship outlined by Ball in his *Chinese and Sumerian* (1913), it is increasingly evident that somewhere and at some time the Sumerians (and probably the people of the Indus Valley civilization also) were in touch with the progenitors of the Turki and Tungus races. Dr. Farmer, however, lays especial emphasis on Persian influence; this certainly existed, but it was comparatively late, becoming closer in the sixth century of our era with respect to China and increasing in intensity during the thirteenth century with the Mughal occupation of that land, introducing not only foreign methods but foreign names of musical instruments.

I think, nevertheless, that the writer has somewhat lost sight of another source of contact which must have had an even earlier effect on Eastern Asiatic culture.

To take the present subject of Music : he considers that the Chinese lute, known as the *phi-pha*, was introduced through West Turkestan, being identical with the Persian *barbat*. But the instrument appears fully developed in the opening centuries of our era on Buddhist sculpture, as at Amaravati, and in other remains of Buddhist art in India. It seems more probable that this peculiar form of lute, which appears to have been evolved from the primitive winnowing shovel rather than from the hunting-bow like the *tanbur*, came eastward from Northern India through Buddhist influence. As early as the third century B.C. China was in touch with it, and in the first century A.D. it became officially recognized as a State religion. At the dissolution of the Buddhist monasteries of China in the ninth century, 260,000 monks and nuns were ejected; so it is possible to realize not only the power of this Indian creed in Eastern Asia but also the early date of its introduction. To this same source I would also attribute

the use of the cross-blown flute (*ti-tzu*), which is acknowledged to have been of foreign introduction and is well illustrated on the Buddhist topes of India. It must not be confused with the ancient Chinese *ti* held vertically, nor is it akin to their ancient *ch'ih* which, though held cross-wise, was of the resonator type, with both ends closed and with three finger-holes on either side of a central mouth-hole.

On the other hand, as Dr. Farmer well points out, there was a reciprocal influence from east to west. The curious little mouth-organ (*sheng*), which with its free-beating reeds is characteristic of Eastern Asia, greets us in the Persian bas-reliefs at Taq-i Bustan and in Sasanian work of the early seventh century; whilst the psaltery form of instrument, so typical of China, appears to have provided a representative in Western Asia about the eleventh century, the *sanj al-sini*, the strings of which were struck with light rods like the dulcimer.

The question, however, of the mechanism of cultural diffusion throughout the Orient is still fraught with many unsolved problems, notwithstanding the magnificent discoveries already made in its once-populated but now deserted tracts, and we can but await with eager anticipation yet further explorations which will at last reveal the inmost secrets of the Middle East.

FRANCIS W. GALPIN.

A Political History of Parthia. By Neilson C. Debevoise. University of Chicago Press. 1937.

It is a curious fact that since Professor Rawlinson published his admirable work on Parthia in 1873 no writer has taken advantage of the new material which has appeared. Accordingly, we warmly welcome the book under review.

Parthia, situated to the east of Hyrcania (which is now the province of Astrabad), and also occupying an extensive area to the south of the Elburz Mountains, is a part of Persia familiar to me. From the historical point of view, in early days it was a province of no especial importance. There is also still some doubt as to whether its inhabitants were an Aryan or a Mongol race, but possibly, as they were partly agriculturalists, they were a mixed race.

Parthia appears early on the stage of history. It was conquered by Cyrus the Great and was governed by Hystasper, the father of Darius I. Parthava is mentioned in the Behistun inscription.

The Parthians fought against Alexander the Great at the battle of Arbela and formed part of his empire, and then became a tributary State under his successors, the Seleucid dynasty.

About 247 B.C. two brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, led a revolt against the satrap of the Seleucid Antiochus II. Arsaces quickly disappeared from the scene, having, in all probability, been killed in battle, but, under Tiridates, neighbouring Hyrcania was conquered.

For some time the Seleucid dynasty was too strong to permit further expansion, but gradually the Parthians extended their conquests westwards. The rise of the Bactrian kingdom under Euthydemus checked their expansion

eastwards, but finally we find Parthia as the champion of the East facing Rome.

In 53 B.C., Crassus invaded Parthia. Instead of clinging to the hills, he unwisely marched across the open plains of Mesopotamia, where the mounted archers of the Parthians, supported by their heavily armed cavalry, overwhelmed the Roman legions, who were no match on such an unsuitable terrain for their opponents. No wonder Horace wrote :

“The soldier fears the arrows and the swift flight of the Parthian.”

Roman armies under Antony, Trajan, and other leaders invaded Parthia, but finally had to retreat without achieving permanent results.

To turn to the Parthian Government, Gibbon aptly writes: “The Parthian empire exhibited, under other names, a lively image of the feudal system, which has since prevailed in Europe.” They were certainly a virile nation, and in their last battle with a Roman army, fought in 217, the Parthians won. Not long afterwards they were overthrown by the founder of the Sasanian dynasty.

Thanks to Dr. Tarn's recent work on *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, we learn much that is valuable and new about the neighbours of Parthia on her eastern boundaries, and the publication of *Parthia*, which admirably treats with that country, provides not only an interesting story, but is of considerable permanent value, especially to members of the Royal Central Asian Society.

P. M. SYKES.

Famous Cities of Iran. By Dr. Laurence Lockhart, Ph.D. Reprinted from *Naft* magazine.

Everyone who loves Iran must be grateful to Dr. Lockhart for publishing this series of essays. Each city has a chapter and each chapter stands by itself: a short complete history of the city. This is particularly valuable in a country like Iran where fable and history seem to live side by side on a footing of bewildering equality with the present: which is as though the past had never died, and twenty-five or thirty centuries were for ever crowding round you like a tangled wood of saplings and ancient oaks. Traces of development and civilization remain from every age, but so obliterated and smudged by devastation that it might take a traveller years to discover how they fitted into the pattern of Iran's history.

Dr. Lockhart has sorted out this maize, leading us gently from the fabulous foundations of each city to the days of its greatness, never leaving us to lose ourselves, no matter how intricate the vicissitudes. The waves of conquest which have swept over Iran fall neatly into place in relation to each city in turn with the part it played. He tells of the great men of each city, its poets, its painters and the industries which have made it famous. But, most important of all, he quotes from the travellers who have visited Iran from the seventh century onwards, thus providing us with the essential clues in the game of discovering the true history of what we are seeing. For it is astonishingly difficult to find out which travellers wrote about

which cities, of the hundreds of Arab and European writers who have been to Iran.

At the end of each chapter there is a list of important buildings in each city with their date. This is extremely useful, even now that the Iranian Education Departments so willingly supply guides. For the buildings which are most interesting to us are not necessarily those of which the Iranians are most proud.

But Dr. Lockhart limits himself to this very brief summary of the buildings of each city and makes no attempt at describing the modern atmosphere or character of the towns, which is a pity. Such a skeleton brevity must appeal more to people who have some chance of visiting Iran than to those who would like to visualize what they cannot see. And even those who reach Iran cannot hope to visit more than a few of its scattered cities. If he had been able to give a slightly fuller picture, they might have filled in the details from their knowledge of other towns.

This, however, is not a criticism of what Dr. Lockhart has already given us. It is a request for more.

And sometimes he leaves out references to famous writers. No doubt this is intentional, but it seems a pity that he does not quote at all from the lively Antony Shirley's remarks in *The Three Brothers*. Life in Iran at Shah Abbas's side was full of incident.

In his chapter on Bandar Abbas, Dr. Lockhart does not seem to have referred to Captain C. R. Boxer's illuminating essay on Anglo-Portuguese Rivalry in the Persian Gulf, included in Professor Prestage's *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*. For Dr. Lockhart explains Shah Abbas's determination to recover Gombroon and Hormuz on grounds of nationalism. "To such a ruler it was galling in the extreme to see the Portuguese in possession of the islands of Bahrain, Qishm and Hormuz, as well as of the strip of coast on the mainland opposite the last-mentioned island." But it was not primarily this which made him welcome the English.

A far more vital reason was that Portuguese possession of Hormuz affected the sending of Iranian silk to Europe (largely a royal monopoly). For Iran was at war with the Turks and the silk could not be sent overland through Turkey, while the alternative route was the sea route controlled by the Portuguese from their base at Hormuz. Shah Abbas's attitude to the Portuguese therefore depended at first on the degree of his success against the Turks. He could not break with them, though he might occupy Bahrein, Gombroon and Qishm. On the contrary, in fact, he sent ambassadors to Madrid with such temptingly friendly proposals that in 1614 Don Garcia de Silva was sent to the Court of Shah Abbas. But before he could reach Isfahan the English had made their appearance in the Gulf in 1616. This tipped the scale against the Portuguese. For Abbas was now able to send his silk "through other hands than those of his actual or potential enemies."

This was the reason why the English were welcomed by Abbas and why they were ever in a position to help him in the recapture of Hormuz.

A. S.

History of Gujarat, 1297-1573. By M. S. Commissariat. Longmans.

42s.

This scholarly and authoritative history supplies a real want. With the exception of the excellent, but now outdated, summary in the Bombay District Gazetteer, there has been no satisfactory account in English of the story of Gujarat and Kathiawar. The early period of their Hindu rulers has been to some extent recorded by Mr. A. K. Forbes of the Bombay Civil Service some eighty years ago in the *Ras Mala*, a book which will always be a classic in Indian literature. Professor Commissariat continues the story for the Muslim period, not with Forbes' charm of writing, but with far greater attention to detail, and with a knowledge of a wealth of authorities, in European and Asiatic languages. The period is indeed comparatively rich in Muslim historians, but has never before been adequately dealt with in any work written in English. The story was well worth telling. Not only did the Province contain the richest part of India. Its ports supplied the easiest approach to that region for the trade of countries lying to the west, and had done so since the time of the earliest Egyptian, Jewish and Greek merchants. The first contact of the Portuguese after the discovery of the all-sea route had been in the South, too distant to affect immediately the great kingdoms of Hindustan. Very soon, however, the Portuguese appreciated the importance of controlling the Gujarat trade, and some of the most interesting passages of this book relate their struggles with the Gujarat kings, and especially the sieges and battles round Diu, that little island off the coast of Kathiawar, where the Portuguese flag still flies over the walls that beat off the Gujarat forces, even when they were supported by the Turkish fleets. The Portuguese opened the way for the more powerful English and Dutch traders, and thus Gujarat became the key by which the door of India was ultimately unlocked. Long before that date Gujarat had been of importance to the whole of Muslim India as containing the ports which were regarded as the Gateways of Mecca.

After a masterly summary of the early history of the Province, from the times of the Persian Satraps, the Mauryan sway of the great Asoka, the Indo-Greek and Scythian rulers, and the Rajput dynasties, Professor Commissariat comes to the Muslim conquest which begins his main theme. In many respects the story resembles that of Muslim kingdoms in other parts of India. Weakness at the centre in Delhi leading to viceregal heads of Provinces declaring independence, a succession of strong rulers, a gradual increase in the power of the nobles, a constant rivalry between the native-born nobility and the stream of foreigners, who were especially prominent in Gujarat, as they came not only from the North by land, but by sea from Persia, Turkey or Abyssinia. Such internal conflicts led to a succession of puppet kings, and none of the later Kings of Gujarat escaped a violent death, generally an early one. The inevitable end of such kingdoms was conquest by a rehabilitated central power. There were the usual suicidal contests with the neighbouring Muslim kingdoms which makes one wonder whether disunion among Indian Muslims is not an ineradicable defect, as it is certainly a fatal one when they have to face a Hindu majority. There was

also the usual failure to conciliate the Hindu portion of the population, and the spasmodic bigotry, which makes one realize the greatness of the Emperor Akbar who, almost alone among Indian rulers, sought to utilize all classes of his subjects. Those who assert that communal feeling in India dates from the time, if not from the policy, of the British Government, should study the history of Indian kingdoms.

The story of Gujarat has, however, more interest than that of other Muslim kingdoms because of the personality of its early rulers: the founder of the dynasty, Muzaffar Shah, his grandson Ahmad who founded Ahmadabad, and the great Mahmud Begada. We are particularly glad that Professor Commissariat establishes the correct spelling and the derivation of the last's nickname. It came from the size of his moustaches which reminded his people of the wide-spreading horns of the Gujarat oxen. It is he, of course, who is enshrined in English literature in the lines—

“The Prince of Cambay's daily food
Is asp and basilisk and toad.”

A truer title to commemoration may perhaps be found in his love of tree planting, and the care he took of his soldiers and their families. Professor Commissariat gives a clear account of the unfortunate Bahadur Shah who was killed in a scuffle, partly accidental, but probably according to plan, with the Portuguese when he was their guest.

The author devotes much space to the architectural remains of the reigns of the various rulers, and rightly so, because these buildings are to a large extent the best evidence of the power and culture of their authors, and because the beautiful Indo-Saracenic style of architecture is perhaps the highest claim of the Province to pre-eminence among the territorial divisions of India. Many readers will be pleasurably reminded by the numerous plates in the volume of the delicate stone tracery of the Ahmadabad buildings.

The inclusion of chapters on the caves of Elephanta and on the architectural remains of Bassein is perhaps less capable of obvious justification, since neither of them is in Gujarat, nor had much connection with the Gujarat kings, though included in the extreme limits of their dominion. But Professor Commissariat is always interesting even when he is discursive.

It is perhaps scarcely justifiable to suggest that the zeal of the first Gujarat king, Muzaffar Shah, against the Hindu religion, was due to his being a proselyte. If he was not born a Moslem, he could only have been an infant when his Rajput father adopted that religion. The Zamorin of Calicut is wrongly described as being a Muslim ruler, and the town of Dhrol is not in, though it is near, the Nawanagar State. But these are the only slips we can find in a great mass of facts.

It is good news that Professor Commissariat has ready the manuscript of a continuation of his history at least to the end of Aurangzeb's reign. It is to be hoped that he will receive encouragement to publish his second volume as soon as possible, and that he will proceed to write another to bring his history to the date of the inclusion of Ahmadabad in British India. The

latter period will involve much research among unpublished material, but such research can be made more competently by Professor Commissariat than by anyone else.

P. R. C.

The Early Empires of Central Asia. A Study of the Scythians and the Huns, and the part they played in World History, with special reference to Chinese sources. By William Montgomery McGovern. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Pp. xvi + 530. University of North Carolina Press. \$4.

In this stout and closely printed volume Dr. McGovern has brought together all that he has been able to find in Oriental and Western literature regarding the peoples of Central Asia, notably the Scythians and the Huns, down to the sixth century of our era.

By Central Asia is here meant that vast expanse of steppe-land extending from Manchuria to the Volga, including Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan, and Southern Russia. It was the habitat of such early peoples as the Cimmerians, the Scythians, and the Sarmathians, and possibly contains the original home of the Aryans.

The information compressed into this volume is encyclopædic, and on most topics, whether historical, geographical, or ethnographical, the curious will find a digest of modern investigation including the most recent discoveries and theories.

Some of these topics are familiar enough to readers of this *Journal*, such as the building of the Great Wall, the invasion of Europe by Attila, the conflicts of the Sasanians with the Roman Empire, and so forth, but many of them are only familiar to close students of Chinese history. Dr. McGovern, as a good Chinese scholar, handles this subject with confidence.

In the space of a short review it is impossible to discuss more than one or two topics, by way of illustration.

Let us take for example such subjects as the domestication of the horse, and the influence of equitation on the costume of China and of Iran. Both these are exhaustively dealt with by our author. The riding of horses seems to have been first practised by the Scythians, but even in Central Asia riding was preceded by the use of horses to drag waggons and chariots. The wheel was probably invented in Mesopotamia, but the wheeled carts were drawn by cattle, and these were probably introduced into Central Asia before the horse had been domesticated. There was not much temptation to ride cattle, but when the horse had been used for traction for some time the Scythians conceived the notion of mounting the animal they had only been accustomed to driving. Riding led to two important developments: one in the trappings for horses and the other in the clothes men wore. The antiquity of the stirrup is still an unsolved problem. It is interesting to realize that it was unknown either to the Greeks or the Romans; it was the Arabs who introduced it in the West in the sixth century. It was the riding of horses that brought about the invention of trousers and top boots; which spread first to China and afterwards to the Celts of Central Europe. Dr. McGovern in this connection makes the fol-

lowing observation: "In view of this ancient association of the Celts with trousers, it is very interesting that it is chiefly among the Celtic-speaking persons of the British Isles that we find men who wear skirts. In view of this geographic distribution of costume among the early Celts, there can be no doubt but that the Continental Celts adopted trousers only after and because of their long contact with the Scythians."

Dr. McGovern has reserved his notes for the end, and following these are supplementary notes, in which many interesting topics, still the subject of controversy, are discussed, such as the time and place of Zoroaster, the Tokhari, and the date of Kanishka. There is an excellent bibliography; but the index is not quite worthy of the book. There are some good sketch-maps and a few useful illustrations. His transcription of Chinese names is that of Karlgren, with certain modifications. Although the Wade system is open to much criticism, it is too late in the day to set it aside in scientific works, as the introduction of new systems can only lead to confusion in the minds of readers who do not know Chinese.

Dr. McGovern is to be warmly congratulated on having carried to a successful issue his ambitious scheme, which has occupied him for many years.

E. DENISON ROSS.

A Scientist in Tartary: from the Hoang-Ho to the Indus. By Wilhelm Filchner. Translated by E. O. Lorimer. Pp. 391. Map and illustrations. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 24, Russell Square. 1939. 21s.

This is an account of a journey begun in 1936 at Lanchow in the Chinese province of Kansu, through Tsaidam to Khotan in Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang, and thence over the Sanju Pass to Leh, Srinagar, and reaching India in 1937. The author is Dr. Wilhelm Filchner, a German scientist who has already a record of travel in Central Asia. Dr. Filchner is an enthusiastic Nazi, and manifestly an influential one, as witness his successful appeal to Herr Hitler on behalf of the German Catholic Mission at Lanchow (page 75), and the extremely warm welcome and reward he received on arrival in Kashmir, both admirably earned. The science of Dr. Filchner is geomagnetism, and it was his object to complete the many blank spaces in the geomagnetic map of the world that he made the journey which is described in the book.

This work falls into two clearly defined parts: the Mongolian part from Sining to the Sinkiang or Turki frontier, and from there to the Indian frontier. Incidentally the author mentions that the change in the Sining-Turkestan frontier was incorrectly marked in his English map. That is not so. The frontier was originally as given, but was later re-aligned as the original border was found to be extremely inconvenient to the former Chinese administration of Sinkiang.

Although the author is no novice in the art of travel in Central Asia, or at any rate might be expected to be so, his preparations for his long and difficult journey were truly slender. Apparently the only supplies he took

were the local kinds given on page 88. He took over a ton of tsamba, most of which he subsequently disposed of. It is difficult to see why he did so, as on page 165 the intrepid traveller remarks, "I myself lived on a Spartan fare, plenty of cold boiled water, a few raisins, and some flour soup. I was reduced to this daily menu by the insurrections of my digestive apparatus. Many a day I could eat nothing at all. For me tsamba was sheer poison, and I had to abstain entirely from the 'bread of the Asiatic steppe.'" So, of course, ought every European. It is a wonder that the doctor survived, but he clearly not only did so, but regained his strength, as his portrait in the frontispiece shows. He seems to have set out on a long and difficult journey with no cook, no personal servants, no tents, and in fact none of the simple comforts necessary to every traveller, and certainly to every scientist, if he means to produce any results at all. He took far too much ammunition and arms. So many travellers will travel armed cap-a-pie. The only weapon that is really needed is a good shotgun for the sake of the "pot." On the whole the adventures of Dr. Filchner are just what one would have expected, for it is pretty clear that he knew little of how to deal with Asiatics, where direct contact between principals, except socially, is always the last resource. The doctor is a brave, alert, and long-suffering traveller, but what a pack of trouble he would have been saved if he had taken one good Chinese servant with him—a man of tact and resource such as are to be found in China. Admittedly the doctor was shamefully taken in by his former servant Yango, who probably hoped to swindle his master to much the same extent as presumably he had done before. The doctor was disgracefully treated by both Mongols and lower-class Chinese, and on page 180 he refers poignantly to the accursed servant question. He deserves sympathy, but at this stage of his journey it was too late to remedy the trouble. He had a wonderful stroke of good luck in borrowing Brother Gervasius from the Catholic mission at Lanchow. This lay-brother was a hero, and it is thanks to him that Dr. Filchner, who I fear was a muddler, managed to get anywhere at all. What a prize he was. The journey through the interesting Tsaidam country is chiefly concerned with the endless squabbles and upsets over servants, supplies, and transport. Let it be well understood that the unfortunate German had a terrible outfit, and was disgracefully treated by those he dealt with. The insolence and rapacity of the Mongol must be experienced to be believed, and situated as he was the doctor could not do much. It is pleasant to note that when describing all his difficulties and all the impertinences of these savages, the doctor does not indulge in the treacly eulogies which some travellers are prone to produce, under the impression that it is always their fault. Not at all. The doctor lashes out against these swindlers in true Teuton style. It would simplify matters for future visitors if they knew the people they had to deal with.

A longer account of the Tsaidam country would have been welcome. It is imperfectly known. There is a good account, however, on pages 146-148, and on page 162 we read of the Tsaidam, "flat and smooth as a billiard-table, bald and bare, without bush or tree. There is nothing anywhere for

the eye to rest on, away to the quivering horizon where the grey earth and pale sky meet in a thin straight line."

And again when entering the Khotan district the author writes (p. 230): "The jagged peaks of the mountains to the south, and the gentle curves of the northern hills shimmered in tints of violet and sepia, while grey shadows crept up the flanks. In startling but delightful contrast to the mountain colourings were the living greens and ochres of the plain." Those who know Central Asia will recognize a true picture of that elusive region.

Dr. Filchner could not have well chosen a worse time for entering Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang. He arrived when the Tungan revolt was at its height. Parenthetically, surely the note of the accomplished translator about Tungans on page 226 is incorrect? Tungans have been always a very insignificant minority in the southern oases mentioned. Their habitat in Sinkiang is in the north, far away beyond the Takla Makan: that is where they are strong and where they began their revolt; not merely now, but often in bygone times. They must be almost unknown normally in the places mentioned, which are the purest and least spoilt Turki areas of Central Asia.

On reaching Khotan, Dr. Filchner was well received by the Padshah or Tungan ruler of the place. He was suddenly arrested and imprisoned. It is difficult to understand why. Clearly Dr. Filchner was not to blame, but he was probably the victim of some intrigue, the rights of which will never be known. After a most trying, exasperating, and inexcusable detention, Dr. Filchner was released and allowed to proceed to India, where incidentally his oppressor shortly after followed him. It would indeed be interesting to discover the cause of all this.

Amongst other criticisms the author seems rather hard on the British *aqsaqal* of Keriya. Indeed, he calls him "a contemptible fellow." He despised him because he was poor. This *aqsaqal*, whose appointment is honorary and whose duty is hardly that of chaperoning foreigners in every need, is a trader in a very modest way, with seven daughters and two sons. His colleague at Charchan (not Cherchen), who is so praised by his guest, is a well-to-do landowner, and in a very different category.

The book has been admirably translated by Mrs. Lorimer, O.B.E., and its author is indeed indebted to her. She would have rendered him good services if she had omitted all the tiresome nicknames which are used—"Old Whitebeard," "Mr. Arrogance," "Longshanks," and the like. These are merely irritating and convey no meaning.

It is unfortunate that again in this book, as in so many others, the author appears indifferent to the proper spelling of place-names, and the nomenclature of Central Asia, and even of Kashmir, has had another setback. It would be tedious and a waste of labour to enumerate them. It may be mentioned that the missionary at Leh who did so much for Dr. Filchner is Asboe and not Esboe, whilst every visitor to Ladakh will search in vain for such places as Wylo, Vakarong, and Fiduk, and other monstrosities. It is a pity, as these are real blemishes.

There are odd remarks scattered throughout the book. For instance, on page 295 we read: "I noticed a surprising number of Sarts" in Khotan. Did Dr. Filchner expect to see Zulus? The Chinese Amban on page 254 is called a Burgomaster. No one should confuse the deputy commissioner of a town with the mayor. On pages 94, 95, and 98 there is a small slip. After giving the volume of water in the stream, the words "a second" seem to have been dropped.

The account of the "Stinkers" on page 53 is good. But what is a noodle board, and what is a noodle? Not even the horrors of the American films have made these words comprehensible to the British reader.

The book is expensive, and on the whole disappointing. But Dr. Filchner is a man, and his companion a superman, and more need not be said.

The Far East in World Politics: A Study in Recent History.

By G. F. Hudson. 8" x 5½". Pp. ix + 276. Maps and plates. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d.

It is hardly too much to say that this small book of 70,000 words is perhaps the best summary of Far Eastern politics that has yet appeared, and, as such, its value as a preliminary to a study of the existing political tangle in Eastern Asia can hardly be overestimated.

The book was first published in 1937, and has now been reprinted with a final chapter revised to include some account of the present Sino-Japanese struggle.

Mr. Hudson's book is therefore doubly welcome at the present time. He is outstanding among the contributors to the immense library on China, for he is not influenced by sentiment, he has an eminently judicial mind, and he has also the gift of setting down plainly and succinctly essential facts only.

Students of China may perhaps quarrel with Mr. Hudson's statement that the Taiping rebellion was "emphatically a Christian movement"—except as regards its inception. For (apart from contemporary record) most of those who know the mentality of the Chinese would agree that they are hardly capable of such religious feeling as that which caused the religious wars of Europe, and would say that it was hunger rather than sentiment that was responsible for a civil war which lasted thirteen years and caused the death of perhaps twenty millions of people.

But the Taiping rebellion came to an end a long time ago, and it is with post-war events that the book principally deals. And rightly, since most of the present-day problems in Asia (as in Europe) are born of comparatively recent factors, the principal one being the effort of Japan to assume the hegemony of Asia. As to the success of this effort, Mr. Hudson is too wise to prophesy, but he thinks that much depends on the extent to which the American Government will be willing to interest itself in the Far East; and he ends the book with the following words:

"There is no longer, now that the Washington Naval Treaty has lapsed, anything to prevent them from making a battle fleet base out of the present cruiser base at Cavite near Manila. Nothing would alter the present balance of forces in the Far East so much as this.

"The power of America is not . . . immobilized by the tensions of Europe; it can be directed either eastwards or westwards according to policy, and it can hardly be doubted that in the near future the U.S.A. will be the foremost of the Western powers in the Far East, the residuary legatee of the Portuguese, Dutch, and British hegemonies of earlier days. It is by negotiation between Tokyo and Washington—or by the ordeal of battle in the China seas—that the great issues of Far Eastern politics are likely in the next decade to be decided."

E. B. H.

Inside Asia. By John Gunther. Hamish Hamilton. 12s. 6d.

In these six hundred pages Mr. Gunther summarizes the results of two years' study of Asiatic personalities and politics. The first chapters—which, with the last chapter, are the best—deal with Japan. Then follow China, the Philippines, Singapore, Dutch East Indies, Siam, India, Iran, Arabia, and Palestine. In an interesting final chapter Mr. Gunther boldly attempts to generalize on basic factors in Asia, and considers them to be: Imperialism, religion, poverty, nationalism, democracy, the family system, personality, indifference to "modern social forces," and incompetence. The failure to include industrialization and population pressure is noteworthy. He concludes that "Pan-Asia" is an illusion, and that Asia is too big to be a unit.

There is space to deal in more detail with only one section of the book; I choose China as of greatest topical interest.

His summary of Chinese problems is clever and helpful, but it is marred by errors and misleading comment. For example, his analysis (pp. 190 and 191) of the legal position of foreigners in China is bad: he confuses extra-territorial rights with concession rights, and states that the Shanghai International Settlement is "in effect outside any Chinese jurisdiction," whereas 90 per cent. of the inhabitants are subject to Chinese courts which administer Chinese law. This is an example of Mr. Gunther's pronounced weakness for exaggeration and inexact definition. Again, it is untrue that Sir F. Leith Ross suggested the lines on which the Chinese currency was reformed (p. 198); that the young Marshal inherited his domain in 1926 (p. 253); that the young Marshal was ill in Peking during the Mukden incident (p. 255); that a new Central Bank was operating in China in July, 1937 (p. 265). The account given of the incident on August 9, 1937, at Hungjao Aerodrome (p. 267) is not generally accepted and is probably inaccurate. It is not true that "by arrangement with the British" the Japanese collect Customs revenue (p. 275), or that "the British co-operate with Japan in the new Customs régime" (p. 278). The position is that an arrangement—which never came into force—was made between Britain and

Japan for the payment of loan quotas from occupied ports. The Japanese stopped remittance of revenue from occupied ports months before the arrangement was concluded.

On page 43 Mr. Gunther states that "Chinese buy goods 90 per cent. made outside China." If this means (as one gathers from the context) that 90 per cent. of the goods bought by Chinese come from abroad it is a glaring error. Occasionally there are contradictions—*e.g.*, the British investment in China is given (p. 193) as £250 million, which is stated to be "much greater than the total British investment in India"; but on p. 519 the latter is estimated at £850 million. This illustrates the lack of continuity noticeable throughout the book, as if the different sections had been written separately without reference to each other.

Mr. Gunther has the reporter's gifts of selecting good "copy" and of bright phraseology, but the book suffers from a general lack of proportion and perspective and from occasional inaccuracies. He is an acute and trained observer, and many of his comments are shrewd, though many others are wide of the mark. The book is entertaining and readable, but unreliable as a work of reference; it is in fact only what the author claims: "a reporter's job and a kind of political guide." Perhaps it is unkind, therefore, to criticize Mr. Gunther on the grounds that more was expected from the author of *Inside Europe*.

Proof reading has been a little careless—*e.g.*, "Sian" for "Siam" on the contents page; "of" for "or" on p. 58; "dot" for "do" on p. 181; and "8d. (U.S.);" on p. 176! At 12s. 6d. the book is too dear.

R. H. S.

The Strange Apotheosis of Sun Yat-Sen. By "Sagitarium." Crown oct. Pp. 190. Heath Cranton. 3s. 6d.

The anonymous author assails Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang with a virulence rarely shown outside Japanese army circles. He considers him a man of "so mediocre a mentality, such violent prejudices, and such amazing irresponsibility" that this his virtual deification is a mystery.

It is a well-documented and clever work, by someone with a good knowledge of China, exposing the failings of Sun's later life and teachings. Most of the statements of fact are true, but they present an incomplete and biased picture: a similar book could be written about some other national leaders in other countries, and would be of equally little value in appraising their work or explaining their influence. It is therefore not surprising that the author's conclusions are sometimes mistaken. For example, on page 186 the author states that "the xenophobia inculcated by the *San Min Chu I* and the system of education based thereon has been an important, if not the decisive, factor in bringing about the present clash." The author, who is evidently himself not free from "violent prejudices," not only makes this astonishing and mistaken claim, but even calls it "indisputable"!

Sagitarium's account of Sun Yat-sen does not help to explain his alleged apotheosis, which would be a mystery indeed if this estimate of the great revolutionary were just. The author's main fault is failure to recognize the services of Sun, alive, to the revolutionary cause in Imperial times, and of Sun, dead, to Chinese unification. Wonders have been and still are being worked in his name,

and it is irrelevant to protest that the man was not great enough to merit such honour. Voltaire's witicism is apposite: "Si Dieu n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer."

R. H. S.

The Professor from Peking. By S. I. Hsiung. With a Preface by Lord Dunsany. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". Pp. xii + 198. Methuen. 1939. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Hsiung has undertaken a difficult task in giving us the *Professor from Peking*. He is attempting to draw a picture of contemporary Chinese life which will be appreciated by a Western audience and he has not succeeded in his object.

His two previous works, *Lady Precious Stream* and the *Western Chamber*, were adaptations from Chinese models. *Lady Precious Stream* was an outstanding success with English audiences and had some success too with a mixed audience in Shanghai.

The difficulties which Mr. Hsiung had to face in his new work were undoubtedly very great. In China plays were not considered to be true literature, and the theatre was until recently a place where traditional drama only was given, a drama which had in no way been influenced by the European tradition until well after the revolution of 1911.

The Chinese stage conventions are vastly different from those of the West, and incidentally differ widely from those of modern Japan. The stage is bare of scenery, and even the end of an act is not shown by the fall of the curtain. The characters are not so much developed through the action of the play, as shown by the masks of the actors: the white mask of the villain is an indication to the audience of how he will react before he has uttered a syllable. Besides which the audience probably knows the play by heart and has come to enjoy itself and to criticize the work of the actors in rôles of which they well appreciate the difficulty.

It is only in very exceptional cases, such as Tsao Yu's modern drama "Thunder and Rain," that the action is based in any way on Western models. This play has been accepted by Chinese audiences as being in the true tradition, but even in this case the action has followed more the modern Japanese tradition than that of the West, for it deals primarily with a situation within the family and as such does develop to some extent on traditional lines.

Mr. Hsiung has attempted something different.

He suggests in his "after thought" that one of his motives, apart from the very admirable one of obtaining a box office success, was to interpret modern China to a Western audience, whose conception of the Chinese has been based on a study of Dr. Fu Manchu, and it seems that it is in the light of that attempt that he would wish to be criticized. His drama is built round the character of Professor Chang, who presumably belonged to a family where plurality of wives was in the family tradition.

Such families do, I know, exist in China as they do and have done in the West, and many members of them are admirable citizens; but, alas! in Europe those who put these traditions into practice are generally regarded

as villains and as such should wear a "white mask." Professor Chang starts off well on his career of villain and one promptly begins to look for a young hero or heroine who should play against him, and during the whole of the first act I was striving to identify the character which was intended for that part.

The second act gave me no help in my search. Only in the third act did I discover that my villain was really a hero and that the whole play had been written in no known Western or Oriental tradition.

In the Western tradition, had the play been written to bring out the character of the Professor, the influences that forced him to act as he did should have been shown and the play then might have achieved its object, for in places it is in part a fairly good objective study of the seamy side of modern Chinese political life.

If it were to follow more traditional Oriental lines, Professor Chang's erotic adventures would identify him as a villain to a Western audience, and all the other traditional characters, the Ching I and the Hsiao Shêng, could equally have been introduced under a Western guise. Even to follow the Japanese modern tradition and to base the play on such an emotion as family or political loyalty would have given it a unity which it now completely lacks.

The criticisms of the play as it was produced at Malvern show that it is not one which will appeal to an English audience. It is a pity that it does so lack unity and dramatic force, for a true interpretation of modern Eastern life in a form which will be understood in the West is a great need and one which should be commended to the notice of both Japanese and Chinese authors who wish to do their own countries a service and to render an equally great service to the countries of the West.

EDWARD AINGER.

Ayurveda, or the Hindu System of Medicine. By Bangalore Venkata Raman. Pp. 31. Bangalore: Raman Publications. 1s. Paper covers.

This pamphlet describes in general terms the system on which Hindu methods of healing are based. Aiming at the maintenance in perfect health of both body and mind, the ancient Hindus appear to have tabulated their ideas concerning the various states of matter of which the human body is composed and the forces which seemed to activate them, and then, regarding disharmony between these different factors as the cause of disease, endeavoured to restore harmony by the application of medicine of various kinds in certain ways.

As usual in Hindu systems, everything is sectionalized and subdivided, and although this booklet gives but a brief exposition of the subject it reveals something of the wealth of detail embodied in the complete scheme.

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G. H. B.

A Manual of Hindu Astrology. Correct Casting of Horoscopes. By Dr. B. V. Raman, M.D.(Hom.). Pp. 125. Published by the author, "Suryalaya," P.O. Bettahalsoor, Bangalore. 8s.

In this book the author confines himself to the mathematics of the horoscope according to the Hindu system of astrology. The ground covered is extensive, and the reader is taken step by step through the many ramifications of the subject, aided by illustrations from example horoscopes. As may be expected, the Hindu methods vary widely from those adopted by Western astrologers, but a chapter is included to show how to convert a Western horoscope into its Hindu equivalent. One of the chief differences appears to be in the zodiac used, the Hindus basing their position on the constellations, while the Westerners work from the ecliptic as defined by the equinoctial points, which, due to precession, move backwards through the constellations by a small amount each year. Unfortunately the discrepancy, or *ayanamsa*, is not known with exactitude, and this in certain cases would seem likely to invalidate conclusions drawn from Hindu horoscopic data.

It is to be hoped the author's grasp of the Hindu methods is more accurate than his explanation of the phenomenon of planetary retrogradation, attributed by him to gravitation instead of to apparent motion relative to the earth.

G. H. B.

Varshaphal, or the Hindu Progressed Horoscope. By Bangalore Venkata Raman. Pp. 80. Bangalore: Raman Publications. 3s. 6d.

Here one of the Hindu methods of forecasting future events, stated by the author to have been in use at least five centuries before Christ, is set forth in detail and exemplified by a specimen horoscope. So far as the system of progression is concerned it seems to correspond to the Solar Return employed by Western astrologers, in which a horoscope is cast for the moment on the birthday anniversary when the Sun returns to its exact natal place, with the exception that the Hindu zodiac is used and precession is not allowed for—in fact, the length of year adopted is even longer than the sidereal year determined by modern astronomy. The horoscope so found is then read according to the Hindu mode of prognostication, the rules for which are given in subsequent chapters. An index of technical terms used in Hindu astrology completes the book.

G. H. B.

Pilate Pasha. By Michael Fausset. 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " \times 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Pp. xiii + 381. Cape. 1939. 7s. 6d.

This is a book one can recommend with confidence, for even if it is considered that its weak spots counteract to some extent its interest and readability, it is a remarkable book on account of the novelty and daring of its theme. Incidentally it is also a very true picture of life as it was lived in a Sudan out-station in the nineteen-twenties when seconded officers from the army filled most of the posts.

The plot of the book is decidedly original, for it is the life of Jesus Christ, his teachings and healings, and his death put in a Sudanese setting. The Saviour himself is a *fiki* (religious teacher), and he is the son of the village carpenter. His mother is modelled on the Virgin Mary, and in the book she reacts in much the same way as did the Mother of Christ. Then there are Peter and John, and in the centre of the picture Pontius Pilate, the Governor of the Province.

There is no hint of irreverence or blasphemy in the book. It is a genuine and painstaking attempt to bring home to one how people reacted to the teachings and presence of Christ nearly two thousand years ago, and the selection of the Sudan as the setting is particularly happy, as the situation in the Sudan to-day and that of Palestine at the time of the Saviour are so very similar. You have an intensely religious people easily swayed by new teachers of religion; in the towns you have the Pharisee class, chiefly concerned with the outward observances of the faith and failing to live up to its standard; and in Great Britain you have the occupying world power with broad-minded, tolerant views about the religion of subject-people.

Interwoven with the life of the *fiki* in his native village there is the story of this Province Headquarters with the Governor and *Saah es Sitt*, his wife; the Commandant of Police and his rather tiresome, silly encumbrance; the officers of the Defence Force; officials of Public Works, doctors, vets and all the mixed ingredients that go to make up those small, rather circumscribed, circles that as a nation we create all over the world.

The activities of the peace-loving *fiki* and his cures by faith alone cause a dangerous situation to arise, and a detachment of troops is sent from Khartum to assist the police. They happen to be the Royal Scots, and one remembers that the nickname of this regiment is Pontius Pilate's Bodyguard. The scene is set for a dangerous rising, and at the demand of the mob of Pharisees the Governor, mindful of the fourteen years of bloodshed that followed the advent of an earlier religious teacher, regretfully gives way, and the *fiki* is executed. Sticklers for facts may argue if a Governor in the Sudan has the authority to give the death sentence for what a mob calls blasphemy, but, authority or not, he has the power to do it if he so desires.

There are weak spots in the book. The construction is faulty in parts; there are too many characters who have little to do with the main theme; and the author creates situations and does not follow them up. In parts the actual writing is loose, but despite all these drawbacks the author has created a book with something very real and life-like in it. One feels that he worked it all out in his mind years ago when he served in the Sudan and that he had to give expression to his thoughts, and this is something that so many experienced professional novelists fail to achieve to-day, for one has the feeling that the chief reason for their books is that the publisher has paid an advance on them.

C. S. JARVIS.

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by Billing and Sons Ltd.,
Guildford and Esher*

RULES AND LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

(In which is Incorporated the Persia Society)

CORRECTED TO MARCH 1st, 1939

Members are requested to send changes of address to the Society's office, 8, Clarges Street, W.1, and are asked to send any necessary corrections for the list of Members.

Members home on leave are asked to apply for lecture cards if they have not already received them.

The Council request that this list shall be considered Confidential, and not communicated to anyone likely to use it to the annoyance of Members.

OFFICERS AND COUNCIL, 1938-39

President :

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BAGHDAD : MRS. E. M. DROWER.

R.A.F., IRAQ : SQUAD.-LEADER J. P.
DOMVILE.

EGYPT : E. A. CHAPMAN ANDREWS,
ESQ., O.B.E.

N.W.F.P. : J. G. ACHESON, ESQ.,
C.I.E.

GILGIT :

Secretary :

M. N. KENNEDY.

R U L E S
OF THE
ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY

1. THE Society shall be called "THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY."

°The Headquarters of the Society shall be in London and its objects are :

(a) To advance the study of the languages, literature, art, history, religions, antiquities, usages, institutions, customs and manners of Central Asia and adjoining countries.

(b) To promote the study and investigation of questions and matters concerning Central Asia and adjoining countries, and to make more accessible to the general public a knowledge of all problems and conditions affecting Central Asia and adjoining countries.

(c) To maintain in England a central institution for the collection, provision, maintenance, and diffusion of information and knowledge upon all such matters as aforesaid.

(d) To promote the above-mentioned objects by the holding of meetings, social functions and lectures, the reading of papers, discussions, the production, publication and circulation of any periodicals and literature that may be deemed advisable, and the provision of library facilities.

(e) Generally to do all such other acts and things as are or may be deemed to be incidental or conducive to the attainment of any of the above objects.

(f) The Society is established for the benefit of the community at large and not for the benefit of its individual members, and any advantages or privileges that individual members may derive from their membership are merely incidental to their membership and with a view to promoting and furthering the objects of the Society.

2. Persons who desire to join the Society shall be proposed by one Member and seconded by another, and shall then be balloted for by the Council. Ladies are admissible.

3. The Secretary shall in all cases inform Members of their election

4. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be £1 5s.⁷ There shall be an Entrance Fee of £1,⁸ payable on election, for all members elected after October, 1937.

4a. The income and property of the Society, whencesoever derived, shall be applied by the Council solely towards the promotion of the objects of the Society, and no portion thereof shall be paid or transferred directly or indirectly by way of dividend, gift, division, or bonus in money or otherwise howsoever by way of profit unto or between any of the Members of the Society. Provided that nothing herein shall prevent the payment in good faith of reasonable and proper remuneration to any secretary, officer, or servant of the Society, or to any Member of the Society, or other person, in return for any services actually rendered to the Society, nor prevent the payment of interest at a rate not exceeding five per cent per annum on money lent or reasonable and proper rent for premises demised or let by any Member to the Society.

5. †The Council may recommend for election at the Anniversary Meeting as Honorary Members persons distinguished for their services in, or their knowledge of, the countries in Asia in which the Members of the Society are interested. Such Honorary Members shall never exceed ten in number, nor shall more than two be elected in any one year. Such Members shall have all the privileges of ordinary Members.

6. All subscriptions are due on election, and thereafter annually.

7. Every person elected a Member of the Society shall make the payment due thereon within two calendar months after the date of election, or if abroad within six months after election; otherwise the election shall be void unless the Council in any particular case shall extend the period within which such payments are to be made.

8. Annual subscriptions shall be due on the tenth day of January or on the first day of July⁵ in each year; and in case the same shall not be paid by the end of the month, the Treasurer or Secretary shall be authorized to demand the same. If any subscriptions remain unpaid at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society, the Treasurer shall apply by letter to those Members who are in arrears. If the arrears be not discharged by the first of January following such application the Member's name as a defaulter shall be suspended in the meeting room, and due notice be given to the Member in question of the same. The name shall remain suspended, unless in the interval the arrears be discharged, until the Anniversary Meeting next ensuing, when, if the subscription be not paid, the defaulter will cease to be a Member of the Society, †always provided that it shall be in the Council's power to remit arrears of subscription and/or to reinstate defaulters to membership should such remission or reinstatement appear to be expedient or justifiable.

9. A Member, who is not in arrears, may at any time resign his membership by notice in writing, but such notice of resignation must reach the Secretary before the first of January, otherwise the subscription for the current year will be payable.

10. A Member's resignation shall not be valid, save by a resolution of the Council, until he has paid up all his arrears of subscription; failing this he will be considered as a defaulter, and dealt with in accordance with Rule 8.

11. The Officers of the Society shall be: (1) The President (2) the Chairman of the Council, (3) Vice-Chairman, (4) eight Vice-Presidents, (5) the Honorary Treasurer, (6) the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), (7) and the Honorary Librarian, all of whom must be Members of the Society. In addition to these there shall be a Secretary.

12. There shall be a Council consisting of the Honorary Officers, Vice-Presidents, and eight other Members of the Society, exclusive of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman.

13. The Members of Council as aforesaid shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting on the nomination of the Chairman in Council, subject to any amendment of which due notice has been given, as provided in Rule 26.

14. The President shall be elected by the Council, and shall hold office for five years, and shall be eligible for re-election.

15. The Council may elect at their discretion five Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Society (*from among ex-members of the Council*‡) whose services to the Society are considered worthy of such recognition.

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 *to the Council*⁹ until after the expiration of one year.

17. The Honorary Treasurer, the Honorary Secretary (or Secretaries), and the Honorary Librarian shall be elected at the Anniversary Meeting, on the nomination of the Council, for two years, and are eligible for re-election.

18. The Secretary shall hold office during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The Chairman, as head of the Society, shall have the general supervision of its affairs. He will preside at Meetings of the Council, conduct the proceedings, give effect to resolutions passed, and cause

the Rules of the Society to be put in force. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees, and may at any time summon a Meeting of the Council.

20. The Honorary Treasurer shall receive all moneys, and shall account for them. He shall not make any payments (other than current and petty cash expenses) without the previous order of the Council. He shall, ex officio, be a Member of the Council and of all Committees. He shall exercise a general supervision over the expenditure of the Society, and shall prepare and submit to the Auditors at the expiration of each year a statement showing the receipts and expenditure of the Society for the period in question. All cheques must be signed by him, or in his absence by any Member of the Council acting for him.

21. The Honorary Secretaries shall, in the absence of the Chairman, exercise a general control over the affairs of the Society, and shall, ex officio, be Members of Council and of all Committees.

22. The Honorary Secretaries shall attend the Meetings of the Society and of the Council and record their proceedings. They shall conduct the correspondence and attend to the general business of the Society, and shall attend at the Rooms of the Society at such times as the Council may direct. They shall superintend the persons employed by the Society, subject to the general control of the Council. They shall be competent on their own responsibility to discharge small bills, but any account exceeding the amount of Five Pounds shall, except in cases of great urgency, be submitted for approval to the Council before payment. They shall have the charge, under the general direction of the Council, of printing and publishing the Transactions of the Society.

23. The Honorary Librarian shall be responsible for the Library, and shall recommend to the Council such books as he considers the Society should acquire, and such as shall be reviewed in the Society's *Journal*.

24. The Secretary shall act generally under the orders of the Hon. Secretaries, and if at any time the latter are prevented by illness or any other cause from attending to the duties of their office, the Secretary shall act in their absence; but in the case of prolonged absence the Council shall have power to make such special arrangements as may at the time be considered expedient.

25. Of the Members of Council other than those referred to in Rules 16 and 17—*i.e.*, the Officers—three shall retire annually by seniority. They shall be eligible for re-election.

26. There shall be prepared and forwarded to every Member in Great Britain, together with the notice as to the Anniversary Meeting,

a list containing the names of persons so nominated to serve on the Council for the ensuing year, together with any other names, should they be proposed and seconded by other Members, a week's notice being given to the Secretary. The List of Members nominated as aforesaid shall be first put to the Meeting, and, if carried, the amendments (if any) shall not be put.

27. Should any vacancy occur among the Honorary Officers or other Members of Council during the interval between two Anniversary Meetings, such vacancy may be filled up by the Council.

28. The Ordinary Meetings of Council shall be held not less than once a month from November to June inclusive.

29. Special Meetings of Council may be summoned under the sanction of the Chairman, or in his absence by a circular letter from the Secretary.

30. Three Members of the Council shall constitute a quorum.

31. At Meetings of Council the Chair shall be taken by the Chairman, and in his absence the Vice-Chairman³ or the Senior Member present shall take the Chair. The decision of any matter shall rest with the majority, and in case of an equality of votes the Chairman shall have the casting vote in addition to his ordinary vote.

32. Committees may be appointed by the Council to report on specific questions, and unless otherwise stated three shall form a quorum. Such Committees shall be authorized to consult persons not members of the Society.

33. Ordinary General Meetings are for hearing and discussing papers and for addresses, but no resolutions other than votes of thanks for papers read shall be passed at such meetings except by permission of the Chairman.

34. Special General Meetings are for considering and dealing with matters of importance, such as the making or amendment of its Rules, or questions seriously affecting its management and constitution. No business shall be transacted at such meetings except that for which they are summoned, and of which notice has been given.

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.

36. Ordinary Meetings shall be convened by notice issued to accessible Members, and as a general rule they shall be held on the second Wednesday in each month from November to May, both inclusive, the Wednesday of Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas weeks being excepted. At such meetings, and also at the Anniversary Meeting, but not at special General Meetings, each Member of the Society shall have the privilege of introducing, either personally or by card, two visitors.

37. The Accounts shall be audited annually by an Auditor nominated by the Council. The employment of a professional Auditor shall be permissible. The Report presented by the Auditor shall be read at the next ensuing Anniversary Meeting.

NOTES.—(1) *Rule 15 and addition to Rule 16, marked with an asterisk (*), were added at the Annual General Meeting, June 10, 1926. The Rules were rearranged and renumbered by permission of this meeting. Rule 5 and addition to Rule 8, marked with a dagger (†), were added at the Annual General Meeting, June 8, 1927.*

(2) *A special General Meeting was held on July 10, 1929, when the name of the Society was altered to "The Central Asian Society (in which is incorporated the Persia Society)."*

At the same meeting the words marked (‡), "from among ex-members of the Council," were deleted from Rule 15.

(3) *Vice-Chairman appointed at the Anniversary Meeting, 1931, when the necessary alterations were made in Rules 11, 12, and 16.*

(4) *On April 15, 1931, His Majesty the King was graciously pleased to Command that the Society should in future be known as the Royal Central Asian Society.*

(5) *Alterations concerning dates of payment of subscriptions on June 26, 1935 (Rules 6 and 8).*

(6) *Enlargements and additions to Rules 1 and 4 at a Special General Meeting on October 23, 1935.*

(7) *Rule 4. The Annual Subscription was increased from £1 to 25s. at a Special General Meeting on December 14, 1938.*

(8) *Rule 4. Entrance Fee was added at a Special General Meeting on June 23, 1937.*

(9) *Addition to Rule 16 at the Annual General Meeting, June 29, 1938.*

LIST OF MEMBERS

The names marked with an asterisk are of those who have served on the Council. The names in capitals are those of present Members of Council. The names marked with a dagger are those of original Members.

A

- 1937. Aaronsohn, Captain A., D.S.O., Hotel Terminus, St. Lazare, Paris.
- 1924. Abboud, Ahmed Pasha, Box 2051, Cairo.
- 1936. Abd-ul-Hadi, Auni Bey, Jerusalem.
- 1938. Abel, John, F.Z.S., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Peshawar.
- 1932. Acheson, J. G., C.I.E., I.C.S., United Services Club, Simla.
- 1928. Adam, John Hunter, C.I.E., O.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
- 1931. Aga Ahmed Khan, Basrah, 'Iraq.
- 1937. Agnew, Lt.-Comm. P.G., R.N., M.P., 9, The Gateways, S.W. 3.
- 1935. Ahmad, Maulvi Jamal-ud-Din, 2, Andrabi, Kabul.
- 1937. AINGER (Hon. Sec.), Major E., 106, Ebury Street, S.W. 1.
- 1916. Ainscough, Sir Thomas M., C.B.E., c/o 35, Old Queen Street, S.W. 1.
- 1936. Akrawi, Dr. Matta, Ministry of Education, Baghdad.
- 1937. Alam Khan, Nawabzada Mir S., I.P.S., Kolhapur Residency, Deccan.
- 1928. Alban, Major R. G. E. W., Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, Delhi.
- 1929. Albino, Mrs. H. C., Manor House, Bourton-on-the-Water, Cheltenham.
- 1931. Aldis, Rev. W. H., China Inland Mission, Newington Green, N. 16.
- 1921. Alec-Tweedie, Mrs., Devonshire House, W. 1.
- 1938. Alexander, Bernard, 33, Redington Road, N.W. 3.
- 1919. Alexander, Patrick Y., Imperial Service College, Windsor.
- 20 1931. Algie, A. F., 6, Addison Gardens, W. 14.
- 1934. Ali, Mahmud, 59, Battersea Bridge Road, S.W. 11.
- 1937. Ali Muhammad Khan, H.E., Afghan Legation, S.W. 7.
- 1935. Ali, Dr. Nizamettin, Ministry of Economics, Ankara.
- 1920. Allchin, Geoffrey C., Oxford and Cambridge Club, S.W. 1.
- 1936. Allen, A. D., Automobile Association, W. 1.
- 1937. Allen, Captain C. H. B., Royal Ulster Rifles, 75, Prince of Wales Mansions, S.W. 11.
- 1935. Allen, Mrs. H. J., Beverley, Dunsfold, Surrey.
- 1932. Allen, J. G., University of Colorado, U.S.A.
- 1930. Allen, Mrs. Marshall, 34, Kimbolton Road, Bedford.
- 1919. Allen, W. E. D., 23, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1.
- 1936. Allenby, The Dowager Viscountess, 24, Wetherby Gardens, S.W. 5. (Hon. Member.)

1934. Allison, A., c/o Burma Oil Co., Ltd., Karachi.
 1935. Alpin, P. M., 8th Gurkha Rifles, Kohima, Assam.
 1930. Amin Bey, Atta, c/o Legation Royale d'Irak, Paris, 16e.
 1926. Amps, L. W., A.M.I.C.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1931. Anderson, E. G. Lytton, 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1929. Anderson, Flight-Lieut. G., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1931. Andrew, G. Findlay, O.B.E., c/o Butterfield and Swire, Ltd.,
 Shanghai.
 1937. Andrews, Mrs. C., Hamsland Holt, Horsted Keynes.
40 1934. Andrews, E. A. Chapman, c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1938. Andrews, H. M., 15, Orchard Court, Portman Square, W. 1
 1921. Antonius, George, C.B.E., 'Karm al-Mufti, Jerusalem; Oxford
 and Cambridge Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. Ap Rhys Pryce, General Sir Henry, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.,
 c/o Thos. Cook & Sons, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
 1939. Arbuthnot, Miss M., 41, Barkston Gardens, S.W. 5.
 1938. Archdale, Mrs. H., Ladies' Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
 1932. Arslan, Emir Adil, The Vineyard, Saffron Walden.
 1934. Arundel, Desmond F. K., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Masjid-i-
 Suleiman.
 1936. Ashby, Capt., R. T., R.A., 20th Mtn. Batt., Abbottabad,
 N.W.F.P.
 1929. Ashton, H. S., 19, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 2.
 1932. Ashworth, Miss D., 5, Grosvenor Place, S W. 1.
 1937. Astbury, Arthur R., C.S.I., C.I.E., Magdalene House,
 Putney, S.W. 15.
 1924. Aston, C. C., O.B.E., Minister of the Interior, Baghdad.
 1930. Astor, Hon. W. W., M.P., 45, Upper Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
 1931. Auchinleck, Major-General C. J. E., C.B., C.S.I., D.S.O.,
 O.B.E., Flagstaff House, Dehra Dun, N.W.F.P.
 1937. Austin, Captain W. D., 125, Castelnau, S.W. 13.
 1934. Aylesford, The Earl of, Packington Hall, Coventry.
 1939. 'Ayubi, H.E. 'Ali Jawdat al, Baghdad, 'Iraq.
 1938. Azmi, al Sayyid Khaleel, Land Settlement Officer, Hindiyah
 Barrage, 'Iraq.

B

1928. Baass, Major G. W. G., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
60 1908. *Baddeley, J. F., Arts Club, W. 1.
 1932. †Badeau, Rev. J. S., 25 East 22nd Street, New York.
 1937. Bagnold, Major R. A., A.M.I.C.E., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
 1910. Bailey, Lt.-Col. F. M., C.I.E., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Baillie, Mrs. A. H. Murray, Gatehouse-of-Fleet, Kirkcud-
 brightshire.
 1934. Baines-Hewitt, Captain F. B., R.E., 8 Park Street, York.
 1938. Baker, Flight-Lieut. M. W., Air H.Q., Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
 1937. Baker, N. E., c/o 'Iraq Petroleum Co., 39, Finsbury Square,
 E.C. 2.
 1933. Bakstansky, L., LL.B., B.Sc. Econ., 79, Aberdare Gardens,
 N.W. 6.
 1937. Balbhadra Singh, Sardar Sahib, c/o Chief Engineer Baghdad
 Railways, Baghdad, 'Iraq.

1933. Baldwin, Captain C. M., M.B.E., 2nd Battn. The Middlesex Regiment, Gosport, Hants.
1935. Baldwin, R. de C., British Consulate, Beyrout, Grand Liban.
1920. Balfour, Lt.-Col. F. C. C., C.I.E., C.B.E., M.C., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Balfour, Ronald E., c/o Barclay's Bank, 1, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1931. Ballard, Captain B. Woods, I.P.S., c/o Foreign and Political Dept., Govt. of India, New Delhi.
1929. Bamboat, Captain N. H., I.M.S., Kucheh Arbab Kaikhusru, Tehran. (Life Member.)
1934. Bamfield, Captain W. H., Derwen Lodge, Ruabon Road, Wrexham.
1918. Banks, Mrs. M. M., 16, Hornton Court, W. 8.
1936. Barbour, David N., Baka'a, Jerusalem.
1924. Barke, Lieut.-Colonel C. R., C.B.E., T.D., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
- 80 1936. Barker, Colonel E. F. W., C.B.E., D.S.O., 59, Cadogan Square, S.W. 1.
1926. Barnard, A. A., O.B.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1929. †Barnard, J. T. O., C.I.E., C.B.E., San Leonardo, Bellogaume Road, Jersey.
1922. Barnes, Sir George Stapylton, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Foxholm, Cobham, Surrey.
1905. Barnes, Sir Hugh Shakespear, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., 19, Sheffield Terrace, W. 8.
1922. Barrow, General Sir George, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Swyllmers, Great Missenden, Bucks.
1936. Barry, Lieut.-Colonel A. J., C.B.E., T.D., Woods Corner, Burley, Hants.
1938. Barstow, L. O. M., 36, Sussex Gardens, W. 2.
1925. Barton, Lieut.-Col. L. E., I.P.S., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1931. Barton, Lieut.-Col. Patterson, D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Barton, Sir William, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Stone Cross, Lindfield, Sussex.
1920. Base, Edward H., 6, King William Street, E.C. 4.
1924. Basset, F. L., The Larches, Rusper Road, Horsham.
1922. Bateman, H. G., 409, Whitehead Road, Hastings, New Zealand. (Life Member.)
1931. de Bathe, C. A., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1932. Battey, J. L., c/o Messrs. Gray, Mackenzie and Co., Ltd., Basrah, Iraq.
1935. Battye, Captain R. K. M., Army and Navy Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1926. Battye, Lt.-Col. T. H., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1937. Baxter, Professor J. H., St. Andrews University, Fife.
1934. Baylis, Arthur N., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan, S. Iran.
- 100 1936. Bayly, Miss B. M., 81, de la Warr Road, Bexhill-on-Sea.
1920. Beale, C. T., c/o Ottoman Bank, Alexandria.
1932. Beamish, Major R. P., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.

1936. Beart, Major C. W., M.C., Durham Light Infantry, c/o Glyn, Mills & Co., Kirkland House, S.W. 1.
1938. Becher, Flight-Lieut. J. H., R.A.F., Habbaniya, 'Iraq.
1926. Beckett, Lt.-Col. C. T., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1933. Beckett, Ernest Godfrey, Ochiltree, Upper Park Road, Camberley.
1929. Beckett, Mrs. W. R. D., O.B.E., 9, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1937. Beddington, Colonel C., 33, Grosvenor Street, W. 1.
1927. Beddington, Lt.-Col. W. R., National Provincial Bank, South Audley Street, W. 1.
1929. Bedford, T. H. B., Turton Hall, Gildersome, Leeds.
1938. Bekhor, C. A., P.O.B. 138, Baghdad, 'Iraq.
1922. Belgrave, C. Dalrymple, C.B.E., Junior Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Belgrave, Mrs. C. Dalrymple, Bahrein.
1923. Bell, Colonel A. H., D.S.O., O.B.E., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1921. BELL, Sir Charles, K.C.I.E., C.M.G., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1. (Vice-Pres.)
1931. Bell, Lt.-Col. F. Hayley, D.S.O., Defence Security Office, Fort Canning, Singapore.
1933. Bell, G. W., Sudan Political Service, Tiberias, Palestine.
1922. Bell, H. T. Montague, 19, Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C. 2.
1931. Bell, John. St. Paul's School, W. 14.
1929. Bell, Colonel M. D., O.B.E., War Office, S.W. 1.
1907. Benn, Colonel R. A. E., C.I.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1933. Benson, Mrs., 76, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W. 10.
1927. Bentwich, Norman de M., O.B.E., M.C., Hollycot, Vale of Health, N.W. 3.
1934. Bernard, Major-General D. J. K., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Bernard, Colonel F., 101, Avenue Henri Martin, Paris, xvi.
1923. Berry, Major E. S., O.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1933. Berttonelli, Captain Francesco, Delegazione Governo, Lero, E. Mediterranean.
1936. Besse, Monsieur A., Aden.
1931. Betham, Lt.-Col. G. L., C.I.F., M.C., The Residency, Udaipur, India.
1930. Beydun, Nasuhi Bey, Assistant District Commissioner, Jerusalem.
1938. Beynon, Miss Kathleen, 12, Walpole Street, S.W. 1.
1926. *Beynon, Major-General Sir William, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., 59, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1929. Bingham, Major Lord, M.C., Guards' Club, W. 1.
1931. Bingham, The Lady, 22, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1936. Biscoe, Captain D. H., The Residency Camp, Quetta.
1928. Bishop, H. C. W., M.C., Oulton House, Stone, Staffs.
1924. Blacker, Lady Doris, Coates House, Fittleworth, Sussex.
1920. Blacker, Stewart, O.B.E., R.A.F. Club, W. 1.
1938. Blair, H. N., Black Watch, 21, Norfolk Crescent, W. 2.

1924. Blackwood, Miss U. H., 41, The Green, Ewell. (Life Member.)
1935. Blake, Lieut.-Colonel L., M.C., I.M.S., Caraban House, Ravensdale, Dundalk, Eire.
1931. Blanch, J. W., British Vice-Consulate, Fez.
1931. Bland, J. O. P., Brudenell House, Aldeburgh, Suffolk.
1926. Boileau, Brig.-General G. H., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Rosehill House, Par, Cornwall.
1933. Bolton, C. M. G., c/o Overseas League, St. James Street, S.W. 1.
1933. Bompas, Mrs. Harold, 24, Palace Court, W. 2.
1921. *Bonham-Carter, Sir Edgar, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., 17, Radnor Place, W. 2.
1937. Bonné, Dr. Alfred, 49, Ramban Road, Rehavia, Jerusalem.
1928. Borland, F. J., 89, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1.
1926. Borland, T. H., Shell House, P.O.B. 228, Cairo.
1927. Bosshard, W., c/o Krähbühlstr. 91, Zürich.
1934. †Bossom, A. C., M.P., Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Bourdillon, Sir Bernard H., K.C.M.G., K.B.E., I.C.S., Government House, Lagos, Nigeria.
1922. Bourke-Borrowes, D. R. S., Felthames, Harlow, Essex.
1932. Boustead, Major H., M.C., Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
1924. Bovill, Lt.-Col. W. J., O.B.E., I.A., c/o Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1935. Bowen, J. C. E., 6th D.C.O. Lancers, Lahore.
1938. Bowen, Rowland, Indian Police Service, c/o National Bank of India, Lahore.
1927. Bowen, Major W. O., O.B.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1938. Bower, Miss Ursula Graham, 82a, Lexham Gardens, W. 8.
1921. Bowman, H. E., C.M.G., C.B.E., New University Club, S.W. 1.
1929. Boyland, Rev. A. K., The Rectory, Melbury Abbas, Shaftesbury, Dorset.
1928. Boyle, Colonel C. A., C.I.E., D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1929. Bradley-Birt, F. B., Birtmoreton Court, Tewkesbury.
1927. Bradshaw, Major J. R. L., I.P.S., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Braham, Major G. N., M.C., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Braine, Brigadier H. E. R., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., 11, Zetland House, Marloes Road, W. 8.
1935. Braine, Mrs., 11, Zetland House, Marloes Road, W. 8.
1933. Breese, Air-Commodore C. D., C.B., A.F.C., Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
1933. Bremner, Lieut.-Colonel C. E. U., M.C., I.A., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1936. Brent, J. L., U.S.A. Embassy, Istanbul.
1932. Breton, H. R., Manager, Agricultural Bank of Egypt, Cairo.
1933. Brewster, E. C., Rayghyll, Shore Road, Ainsdale, Lancs.
1934. Brewster, R. S., 52, Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.
1937. Brickell, Dr. F. H., M.B.E., British Consulate, Basrah, Iraq.

1929. Bridgeman, Reginald, C.M.G., M.V.O., Waxwell Farm Cottage, Pinner.
1922. Bridges, Lieut.-Colonel E. J., 12, Sloane Court, S.W. 1.
1928. Brierley, Colonel G. T., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1926. Brindley, Major W. W., M.B.E., Imperial Bank of India, 22, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.
- 180** 1938. Brinton, Hubert, 25, Young Street, W. 8.
1931. Broadmead, H., Enmore Castle, Bridgewater.
1922. Brock, Air-Commodore H. Le M., C.B., D.S.O., Bentley Priory, Stanmore, Middlesex.
1935. Brock, R. W., 16, Grosvenor Court, Mill Hill, N.W. 7.
1927. Bromhead, Major Sir Benjamin, Jubbulpore, India.
1936. Bromilow, Lt.-Col. D. G., D.S.O., Oak Meadow, Billingshurst, Sussex.
1929. *Brooke-Popham, Air-Chief-Marshal Sir Robert, G.C.V.O., K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., A.F.C., Government House, Nairobi.
1935. Brooke-Popham, Lady, Government House, Nairobi.
1934. Brown, E. J., Bradmore Farm, Old Coulsdon.
1934. Brown, Right Rev. Dr. Graham, O.B.E., Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem.
1928. Brown, Mrs. J. Hally, Craignahullie, Skelmorlie, Ayrshire.
1927. Brown, Captain V. C., D.S.C., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1929. Brown, W. Dewar, Junior Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1922. Brown, Mrs. Wynyard, 7, Cowley Street, S.W. 1.
1920. Browne, Claude M., 163, Queen Victoria Street, E.C. 4.
1921. Browne, Lieut.-Colonel H. H. Gordon, D.S.O., 20, Linton Road, Oxford.
1924. Browne, Brig-Gen. J. G., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Browne, William E., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Masjid-i-Suleiman.
1924. Browning, E. L., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1928. Browning, Miss Grace, Rousham Old Rectory, Steeple Aston, Oxford.
- 200** 1924. Brownrigg, Major-Gen. W. D. S., C.B., D.S.O., Balendoch, Meigle, Perthshire.
1929. Bruce, Colonel C. E., C.S.I., C.I.E., C.B.E., Carrick House, Yateley, Camberley.
1935. Bruce, Mrs. Heron, Georgetown, British Guiana.
1920. Buchanan, Sir G. C., K.C.I.E., St. James's Club, S.W. 1.
- †Buchanan, W. A., The Cottage, Knebworth.
1937. Buisson, Mrs. A. Du, 53, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1938. Bukhari, Al Sayyid Murid Hussain, Kerbela, 'Iraq.
1926. Bulfield, W. I. R., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1937. Buller, Major R. S., O.B.E., Trans-Jordan F.F., Zerka, Transjordan.
1932. de Bunsen, Lady, 43, Ennismore Gardens, S.W. 7.
1919. Burdwan, Hon. Sir Bijay Chand Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., LL.D., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of, The Palace, Burdwan, Bengal.

1931. Burnett, Major R. R., O.B.E., I.P.S., c/o Foreign and Political Department, New Delhi.
 1929. Burton, Major H. M., Kirkland House, S.W. 1.
 1938. Burton, W. Mainwaring, Alderbourne Manor, Gerrard's Cross.
 1923. Buss, Group-Captain K. C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1934. Butchart, A. D., B.Sc., Khanaqin Oil Co., Ltd., Alwand Refinery, Khanaqin, 'Iraq.
 1933. Butes, Miss Margaret, Sesame Club, W. 1.
 1929. Butters, O. A., O.B.E., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1925. Butterworth, Mrs. Thornton, Palace Houses, Bayswater Road, W. 2.
 1933. Buttolph, Captain W. G., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Buxton, Dr. P. A., Grithowe, Gerrard's Cross.

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- 220** 1929. Cadell, Sir Patrick R., C.S.I., C.I.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1922. Cadogan, Lieut.-Commander Francis, Quenington Old Rectory, Fairford, Glos.
 1933. Cain, Charles W., Beurlay, 11, Southend Road, Beckenham.
 1922. Calder, N., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Calverley, Rev. E. E., 143, Sigournay Street, Hartford, Conn.
 1929. Calvert, A. S., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1932. Campbell, Captain A. E. H., Q.O.C. Highlanders, Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. Campbell, D. W., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1925. Campbell, Ewen, M.B.E., M.C., Conservative Club, S.W. 1.
 1938. Campbell, Major J., c/o 25, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.
 1933. Campbell, R. A., Ministry of Justice, Baghdad.
 1922. Campbell, Major W. F., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1936. Cannell, Ramsay, Mullion, Cornwall.
 1929. Canning, Captain Robert Gordon, M.C., 23, Cork Street, W. 1.
 1936. Canter, Miss Geraldine, 167, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
 1927. Capito, C. E., O.B.E., 24, Earlsfield Road, Hythe.
 1938. Carlisle, The Countess of, Naworth Castle, Carlisle.
 1930. Carmichael, Group-Captain C. I., D.S.O., A.F.C., Corners, Long Walk, Chalfont St. Giles.
 1935. Carmichael, Mrs., Corners, Long Walk, Chalfont St. Giles.
240 1922. Carnock, The Lady, 36, Tedworth Square, S.W. 3.
 1922. Carnock, Major Lord, M.C., 36, Tedworth Square, S.W. 3.
 1928. Caroe, O. K., C.I.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1933. Carpenter, C. Whitney, 7, East 94th Street, New York.
 1929. Carr, Donald, M.D., Ellesborough House, Butler's Cross.
 1935. Carruthers, Douglas, Barmer Hall, King's Lynn.
 1937. Carslaw, Mrs. J. S., Benton Potts, Chesham.
 1929. Carson, Miss A. B., 8, Kynance Mews, S.W. 7.
 1921. Carver, F. E., O.B.E., c/o Carver Bros., Alexandria.
 1937. Caspani, Rev. J. E., Royal Italian Legation, Kabul.
 1921. Castells, Captain E., 23, High Street, Hampstead, N.W. 3.
 1936. Caton-Thompson, Miss G., 76, Albert Hall Mansions, S.W. 7.

1929. Cave, Captain F. O., M.C., Stoner Hill, Petersfield.
 1934. Cave, W. A., c/o Union Bank of Australia, Adelaide, Australia.
 1925. Cawdor, Rt. Hon. Earl, Cawdor Castle, Nairn
 1930. Cazalet, R. M., c/o Shell Co., Ltd., P.O.B. 228, Cairo.
 1927. Chadirchi, H.E. al Sayyid, Raouf, 'Iraqi Minister, 22, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
 1938. Chadwick, Major C. R., O.B.E., c/o 'Iraq Turf Club, Baghdad.
 1936. Chalmers of Northiam, The Lady, 14, Crick Road, Oxford.
 1933. Chanda, A. K., I.E.S., Principal, Chittagong College, Bengal.
 1938. Channon, Henry, M.P., 5, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.
260 1926. Chaplin, Brig.-General J. G., C.B.E., D.S.O., Boxford Farm, Newbury.
 1921. Chapman, A. J. B., P.O.B. 1, Kirkuk, 'Iraq.
 1936. Chapman, Mrs. Palmer, 29, St. James Court, S.W. 1.
 1930. Chenevix-Trench, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Richard, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1930. CHETWODE, Field-Marshal Sir Philip, Bart., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., 40, Avenue Road, N.W. 8. (Chairman of Council.)
 1938. Chiddell, J. W. P., 84, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
 1920. Chitty, Rev. C., Sculthorpe Rectory, Fakenham.
 1932. Chizik, I., District Officer, Tulkarm, Palestine.
 1933. Cholmondley, Richard H., 47, Thurloe Square, S.W. 7.
 1934. Christensen, Captain Hening Haslund, Rodabergsbrinken, 9, Stockholm.
 1920. Christie, Miss E. R., Cowden Castle, Dollar, Perthshire.
 1937. Chrystall, Lieut.-Colonel J. I., M.C., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1934. Chuter, L. W., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1934. Clapp, F. G., 49, Warwick Road, Bronxville, New York City.
 1929. Clark, Captain G. C., R.E., The Upper House, Nailsworth.
 1933. Clark, Mrs. Hartley, 39, Egerton Crescent, S.W. 3.
 1933. Clark, H. D., Mayfair Chambers, W. 1.
 1935. Clark, H. L. Urling, Laglands, Reigate.
 1936. Clark, Mrs. H. Urling, Laglands, Reigate.
 1930. Clarke, Captain E. W. H., R.E., The Vicarage, Bradford-on Avon, Wilts.
280 1937. Clarke, Captain J. A., c/o Messrs. A. Scott & Co., Rangoon.
 1937. Clarke, R. C. R. M., Grenadier Guards, Mogador Point, Lower Kingswood, Surrey.
 1928. Clauson, Miles J., India Office, S.W. 1.
 1926. Clayton, Colonel E. R., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1922. Clayton, Lieut.-Col. I. N., O.B.E., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1923. Clegg, S., M.M., 7, Langland Mansions, Finchley Road, N.W. 3.
 1939. Cleland, Miss M. G. H., 32B, Harrington Gardens, S.W. 7.
 1927. Clive, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert H., P.C., G.C.M.G., Traveller's Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

1934. Clowes, G. S. L., 3, Brasenose House, Kensington Court, W. 8.
1933. Coates, Squad.-Leader K. R., Air Liaison Officer, Bahrein.
1937. Coates, Brig.-General R. C., D.S.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1933. Coates, Captain R. E. J. C., 3rd Battn. Coldstream Guards, Helperby Hall, York.
1927. Cobb, Major E. H., O.B.E., c/o Foreign and Political Department, Bannu, N.W.F.P.
1933. Cobbold, Lady Evelyn, 24, Mount Row, Park Lane, W. 1.
1927. Cobham, Mrs. L. S., 41, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1931. Cochrane, Commander Hon. Sir Archibald D., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., D.S.O., Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
1928. Cochrane, W. P., O.B.E., Mill House, Langham, nr. Colchester.
1928. Cockey, Group-Captain L. H., R.A.F. Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1934. Coddington, J. I., E. 42, Eliot House, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1931. Codrington, Mrs. G., 110, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
- 300** 1929. Codrington, Major J. A., Park House, Onslow Square, S.W. 7.
1927. Coffey, W. F. P., c/o 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1924. Cohen, W. S., Amersfort, Berkhamstead, Herts.
1925. Colbourne, Major W. A., 10/15 Punjab Regt., c/o Grindlay and Co., 54 Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1928. Cole, Captain G. A., I.P.S., c/o Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1920. Cole, Lieut.-Colonel J. J. B., M.C., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Colebatch, Hon. Sir Hal, C.M.G., Savoy House, Strand, W.C. 2.
1934. Colenso-Jones, G. L. C., 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Box 309, Haifa.
1933. Collingwood, Miss R., Atherstone Hotel, 63, Gloucester Road, S.W. 7.
1934. Colvill, G. W., Dochgarroch, Inverness.
1921. Colvin, Mrs., 17, Lingfield Road, S.W. 19.
1933. Combe, Squad.-Leader G., R.A.F., Homanton House, Shrewton, Wilts.
1920. Comyn-Platt, Sir T., Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Connell, Fergus R. T., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1935. Conolly, Miss Violet, Oaklands, Serpentine Avenue, Ballsbridge, Dublin.
1926. Constable, Major J. H., Hoemill House, Maldon, Essex.
1936. Constantinesco, H.E. Gregoire, Bucharest, Roumania.
1934. Cook, C. F., c/o A.I.O. Co., Khuzistan, Iran.
1938. Cooke, Mrs. A. M. St. John, 119, Chatsworth Court, W. 8.
1931. Cooke, Captain G. H., I.P.S., c/o Grindlay and Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
- 320** 1929. Cooke, Harold J., 13, Wilton Crescent, S.W. 1.
1920. †Cooke, R. S., 58, Warwick Avenue, Edgware.
1930. Cooke-Collis, Major-General Sir W. James N., K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Headquarters, Northern Ireland District, Belfast.
1935. Cooper, Miss Edith, Sesame Imperial Club, W. 1.
1924. †Cooper, Wing-Commander A. R. C., R.A.F. Club, W. 1.

1925. Cooper, Captain H. J., 17th Company R.A.S.C., Haifa.
1923. Cooper, W. H., 18, Finchley Way, N. 3.
1929. Cooper, Major W. J., R.A., 24th Mountain Battery, R.A., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1935. Corbally, E. J., R.A.F., The Old House, Avon Dassett, nr. Leamington.
1938. Corbett, C. R., 21, Augustus Road, S.W. 19.
1931. Corbett, Brigadier T. W., M.C., Sialkot, Punjab.
1936. *Cork and Orrery, Admiral the Earl of, G.C.B., G.C.V.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Corkill, Dr. Norman L., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1920. CORNWALLIS, Sir Kinahan, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., Junior Carlton Club, S.W. 1. (M. of C.)
1932. Cory, Lieut.-General Sir George, K.B.E., C.B., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1938. Corry, Captain C. E., M.B.E., Inspecting Officer of Constabulary, Mosul, 'Iraq.
1920. Costello, Brig.-General E. W., V.C., C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., 28, Vicarage Drive, Eastbourne.
1933. Costin, W. C., St. John's College, Oxford.
1927. Coulton, W. T., *Times of India* Offices, Salisbury Square, E.C. 4.
1933. Courthope-Munroe, C. H., 3, Gloucester Gate, N.W. 1.
- 340 1938. Courtney, Air-Vice-Marshal C. L., C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Air Headquarters, Habbaniya, 'Iraq.
1936. Cox, Captain H. F., 1/15th Punjab Regt., Twynax, Middle Bourne, Farnham.
1938. Cox, Lady, D.B.E., 126, Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
1934. Cox, P. T., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Finsbury Circus, E.C. 3.
1926. Cox, Dr. R. J. H., The Mission Hospital, Peshawar.
1938. Crabbe, G., c/o Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, Queen Anne's Lodge, S.W. 1.
1935. Crafer, W. G., c/o A.I.O. Co., Abadan, Iran.
1930. Craig, Hon. Dennis, Stormont Castle, Belfast.
1938. Craik, Sir Henry, Bt., K.C.S.I., Governor's Camp, Punjab.
1931. Craufurd, Brig.-General S. G., C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., Swindridge Muir, Dalry, Ayrshire.
1930. Creagh-Coen, T. B., I.C.S., Windham Club, S.W. 1.
1932. Creed, T. P., M.C., c/o Westminster Bank, Buckingham.
1935. Creedy, H. D., c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
1933. Cressy-Marcks, Mrs. Violet (Mrs. F. Fisher), Hazelwood, Kings Langley.
1930. Creswell, Captain K. A. C., 34, Sharia Hasan-el-Akbar, Cairo. (Hon. Member.)
1914. Crewdson, Lieut.-Colonel W. T. O., R.A., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1929. Crick, Lieut.-Colonel C. C., O.B.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1938. Critchley, Captain R. A., 13/18th Royal Hussars, Stapleton Tower, Annan.
1928. Crocker, Lieut.-Colonel H. E., C.M.G., D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Crombie, George, E., India Office, S.W. 1.

- 360 1932. Crone, Major D. R., R.E., Survey of India, Risalpur, N.W.F.P.
 1921. Cronyn, Lieut.-Commander St. John, R.N., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
 1938. Cross, Squad.-Leader B. W., 'Iraq Levies, Dhibban, 'Iraq.
 1927. Cross, Hon. Mrs. John E., 14, Rossetti Mansions, S.W. 3.
 1936. Crossley, Anthony, M.P., 29, Mallord Street, S.W. 3.
 1938. Crosthwaite, P. M., H.M. Diplomatic Service, c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1933. Crowdy, Dame Rachel, D.B.E., R.R.C., LL.D., 14, Grosvenor Crescent Mews, S.W. 1.
 1934. Crowther, Captain H., Old Thorpe, Esher.
 1938. Cruickshank, Mrs. Helena, Wraysbury House, Wraysbury, Bucks.
 1933. Cruikshank, Dr. W. D., Royal College of Medicine, Baghdad.
 1931. Cumming, R. C. R., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Cumming, Major W. J., Mardan, N.W.F.P.
 1922. Cunliffe-Owen, Lieut.-Colonel F., C.M.G., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1926. Cunningham, Sir George, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., O.B.E., Government House, Peshawar.
 1934. Curry, J. C., Waveney, Woldingham.
 1931. Curtis, G. C. S., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Curtis, P. A., Port Officer, Basrah.
 1935. Curzon, Miss Joan, 125, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
 1922. Cust, L. G. Archer, Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1932. Cuthbert, W. N., Carlekemp, Bexhill-on-Sea.
 380 1938. Cutting, C. Suydam, 14, East 89th Street, New York City.

D

1929. Dadachanji, Fardul K., Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay.
 1929. Dalal, Sir Dadiba M., C.I.E., 22, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.
 (Life Member.)
 1933. Dales, Miss S. H., 1, Petersham Terrace, S.W. 7.
 1921. Daly, Colonel T. Denis, M.C., Bath Club, W. 1.
 1912. Dalyell of the Binns, Lieut.-Colonel G., C.I.E., Binns, Linlithgow.
 1938. Dana, Robert, O.B.E., 85, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
 1924. Dane, Sir Louis, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., 24, Onslow Gardens, S.W. 7.
 1927. Daniel, Ezra, 12/34 Mustansir Street, Baghdad.
 1937. Darwen, John, Flight-Lieut., R.A.F., Kohat, N.W.F.P., India.
 1908. Daukes, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Clendon T., C.I.E., Packway, Bayley's Hill, nr. Sevenoaks.
 1923. Davidson, Miss Flora M., c/o Union Bank of Scotland, 62, Cornhill, E.C.
 1923. DAVIDSON, Sir Nigel, C.B.E., Terry's Cross, Henfield, Sussex.
 (M. of C.)
 1928. Davidson, Major R. St. C., R.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
 1923. Davies, Miss E. B., Graffham, Petworth.
 1938. Davies, H. A. M., Dept. of Lands, Amman, Transjordan.

1935. Davies, Captain J. E., Wyndham House, 9, Leinster Gardens, W. 2.
1930. Davies-Colley, T. H., Newbold, Saughton, Chester.
1906. Davis, W. S., Cogan House, Longhope, Glos.
1929. Dawkins, Professor R. M., Plas Dulas, Llanddulas, N. Wales.
- 400** 1926. Deedes, Lieut.-Colonel R. B., O.B.E., M.C., Royal Garhwal Rifles, c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
1935. De La Mare, T. J., Eastern Bank Ltd., 3, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1936. Demetriadi, Lady, 67, Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, W. 1.
1937. Dent, Miss T. M., 26, Connaught Square, W. 2.
1938. de Selincourt, Mrs. M., 35, Charles Street, W. 1.
1927. Dias, A., M.B., Mohammerah, Persian Gulf.
1929. Dibben, Eric, 139, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1933. Dickinson, Mrs. Douglas, c/o Bank of New South Wales, 29, Threadneedle Street, E.C. 2.
1927. Dickson, Lieut.-Colonel Harold R. P., C.I.E., Chief Local Representative Kuwait Oil Co., Kuwait.
1935. Dickson, Mrs. W. D., Southhill, Dean Park Road, Bournemouth.
1934. Digby, S. Wingfield, Sherborne Castle, Dorset.
1931. Dinely, Mark, The Priory, Berwick St. John, Shaftesbury.
1922. Ditchburn, Major A. H., C.B.E., Land Settlement Officer, Mosul, 'Iraq.
1927. Dix, J. W., Khanaqin Oil Co., Khanaqin, 'Iraq.
1935. Dixon-Spain, Lt.-Col. J. E., O.B.E., 19, Hanover Square, W. 1.
1933. Dodds-Parker, A. D., Magdalen College, Oxford.
1934. Dodge, Bayard, American University of Beyrout, Grand Liban, Syria.
1925. Dodge, Lieut.-Colonel J., 4, Fitzhardinge Street, W. 1.
1938. Dodkins, C. M., 8th K.G.O. Light Cavalry, Kohat, N.W.F.P., India.
1931. Dodwell, H. H., Dover House, Chertsey.
- 420** 1935. Domvile, Squad.-Leader J. P., H.Q. British Forces in 'Iraq, Habbaniyah, 'Iraq.
1931. Donaldson, E. P., India Office, S.W. 1.
1929. Dorabjee, S., Tehran, Iran.
1937. Dorman Smith, Lieut.-Colonel E. E., M.C., Hilmi House, Abbassia, Cairo.
1929. Douglas, Mrs. A. S. G., 37, Thurloe Square, S.W. 7.
1934. Douglas, Rev. Canon J., Rector of St. Michael Royal, College Hill, E.C.; St. Luke's Presbytery, S.E. 15.
1930. Douglas, P. W. G., c/o Westminster Bank, Charing Cross, W.C. 2.
1938. Downward, B. S., Box 272, Karachi.
1922. Dowson, V. H. W., c/o Hills Bros. Eastern Co., Kut-Es-Sayid Estates, Basrah. (Life Member.)
1937. Dreyer, Admiral Sir Frederic, G.B.E., K.C.B., Forest Brow, Liss Forest, Hants.
1921. Drower, Mrs. E. M., White Lodge, Baghdad.

1910. Drummond, Miss E., Kensington Palace Mansions, W. 8.
 1925. Drury, E. J, c/o 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Tuz Khurmatli, 'Iraq.
 1933. Dufferin and Ava, The Most Hon. The Marquess of, 4, Hans Crescent, S.W. 1.
 1933. †Dumarçay, Jacques, Residence Générale de France, Rabat, Morocco.
 1931. Duncan, Lieut.-Colonel D. L., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
 1930. Duncan, Lieut.-Colonel H. C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Duncan, J. A. L., M.P., Bath Club, W. 1.
 1929. Duncan, Lieut.-Colonel W. E., C.V.O., D.S.O., M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1929. Dunkley, G. W., O.B.E., 54, Lombard Street, E.C. 4.
 440 1924. Dunlop, Dr. W., C.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1920. Dunsterville, Major-Gen. L. C., C.B., C.S.I., c/o 62, Cornhill, E.C. 3.
 1927. Durand, Major A. A. M., M.C., 37, Egerton Gardens, S.W.3.
 1931. Durand, Maude Lady, 37, Egerton Gardens, S.W. 3.
 1936. Durand, Lieut.-Comm. Mortimer, R.N.(ret.), Bridge Barn, Woking.

E

1922. Eadie, Lieut.-Colonel J. I., D.S.O., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1925. Eastwood, Austin, West Bank, Baghdad.
 1938. Eddowes, Lieut.-Colonel W.B., Naval and Military Club, W.1.
 1921. Edmonds, C. J., C.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Edwards, Mrs. A. C., 1, St. John's Lodge, Harley Road, N.W. 3.
 1933. Edwards, Rev. A. G., 10, Kingsbury Place, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
 1938. Edwards, Dr. E. D., 26, Ashley Court, S.W. 1.
 1931. Edwards, Dr. E. H., 104, Regent's Park Road, N.W. 1.
 1936. Ekeley, Professor John B., Colorado University, U.S.A.
 1937. Elder, Samuel, c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1925. †Eldrid, E. M., The Knoll, Stockland, Devon. (M. of C.)
 1935. Elgood, Colonel P. C., C.M.G., Villa Beata, Heliopolis, Egypt.
 1936. El Kabir, Al-Sayyid J. S., Advocate, Mustansir Street, Baghdad.
 1930. Elkington, E. H. O., M.C., 54, Kensington Court, W. 8.
 1933. Elkington, Mrs., Belvedere Hotel, S.W. 7.
 460 1927. Ellington, Marshal of the R.A.F. Sir Edward, G.C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., 3, Richmond Hill Terrace, Richmond.
 1933. Elliot, Wing Commander W., 13, Pelham Crescent, S.W. 7.
 1923. Ellis, Captain C. H., O.B.E., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1934. Ellis, Gordon M., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
 1933. Ellis, Colonel R. S., O.B.E., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1926. Elphinston, Colonel W. G., M.C., Cavalry Club, W.1.
 1934. Elsworthy, Major A. L., M.B.E., British Military Mission, Cairo.
 1931. Eltham, Miss Grace, China Inland Mission, Newington Green, N. 16.

1934. Emami, Nizameddin, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
 1933. Emerson, G. H., I.C.S., c/o Punjab Civil Secretariat, Lahore.
 1922. Emmerson, Major C. L., R.A.M.C., c/o Kirkland House,
 Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1920. Empson, C., The British Embassy, Cairo.
 1934. Ensor, P. R. A., Sands, High Wycombe.
 1935. Epstein, E., Jewish Agency, P.O.B. 92, Jerusalem.
 1933. Erskine, Mrs. Steuart, Empress Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
 1936. Erskine-Lindop, Squadron-Leader V. S., Army and Navy
 Club, S.W. 1.
 1933. Eustace, Major-General A. H., C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., The
 Garter, Duncan, British Columbia.
 1931. Eustace, J. C. W., I.C.S., Punjab Government, Lahore.
 1936. Evans, Miss Barbara, The Firs, Burwood Park, Walton-on-
 Thames.
 1931. Evans, C. T., c/o Dominions Office, S.W. 1.
480 1939. Evans, Mrs. E. Hampson, 131E, St. James's Court, S.W. 1.
 1927. Evans, Mrs. Ianto, 19, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.
 1931. Evans, Brig.-Gen. Hon. L. P., V.C., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.,
 Lovesgrove, Aberystwyth.
 1930. Evans, S. E., Bryntirion, Glandyfi, Cardiganshire.
 1929. Evans, Brigadier W. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., 6, Pall
 Mall, S.W. 1.
 1927. Every, Sir Edward O., Bart., 1, Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.

F

1935. Fair, Miss Monica, Elmore House, Speen, Newbury.
 1933. Fairbairn, Ian, 98, Hamilton Terrace, N.W. 8.
 1929. Faiz Mohamed Khan, Captain Sahibzada, c/o Foreign
 Dept., Delhi.
 1929. Falcon, N. L., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1926. Farley, Colonel E. L., M.C., late R.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1922. Farrell, W. Jerome, O.B.E., M.C., East India and Sports
 Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Farrer, Hon. C. C., O.B.E., High Hackhurst, Abinger
 Hammer, Dorking.
 1933. Fateh, Mostafa, c/o Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Tehran.
 1930. Fatteh, Major Sulaiman, Askeri Street, Baghdad.
 1927. Fazy, Robert, Federal High Court, Lausanne.
 1937. Fellows, N.C.B., Royal Tank Corps, Habbaniya, Iraq.
 1930. Ferguson, Miss Jessie, Ellem Cottage, Duns, Berwickshire.
 1931. Ferguson, R. M., Swallowfields, Westholme, Vancouver Is.
 1936. Field, Major F. D., M.C., R.A., 69, Goldington Avenue,
 Bedford.
500 1937. Field, Dr. Henry, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.
 1937. Fielden, Major G., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1938. Filchner, Professor Dr. W., Livländischestrassen, 26, Berlin-
 Wilmersdorf.
 1928. Finch, J. P. G., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1937. Finch, Colonel L. H. K., D.S.O., O.B.E., BM/LHKF, W.C.1.

1934. Finding, W., c/o A.I.O. Co., Abadan.
 1934. Finlay, A. P., Victoria St., Armagh.
 1924. Fisher, Frank, 26, Throgmorton Street, E.C. 2.
 1938. Fisher, Mrs. Mortimer, Charlcombe, Penzance.
 1931. Fisher, Sir Stanley, Lydney, East Terrace, Budleigh
 Salterton.
 1929. Fiske, Mrs., Wilton Castle, Co. Durham.
 1919. FitzHugh, Major I. C., D.S.O., M.V.O., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1931. Fitzmaurice, N., C.I.E., Thatched House Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. Fitzwilliam, Miss I. W., c/o Westminster Bank, Ltd.,
 Temple Bar, E.C.
 1921. Flaxman, H. J. M., O.B.E., c/o Legal Dept., Khartoum,
 Sudan.
 1927. Fleming, G. J., Caledonian Club, S.W. 1.
 1936. Fleming, Peter, 14, More's Garden, Chelsea, S.W. 3.
 1927. Fletcher, Major Edward Walter, c/o 54, Parliament Street,
 S.W. 1.
 1936. Fletcher, Lt.-Comm. R. T. H., R.N., M.P., House of
 Commons, S.W. 1.
 1928. Fooks, R. H., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 520 1938. Foot, H. M., c/o Colonial Office, S.W. 1.
 1933. Forbes, Sir George Ogilvie, K.C.M.G., M.V.O., c/o Foreign
 Office, S.W. 1.
 1916. Forbes, Sir George Stuart, K.C.S.I., Athenæum Club,
 S.W. 1.
 1920. Forbes, Mrs. Muriel, Robinswood House, Hucclecote,
 Gloucester.
 1937. Forsyth, Mrs. E., Redgarth, Whitehill, Berkhamsted.
 1927. Fortescue, Lieut.-Colonel A. Irvine, D.S.O., Kirkland House,
 Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1938. Foster, F. B., Broadwater Farm, Phoenixville, Penn., U.S.A.
 1933. Foster, Sir William, C.I.E., 179, West Heath Road, N.W. 3.
 1938. Foster, Air Commodore W. MacNeece, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.,
 D.F.C., 3, Argyll Road, W. 8.
 1933. Fowle, Lady, c/o Lloyds Bank (G.1), 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1934. Fowle, L. V. A., Porth, Hollybank Road, Woking.
 1920. Fowle, Colonel Sir Trenchard C. W., K.C.I.E., C.B.E., East
 India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1925. Fox Strangways, Captain V., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1920. Fraser, Lieut.-Col. D. de M. S., C.I.E., 6, Pall Mall,
 S.W. 1.
 1923. Fraser, Donald S., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Fraser, John, Bath Island, Karachi.
 1927. Fraser, R. W., 17, McKay Road, S.W. 20.
 1916. Fraser, Sir Stuart M., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Brookside House,
 Christchurch, Hants.
 1926. Fraser, Major-General Sir Theodore, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G.,
 The Rookery, Roehampton Lane, S.W. 15.
 1922. Fraser, Brigadier W. A. K., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.V.O., M.C.,
 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 540 1935. Fraser-Tytler, Lieut.-Col. W. K., C.M.G., M.C., H.B.M.
 Minister in Kabul.

- †Frazer, Mrs. R., c/o National Provincial Bank, 250, Regent Street, W. 1.
1931. Freeland, Lieut.-Colonel R. A. B., M.C., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1936. Freeman, Colonel Max, 27, Queen's Road, N.W. 8.
1921. *Fremantle, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Francis, O.B.E., D.L., M.P., Bedwell Park, Hatfield.
1939. French, Miss E., 81, Biddulph Mansions, W. 9.
1922. French, J. C., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1923. French, Lieut.-Colonel W., D.S.O., M.C., Caledonian Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Fuerholzer, Edmund, 18, Militärstrasse, Hanover.
1938. Funnell, Rev. H. W., c/o China Inland Mission, N. 16.
1930. Fuqua, Ward, 803, Park Avenue, South Bend, Indiana.
1933. Furlong, Lieut.-Colonel D. W., O.B.E., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Furse, Major R. D., C.M.G., D.S.O., 18, Hanover Terrace, W. 11.

G

1931. †Gabriel, J., Advocate, Basrah.
1908. Gabriel, Colonel Sir Vivian, C.S.I., C.M.G., C.V.O., C.B.E., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
1932. Gadsby, Mrs. Henry, 18, Argyll Road, W. 8.
1932. Gai, K. A., Peshawar, N.W.F.P.
1931. Gale, Major R. N., M.C., D.C.L.I., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1938. †Galitzine, Prince Yuri, 28, Elm Tree Road, N.W. 8.
1936. Galloway, Major A. C., British Consulate-General, Bushire, Persian Gulf.
- 560** 1919. Garbett, C. C., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.I.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1937. Gardner, Flight-Lieut. D. W. H., R.A.F., Boscombe Down, Wilts.
1937. Gardner, Captain J. H., C. Indian Horse, Meerut, U.P.
1925. Gardner, H. Geary, The Mount, Kenley.
1935. Garland, Capt. H. E., 2/3rd Gurkha Rifles, c/o Messrs. Holt & Co., Kirkland House, S.W. 1.
1929. †Garne, T., Kingsdown Park, Tankerton-on-Sea, Kent.
1936. Garrod, Miss D. A. E., Newnham College, Cambridge.
1933. Garry, Major R. V. M., M.C., R.A., Coombe, Yattendon, Berks.
1935. Garsia, Lieut.-Col. H. G. A., C.B.E., D.S.O., 6, St. Leonard's Terrace, S.W. 3.
1933. Gass, N. A., M.C., The Bath Club, W. 1.
1937. Gaskell, Lieut.-Colonel R. W., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1933. Gastrell, Major E. H., O.B.E., Indian Political Dept., Secretary to the Resident, Indore.
1936. Gault, C. A., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
1923. de Gaury, Captain G. S. H. R. V., Bath Club, W. 1.
1927. Gee, A. W., c/o Rafidain Oil Co., Baghdad.
1927. Gibb, Professor H. A. R., 24, Northmoor Road, Oxford.

1936. Gibbings, Mrs. A., Flat 4, 65, Longridge Road, S.W. 5.
 1929. Gibbs, H. F. C., Alexander House, 216, Sheen Road, Richmond.
 1931. Gibson, H. S., Manor House, Rempstone, Loughborough.
 1927. Gidney, C. H., C.S.I., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1938. Gilbert, G. F. L., R.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bourne End, Bucks.
 1939. Giles, Major-General E. D., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., 63, Roehampton Lane, S.W. 15.
 1926. Gillan, Major G. V. B., C.I.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1934. Gillies, Mrs. E. F. A., Lamberhurst, Chestnut Avenue, Barton-on-Sea.
 1932. Giuseppi, Dr. P. L., Trevose, Felixstowe.
 1932. Glanville, Captain G. G., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1928. Glendening, V. H., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1933. Glennie, J. B. P., c/o 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd., Haifa, Palestine.
 1926. Glubb, Major J. B., O.B.E., M.C., c/o British Resident, Amman, Transjordan.
 1935. Goad, Harold E., British Institute, Palazzo Antinori, Florence, Italy.
 1937. Goad, Mrs. Howard, 219, Knightsbridge, S.W. 7.
 1927. Goddard, Major E. N., M.V.O., O.B.E., M.C., 3/12 F.F. Regt., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1936. Goil, Nand Gopal, Govt. High School, Ferozepur City, Punjab.
 1936. Goldsmith, R. F. K., D.C.L.I., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1938. Gomaa, M. M., School of Oriental Studies, Vandon Street, S.W. 1.
 1929. Gooch, G. P., D.Litt., F.B.A., 76, Campden Hill Road, W. 8.
 1931. Goode, Major R. L., 2/13 F.F. Rifles, Box 93, Bombay.
 1927. Goodland, Major E. S., M.C., 17, Highbury Road, S.W.19.
 1936. Goold-Adams, Lady, 87, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
 1934. Gordon, H. L., Khanaqin Oil Co., Ltd., Baghdad.
 1938. Gordon-Campbell, Iain, F.S.A., F.R.A.I., Ingiliz Erkek Mektebi, Nişantas, Istanbul.
 1927. Gosford, Dowager Countess of, 5, Orchard Court, W. 1.
 1935. Gossage, Mrs. E. L., Chestnut House, Uxbridge.
 1923. Gough, Lieut.-Colonel Viscount, M.C., 56, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
 1938. Gould, B.J., The Residency, Gangtok, Sikkim.
 1920. Gowan, Captain C. H., M.B.E., M.C., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1938. Gowan, Mrs. M. P., 56, St. George's Square, S.W. 1.
 1930. Grace, O. Gilbert, O.B.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
 1931. Gracey, Captain G. F. H., D.S.O., 20, Gordon Square, W.C. 1.
 1927. Gradidge, Major J. H., O.B.E., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1923. Graham, Captain Alan Crosland, Junior Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
 1938. Graham, Captain C. C., 10th Gurkha Rifles, 2nd Infantry Brigade, Rawalpindi.
 1931. Graham, Miss I., The Shieling, Comrie, Perthshire.
 1923. Graham, Major-General Sir James, C.B., C.I.E., I.M.S. (ret.), East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.

1931. Graham, Wing Commander R., D.S.O., D.S.C., D.F.C., Royal Air Force Club, W. 1.
1920. Graham, Colonel R. J. D., Dunalastair, North Inch, Perth.
1933. Graham, W. A., Plush Manor, Piddletrenthide, Dorset.
1939. Grant, J. Fergus, 1390, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, Canada.
1930. Gray, Dr. G. Douglas, Dunallan, Dalkeith, Midlothian. (Hon. Member.)
1926. Gray, K. Washington, Benclough, Harpenden, Herts.
- 620** 1937. Gray, Mrs. Norman, 19, Kensington Gore, S.W. 7.
1922. Greatwood, Major H. E., c/o Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1938. Green, Major J. H., 6, Tanglin Hill, Singapore.
1923. Greenhouse, Major F. S., Pikes Hill Avenue, Lyndhurst, Hants.
1936. Greenlaw, Squadron-Leader R. R., M.B.E., Caledonian Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Greenwood, Mrs. D. J., 134, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1938. Greer, Major E. R., Burma Rifles, c/o Grindlay & Co., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1931. Gregory, Captain C. E. C., Military Intelligence Officer, Rangpur, North Bengal.
1929. Gregory, J. R., Garden House, Hambrook.
1920. Gregson, Col. E. G., C.M.G., C.I.E., Buncrana, Liss, Hants.
1928. de Grenier, C. L., Bahrein State, Persian Gulf.
1928. Grey, Major C. A., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1933. Grey, Major-General W. H., C.B., C.M.G., Onslow Court Hotel, S.W. 7.
1923. Gribbon, Brigadier W. H., C.M.G., C.B.E., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Griffith, E. S., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1930. Griffith, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Ralph E. H., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1928. Griffith, Captain R. Glyn, National Provincial Bank, Torquay.
1933. Griffith, R. R., Q.V.O. Corps of Guides, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Griffiths, Captain O. H., Petroleum Concessions, Ltd., Deir-*ez-Zor*, Syria.
1933. Grobba, Dr. Fritz, German Legation, Baghdad.
- 640** 1921. Grove-White, Colonel M. Fitz G., D.S.O., O.B.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1925. Growden, Captain W. E. N., 'Iraq Police, Kirkuk, 'Iraq.
1924. Gubbay, M. M., C.S.I., C.I.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Gubbins, Mrs. Stamer, 8, Edwardes Square, W. 8.
1936. Gueritz, J. E. F., R.A. Mess, Ambala.
1933. Guest, Evan, Travellers' Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1931. Gueterbock, Major E. A. L., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1933. Guillemard, Sir Laurence, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., Rodsall Manor, Shackleford, Godalming.
1929. Gulbenkian, N., 10, South Street, E.C. 2.
1927. GULL, E. M., 84, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2. (Hon. Secretary.)

1937. Gull, Mrs. E. M., 84, Westbourne Terrace, W. 2.
 1921. Gumbley, Douglas W., C.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1936. Gunter, Mrs. H., 4, Sloane Avenue Mansions, S.W. 3.
 1935. Guthrie, Capt. James, M.B., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Chandi Chowk, Delhi.
 1934. Guthrie, J. T., 94, Inverleith Place, Edinburgh.
 1933. Gybbon-Monypenny, H. R. D., O.B.E., Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

H

1926. Hackett, Major T. W. D., M.C., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1936. Hackin, Mons. Joseph, 16, Place de Jena, Paris, xvi.
 1930. Hacobian, A. P., 43, Troy Court, W. 8.
 1923. Hadow, D. S., South Ridge, Shere, Surrey.
 1927. Hadow, Major K. C., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Haig, R. W., Imperial Bank of Iran, Abadan, Iran.
 1924. Hailes, Major W. A. L., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1927. Hailey, Captain P. C., I.P.S., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Haines, A. T., Coombe Wood, Salcombe Regis, Sidmouth.
 1930. Haines, Squadron-Leader H. A., D.F.C., R.A.F., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1936. Haining, Lieut.-General R. H., C.B., D.S.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1925. HALE, Frederick, 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3. (M. of C.)
 1930. Hale, H. W., c/o Imperial Bank of India, 22, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.
 1939. Halford, Aubrey S., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1929. Halford, Captain E. H., National Provincial Bank, Exeter.
 1926. Halifax, The Viscount, K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., 88, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
 1922. †Hallinan, Major T. J., O.B.E., Principal Medical Officer, Kingston, Jamaica.
 1924. Halsey, Sir Laurence, K.B.E., Gooserye Farm, Worplesdon.
 1935. Ham, Donald, 2, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
 1938. Hambleton, Miss Mildred, Questen, Pound Hill, Crawley.
 1936. Hamersley, Major A. H., M.C., Governor's House, El Arish, Sinai.
 1938. Hamid-ud-Din, Al-Sayyid P., Irrigation Dept., Hindiyah Barrage, 'Iraq.
 1931. Hamilton, Major A. M., c/o Union Bank of Australia, 71, Cornhill, E.C. 3.
 1937. Hamilton, Brian A., Allington Grange, nr. Chippenham.
 1923. Hamilton, J. A. de C., M.C., Conservative Club, S.W. 1.
 1923. Hamilton, Rear-Admiral John Claude, R.N., 20, Hammelton Road, Bromley.
 1934. Hamilton, L. N., 6, Lothbury, E.C. 2.
 1933. Hamilton, The Hon. R. A. B., Royal Scots Fusiliers, Wishaw House, Wishaw.
 1925. Hamlyn, Major H. W. A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
 1933. Hammond, Charles R. A., Sprowston Grange, Norwich.

1929. Hammond, T. E., Turvey House, Lewes Road, Haywards Heath.
1937. Hampton, J. W., 36, Nevern Square, S.W. 5.
1937. Hanbury-Tracy, J., 3, Shepherd Street, W. 1.
1931. Hancock, C. G., 112, Grosvenor House, Park Lane, W. 1.
1938. Harcourt, Captain Cecil, R.N., Mulberry House, The Vale, Chelsea.
1924. Harding, H. I., 19, Awatea Road, Parnell, New Zealand.
1936. Harding, P. E., Long Wall, Ashley Road, Walton-on-Thames.
1936. Hardwick, Ian, c/o Khedivial Mail Line, Alexandria.
1938. Hare, Major H. J., 6, Pall Mall, S.W., 1.
1938. Harmon, W. Gordon, Chinese Govt. Salt Administration, Tzeliuching, Szechwan.
1938. Harris, Miss Audrey, 47, Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
1938. Harris, R. C. S., District Officer, Ipoh, F.M.S.
1937. Harris, Squadron-Leader V., Air H.Q., Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
1939. Harris, W. H. T., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
- 700** 1931. Harrison, Captain F. H., Air Headquarters, Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
1925. Harrison, Brigadier H. C., D.S.O., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Harrison, J. V., University Museum, Oxford.
1924. Hart, H. G., Royal Societies Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Hartt, Mrs. A. C., Chalfont Park Hotel, Bucks.
1930. Harvey, Miss D. E., 9, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
1935. Hashem Effendi, Ihsan, District Office, Gaza, Palestine.
1929. Hasler, Major H. J., M.C., 3/6 Rajputana Rifles, Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1938. Hasler, W. J., c/o Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1937. Haslett, Major R. S., Poona Horse, 3rd Cavalry, Jubbulpore, C.P.
1921. Hassanein, Sir Ahmed Mohamed Bey, K.C.V.O., Raseltin Palace, Alexandria.
1927. Haughton, Lieut.-Colonel E. J. H., D.S.O., c/o National Bank of India, 26, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.
1920. Haughton, Major-General H. L., C.B., C.I.E., C.B.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1938. Haward, Edwin, c/o League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva.
1934. Hawker, C. Loraine, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
1929. Hawkins, V. A. Cæsar, 35, Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
1924. Hay, Major-General C. J. B., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, S.W. 1.
1938. Hay, Lord Edward, Hill Hall, Theydon Mount, Essex.
1920. Hay, Major W. R., C.I.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1936. Haycraft, Pauline Lady, Belstone Barton, Okehampton, Devon.
- 720** 1934. Hayes, Robert, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Abadan.
1933. Hayward, Rev. H. D., c/o China Inland Mission, Newington Green, N. 16.
1935. Hayward, Captain J. L., Junior Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Headley, Catherine Lady, 98, Portland Place, W. 1.
1930. (Headley-Dent, W. E., Shortflatt Tower, Belsay, Northumberland.) (See opposite.)

1934. Heald, A. R., Shell Co. of Sudan, Khartoum.
 1935. Heald, S. A., Broughton, Virginia Water, Surrey.
 1924. Heale, Colonel R. J. W., C.I.E., O.B.E., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Heaney, Major G. F., Junior Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
 1927. Hearn, A. C., 1, Duchess Street, W. 1.
 1935. Heath, Mrs. Francis, 46, Draycott Place, S.W. 3.
 1930. Heaton, D., c/o Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Tehran, Iran.
 1930. Heaume, F. H. du, O.B.E., c/o Grindlay & Co, Bombay.
 1935. Hebert, Wing-Commander F. L. B., R.A.F., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1938. Heber-Percy, Mrs. H., 37, Albert Court, S.W. 7.
 1930. Hedgecock, S. E., I.P.C., Kirkuk.
 1930. Hedley-Dent, W. E., Shortflatt Tower, Belsay, Northumberland.
1938. Heeckeren de Kell, La Baronne Henrietta de, Rhederoord-de-Steeg, Holland.
1928. Heilbron, B., 86, Strand, W.C. 2.
 1925. Hemmin, Sidney W., Hastings, Saunacy Avenue, Harpenden.
 1935. Henderson, Lieut.-Colonel H. G., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1934. Henderson, J. A., 9, Queen's Court, W. 2.
 1927. Henderson, J. Thyne, Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1938. Hendrey, W., Eastern Bank, Ltd., Ashar, Basrah, Iraq.
 1934. Henniker, M. C. A., Captain, M.C., R.E. Mess, Aldershot.
 1936. Henson, Mrs. B., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 39, Threadneedle Street, E.C. 2.
1930. Herridge, G. H., Iraq Petroleum Company, Haifa.
 1938. Herring, Miss B., Wraysbury House, Wraysbury, Bucks.
 1936. Herzfeld, Professor Ernst, 20, Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
1936. Hett, G. V. S., Bath Club, Dover Street, W. 1.
 1929. Hewett, Sir John, G.C.S.I., K.B.E., C.I.E., The Court House, Chipping Warden, Banbury.
1938. Heyworth-Dunne, J., 75, Antrim Mansions, N.W. 3.
 1924. Higgins, Air-Marshal Sir John F. A., K.C.B., K.B.E., D.S.O., A.F.C., Westwood House, Holly Walk, Leamington.
1936. Hikmet, Al-Sayyid M. K., L.H.O., Royal Dispensary, Hindiya Barrage, Iraq.
1934. Hildyard, Lieut.-General Sir Reginald J. T., K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Government House, Bermuda.
1924. Hill, Brigadier E. F. J., D.S.O., M.C., Naval and Military Club, S.W. 1.
1919. Hill, H. Brian, Chabua Post Office, Upper Assam, India.
 1938. Hillelson, S., 4, Porchester Court, Porchester Gardens, W. 2.
 1927. Hinds, Major C. D., Royal Signals, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1929. Hirtzel, Lady, East End House, Fairford.
 1933. Hoare, Sir Reginald, K.C.M.G., Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
 1929. Hobday, Mrs., 27, Rylett Road, W. 12.
 1934. Hodges, Adrian, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Masjid-i-Suleiman, Iran.
1935. Hodgson, R. C., c/o London and Burma Tobacco Co., P.O.B. 10, Rangoon.

1931. Hogg, Lieut.-Colonel W. P., M.C., I.M.S., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1926. Holland, Colonel R. T., D.S.O., M.C., Rydal, Wimborne, Dorset.
1930. Holland, Lady, 19, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1937. Hollis, R. H., 18, Elsham Road, W. 14.
1937. Holloway, O. E., University, Cairo.
1931. Holmes, Dr. R. D., K.-i.-H., Bahrein, Persian Gulf.
1921. Holt, Major A. L., M.B.E., M.C., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1922. Holt, Captain V., C.V.O., Baghdad.
1933. Honeyball, Major F. R., M.B.E., 4/10th Baluch Regiment, Jullundur, Punjab, India.
1923. Hooper, G. H. V., Headingly, Tonbridge.
1935. Hooton, Major R. S., 190, Dromore Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
1936. Hopewell, The Hon. Mrs., Westwood Cottage, Abbotswood, Guildford.
1926. Hopkinson, A. J., C.I.E., I.C.S., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1938. Hopkinson, G. F., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1936. Horne, Miss P., Appleton House, near Abingdon.
1934. Horsbrugh, Mrs. R. P., 87, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
- 780** 1934. Hos, Dov, Federation of Jewish Labour, Tel Aviv, Palestine.
1929. Hoskyn, Colonel J. C. M., C.B.E., D.S.O., c/o Thomas Cook and Son, 1, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
1921. Hotson, Sir Ernest, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1930. Howard, Alexander, 15, Chester Terrace, N.W. 1.
1914. Howard-Bury, Colonel C. K., M.P., Bath Club, W. 1.
1930. Howe, Wing-Commander T. E. B., C.B.E., A.F.C., Ridgeway, Colyton, S. Devon.
1908. Howell, Sir Evelyn B., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
1935. Howell, E. Butts, Byeways, Chalfont St. Giles.
1924. Howes, Flight-Lieutenant E. J., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Howes, J. B., I.P.S., c/o Political Dept., Delhi.
1935. Howland, Felix, Tome School, Port Deposit, Maryland, U.S.A.
1936. Hoyland, H. D., M.B.E., British Consulate, Tangier.
1927. *HUBBARD, G. E., Ludwell House. Charing, Kent. (Vice-President.)
1938. Hudson, J. E. H., 10th Baluch Regt., Karachi.
1934. Huffner, Richard, May's Hill Lodge, Shortlands, Kent.
1930. Hughes, Lieut.-Colonel C. E., C.B.E., British Empire Club, St. James's Square, S.W. 1.
1935. Hughes, Lieut.-Colonel I. T. P., House of Commons, S.W. 1.
1921. Hughes, J. A., M.C., 18, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.
1927. Hughes, T. L., c/o Lloyds Bank, Rangoon.
1936. Hulton, Col. F. C. L., c/o National and Provincial Bank, Piccadilly, W. 1.

- 800** 1925. Humphreys, Lieut-General, Sir E. Thomas, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1938. Humphreys, F. Y., M.B.E., 9, Station Parade, Gerrard's Cross.
 1937. Hungerford, Brigadier S. A. H., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Hunt, Lieut.-Colonel J. M., I.A., c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
 1921. Hunt, Captain W. E., c/o Westminster Bank, Bath.
 1930. Hunter, Rev. G. W., M.B.E., Urumchi, Chinese Turkestan. (Hon. Member.)
 1925. Hunter, Lieut.-Col. J. B. Dalzell, 33, Ormonde Gate, S.W. 3.
 1934. Hunting, P. Llewellyn, Cunard House, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
 1937. Hussey, Miss C., 2, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
 1933. Huskinson, Wing-Commander P., Bath Club, W. 1.
 1931. Hutchison, J. C., O.B.E., British Legation, Peiping.
 1938. Huxley, Michael H., 29, Pembroke Road, W. 8.
 1933. Hyde, Major G. L., 2/8th Punjab Regt., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.

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1939. Idelson, Dr. V. R., 13, Old Square, W.C. 2.
 1933. Ikram, Shaikh Mohamed, I.C.S., Assistant Collector, Surat, India.
 1924. India, Army Headquarters.
 1906. India, Secretary of State for, India Office, S.W. 1.
 1938. Inglefield, Rear-Admiral Sir Edward, K.B.E., 49, Lennox Gardens, S.W. 1.
 1935. Inglefield, Captain V. E., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1915. Ingram, E. M. B., C.M.G., O.B.E., British Embassy, Rome.
820 1922. Ingrams, W. H., C.M.G., O.B.E., c/o Residency Office, Aden.
 1927. Inman, Colonel H., 22c, Nevern Square, S.W. 5.
 1935. *Innes, Sir Charles, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Oriental Club, W. 1.
 1928. Inskip, Colonel R. D., C.I.E., D.S.O., M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
 1934. Ion, D. C., c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1933. Ionides, M. G., The Old Vicarage, Markyate, St. Albans.
 1929. Irani, Lieut.-Colonel M. S., Sorab Hall, Sassoon Road, Poona.
 1934. Ireland, P. W., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
 1933. Ismay, Mrs. Bower, Haselbech Hall, Northampton.
 1926. Ismay, Lieut.-Colonel H. L., C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., 3, Upper Phillimore Gardens, W. 8.
 1927. Ives, W. G., Colonial Office, S.W. 1.

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1936. Jabotinsky, V., 77, Great Russell Street, W.C. 1.
 1923. Jacks, T. L., C.B.E., Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Jackson, B. R., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1927. Jackson, F. K., Greenset, Alderbury, Wilts.

1924. Jackson, R. J., I.C.S., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1925. Jacob, Major-General A. Le G., C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E., D.S.O., 22, Blomfield Road, W. 9.
1931. Jacomb, C. R., Little Dunkeld, Hook Heath.
1930. Jakins, H. G., H.B.M. Consulate General, Djibouti, French Somaliland.
- 840** 1934. Jamali, Al Sayyid, Dr. A., Minister of Education, 'Iraq.
1933. James, Squadron-Leader H. Hindle, O.B.E., Oxford and Cambridge Club, S.W. 1.
1931. James, Major W. A. L., 5/6 Rajputana Rifles, Hongkong, China.
1936. James, Mrs. Z., 19, Great Cumberland Place, W. 1.
1929. Jameson, J. A., C.B.E., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
1936. Jameson, Mrs. R. P., 14, Denison Close, Ossulton Way, N. 2.
1938. Jameson, Miss V. E., Heritage House, Warley, Essex.
1936. Jamieson, Sir James W., K.C.M.G., The Thatched House Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Janson, Rex. R.N.V.R., Balfour House, 119, Finsbury Pavement, E.C. 2.
1933. Jardine, L. W., I.C.S., c/o National Bank of India, E.C. 2.
1921. Jardine, R. F., C.M.G., O.B.E., c/o Dept. of Lands, Jerusalem.
- *†Jardine, W. E., C.I.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1931. JARVIS, Major C. S., C.M.G., O.B.E., Chele Orchard, Ringwood, Hants. (M. of C.)
1930. Jenkinson, Captain R. C. H., Turf Club, W. 1.
1934. Jennings, Harold G., Bedrock Estate, Perak, F.M.S.
1930. Jermyn, Major K., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1936. Jerwood, E. L., M.C., 93, Comeragh Road, W. 14.
1939. Johns, C. N., Dept. of Antiquities, Jerusalem.
1933. Johnson, Flight-Lieutenant J. C. A., R.A.F., 10, The Avenue, Blackheath, S.E. 3.
1939. Johnson, Mrs. W. H., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1928. Johnston, Brigadier A. L., O.B.E., A.H.Q., New Delhi, India.
1931. Johnston, Major M. A. B., M.C., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
- 860** 1930. Jones, Lieut.-Colonel A. E. Booth, M.D., Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1936. Jones, D. Glynn, M.Sc., A.M.I.C.E., c/o 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Ltd., City Gate House, E.C. 2.
1926. Jones, Ivor M., Abadan, Persian Gulf.
1929. Jones, Captain N. J. G., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1938. Jones, Flight-Lieut. W. H., R.A.F. Headquarters, Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
1930. Jones, W. R., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1931. Jope-Slade, Squadron-Leader R., D.S.O., O.B.E., The Air Ministry, S.W. 1.
1923. Joy, G. A., Port Villa, New Hebrides, Western Pacific.
1921. Joyce, Lieut.-Col. P. C., C.B.E., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Judd, Basil, c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
1938. Jullien, Mme. J. M., 7, Barkston Gardens, S.W. 5.

K

1928. Kahtan, Saleh Mochi, El Rashid St. 448, Baghdad.
1932. Kat, Mrs. de, 33, Cromwell Road, S.W. 7.
1932. Kaulback, R. J. H., 81, Coleherne Court, S.W. 5.
1934. Keays, Major G. A. V., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1920. *Keeling, E. H., M.C., M.P., 20, Wilton Street, S.W. 1.
1927. Keeling, Lieutenant-Commander Trowbridge, R.N., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1933. Keller, C. T., 80, Federal Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1925. Kelly, Lieut.-Colonel C. H. Harvey, D.S.O., Clonhugh, Multyfarnham, Ireland.
1935. Kelly, Mrs. Harvey, Manor House, Shipston-on-Stour.
1936. KELLY, Admiral Sir Howard, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1. (M. of C.)
1913. Kemp, Miss E., 26, Harley House, N.W. 1.
1931. Kennedy, Captain D. M., c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Abadan.
1937. Kennedy, Miss M. N., The Sesame Imperial Club, W. 1.
1925. Kennedy, Lieut.-Colonel R. S., D.S.O., M.C., M.B., 8, Throgmorton Avenue, E.C. 2.
1921. Kennett, Mrs. Barrington, Fulmer Grange, Stoke Poges.
1928. Kennion, Lieut.-Colonel R. L., C.I.E., Durford Wood, Petersfield.
1937. Kent, R. H. B., O.B.E., c/o Messrs. Kent & Mouncey, 2, Victoria Terrace, Tientsin, China.
1935. Kerr, Sir Archibald K. Clark, K.C.M.G., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.
1921. Kerr, Captain E. Teviott, I.A., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1937. Kessler, D. F., 178, Gloucester Place, N.W. 1.
1936. Ketchell, E. R., 24, Tierney Road, S.W. 2.
1920. Kettlewell, Captain L., D.S.O., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Kettlewell, L. S., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd, Jersey.
1924. Al Khalidi, Ahmad Sameh ibn Shaikh Raghieb, M.B.E., Department of Education, Jerusalem.
1929. Kharegat, M. P., Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay.
1930. Kharegat, Lieut.-Colonel R., M.B., I.M.S., Box 48, Bombay.
1934. Khayyat, Ja'far Mahdi, Director, Bakrajo Govt. Farm, Sulaimaniya, 'Iraq.
1931. Kidd, J. D., Pilgrims' Way, Westhumble, Dorking.
1937. Kinch, E. A., 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Hadithah, 'Iraq.
1932. Kindersley, A. F., I.C.S., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1937. King, E. H., 4B, Portman Mansions, W. 1.
1936. King, Herbert, 731, Macon Street, Brooklyn, New York City.
1926. Kingsley, Colonel H. E. W. Bell, D.S.O., Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun.
1927. Kirkbride, Major G., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Kirkpatrick, General Sir George M., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1926. Kirkpatrick, W., c/o 9, Clements Lane, E.C. 4.
1936. Kirwan, N. G. B., Mangalore, S. Kanara, S. India.

1936. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Sir Hughe, K.C.M.G., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1922. Knollys, Lieut.-Colonel Denis E., D.S.O., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1935. Kooros, Hassan Khan, c/o Kooros Bros., 69, Old Broad Street, E.C. 2.
 1934. Krishnamachari, Rao Bahadur Sir K., C.I.E., Dilaram, Baroda State.
 1935. Kroner, Lieut.-Colonel Hayes, American Embassy, 6, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1.
 1938. Krongold, Haim, Advocate, Jerusalem.

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1930. La Coste, Raymond, 4, Montpelier Terrace, S.W. 7.
 1920. Laithwaite, John G., C.S.I., C.I.E., India Office, S.W. 1.
 1922. Lake, Lt.-Col. M. C., C.M.G., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
 1923. Lake, Lieut.-General Sir Percy H. N., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1925. Lambert, D. P., 38, Threadneedle Street, E.C. 2.
 1904. *LAMINGTON, Rt. Hon. Lord, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., 3, Wilton Place, S.W. 1. (Hon. Vice-President.)
920 1933. Lampard, H., Foreign Department, Y.M.C.A., W.C. 1.
 1930. Landau, Miss, Evelina de Rothschild School, Jerusalem.
 1933. Lander, A. V., O.B.E., 20, Priory Court, N.W. 6.
 1936. Landman, S., 9, Basinghall Street, E.C. 2.
 1932. Lane, Miss D., 30, Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11.
 1928. Lane, Commander P. C. H., 25, Warwick Gardens, W. 14.
 1921. Lane, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., C.I.E., C.B.E., 146, King Henry's Road, N.W. 3.
 1927. Langdale, A. H., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Lassiter, Captain, M.C., 58, Talbot Road, N. 6.
 1928. Lattimore, Owen, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
 1930. Laurie, Captain I. L. W. D., 2nd Anti-Aircraft Division, Hucknall, Notts.
 1936. Lavison, Flying-Officer A. de, P.O.B. 647, Jaffa, Palestine.
 1928. Law, Henry D. G., C.I.E., Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 28, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.
 1935. Lawrence, Arnold, c/o Museum of Classical Archæology, Cambridge.
 1924. Lawrence, Sir H. S., K.C.S.I., Greenheys, Boars Hill, Oxford.
 1937. Lawrence, Mrs., The Lacket, Lockeridge, Marlborough. (Hon. Member.)
 1926. Lawson, A. E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1934. Lea, The Right Rev. A., Bishop in S. Japan, c/o Church House, Westminster, S.W. 1.
 1938. Leach, E. R.
940 1936. Leach, Miss V., 17, Hereford Square, S.W. 7.
 1933. Leather, Group-Captain R. T., A.F.C., c/o Martins Bank, Belford, Northumberland.
 1921. Lee, W. H., c/o Lloyds Bank, Folkestone.

1921. Lee-Warner, W. Hamilton, Athenæum Club, S. W. 1.
1935. Lees, A. T. O., 24, Argyll Road, W. 8.
1920. *LEES, G. Martin, M.C., D.F.C., Ph.D., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1. (Vice-President.)
1939. Lefebvre-Arnold, Philip, Sa'udi Arabian Mining Syndicate, Jeddah.
1929. Lefroy, L. M., O.B.E., 23, Sumner Place, S. W. 7.
1925. Legatte Wood, J., Beirut, Syria.
1929. Leigh, Peter, 192, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1936. Leigh-Mallory, Air-Vice-Marshal T., D.S.O., LL.B., R.A.F., No. 12 Group, R.A.F., Hucknall.
1925. Lenox-Simpson, Mrs., c/o Bank of Montreal, 6, Place Vendôme, Paris.
1937. Lermatte, B. H. le R., Petroleum Concessions, Ltd, Manama, Bahrain Islands.
1937. Leroy-Acton, A. D., M.B.E., Red Stacks, Hadlow Stair, Tonbridge.
1921. Leslie, Captain W. L. Parcianu, Criccieth, N. Wales.
1936. Levy, Miss R., 40, Rotherwick Road, Golders Green, N.W. 11.
1933. Lewin, P. Evans, M.B.E., Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.
1933. Lewis, Squadron-Leader E. C., R.A.F., c/o Barclays Bank, Ltd., 49, Corn Street, Bristol.
1938. Lewisohn, F., C.S.I., C.B.E., 94, Campden Hill Road, W. 8.
1934. Lighthall, Captain W. S.
1931. Lincoln, Major C. H., O.B.E., Foreign H.B.M. Consul, Kerman, Iran, Political Dept., Government of India.
1935. Lindgren, Miss E. J., Ph.D., Sunbourn, Harston, Cambs.
1935. Lindley, Rt. Hon. Sir Francis, Bart., G.C.M.G., C.B., C.B.E., The Weir House, Alresford, Hants.
1931. Lindsay-Smith, Col. J., C.B.E., Stowford, Chittlehampton, Devon.
1934. Lindt, Dr. A. R., c/o Union de Banques Suisses, Berne.
1936. Linnithgow, Rt. Hon. The Marquess, K.T., P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., The Viceroy's House, New Delhi.
1922. List, J. N., M.C., A.M.I.C.E., North Lodge, St. Catherine's, Guildford.
1937. Little, C. W., 16, Pasture Road, N. Wembley.
1921. Lloyd, Major H. I., O.B.E., M.C., Law Courts, Basrah, Iraq.
1929. Lloyd, Sir John B., Briannic House, E.C. 2.
1908. *Lloyd or DOROBAN, Rt. Hon. Lord, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., Carlton Club, S.W. 1. (President.)
1934. Lloyd, Seton A. F., Cleavers, Welford-on-Avon.
1932. Loch, Major-General G. G., C.B., C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O., 160, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1.
1934. Lockhart, Laurence, Ph.D., 38, Aubrey Walk, W. 8.
1931. Lockhart, W. Elliott, c/o P.O.B. 93, Bombay.
1933. Long, Flight-Sergeant P. W., M.M., H.M.S. Glorious, c/o G.P.O., London.
1920. Longrigg, Major S. H., O.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Loraine, Anthony, Capt., Imperial Airways, S. W. 1.

1926. Loraine, Sir Percy Lyham, Bart., P.C., G.C.M.G., H.B.M. Ambassador, Rome.
1928. Loretz, Captain S. J., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1934. Lorey, Eustache de, 3, Place de Jena, Paris, xvi.
- 980** 1936. Lory, F. B. Pendarves, C.I.E., 23, Washington House, Basil Street, S.W. 3.
1937. Lott, Flight-Lieut. C. G., R.A.F., 87, St. Paul's Road, Chichester.
1921. Lovett, Sir H. Verney, K.C.S.I., 11, Linton Road, Oxford.
1937. Lovett, Major O. de T., 2nd Gurkhas, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1928. Lowis, R. H. D., c/o Imperial Bank of India, Simla, India.
1933. Luard, J. McV., c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Tehran.
1935. Luck, Captain Sidney, O.B.E., 26, Wellington Square, S.W. 3.
1931. Ludlow-Hewitt, Air Chief Marshal Sir Edgar, K.C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., M.C., R.A.F. Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
1923. Luke, Sir Harry, K.C.M.G., D.Litt., Hon. LL.D., Athenæum, S.W. 1.
1934. Lumby, Christopher, c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1909. Lyall, Lieut.-Colonel R. A., Flitwick Manor, Bedford.
1935. Lyautey, M. Pierre, Legion d'Honneur, 88, Boulevard Flandrin, Paris.
1936. Lynch, Andrew E., American Consulate-General, Tehran.
1922. Lynden-Bell, Major L. A., M.C., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1933. Lyttleton, Commander S. C., R.N.(ret.), 8, Clive Street, Calcutta.

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1923. Macann, Major A. E. H., c/o Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1909. *Macartney, Sir George, K.C.I.E., 4, Overseas Dique Road, Jersey.
1936. Macartney, Robin, A.R.I.B.A., P.O.B. 13, Kyrenia, Cyprus.
1934. MacBride, Samuel, B.Sc., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Abadan.
1923. McCallum, Major Duncan, Kilmaronaig, Connel, Argyll.
- 1,000** 1923. McCallum, Mrs. D., Kilmaronaig, Connel, Argyll.
1934. McCann, G. H., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
1933. McCarthy, Lieut.-Colonel J. J., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., The Gorse, Leckington, Glos.
1933. McCullough, R. D. M., Ottoman Bank, Mosul.
1937. MacDermid, Mrs. A. F., 5, Gledhow Gardens, S.W. 5.
1928. McDermott, Dr. B., 23, River Court, Portsmouth Road, Surbiton.
1939. McDermott, E. D., The Dene, Borough Green, Kent.
1927. Macdonald, Captain Alan D., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1931. MacDonald, Lieut.-Colonel H. S., D.S.O., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. McDougall, A., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Britannic House, E.C. 2.

1936. McDougall, Professor A., c/o Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Baghdad.
1933. MacEwen, A. R., I.C.S., c/o British Linen Bank, Edinburgh.
1928. MAC EWEN, Air Vice-Marshal N. D. K., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1. (M. of C.)
1925. MacGeagh, Colonel Sir Henry D. Foster, K.B.E., K.C., T.D., Conservative Club, S.W. 1.
1921. McGrath, Lieut.-Colonel A. T., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1924. MacGregor, Squadron-Leader A., M.B.E., D.F.C., c/o 3, Coates' Crescent, Edinburgh.
1924. MacGregor, R. M., Caledonian Club, S.W. 1.
1933. McHardy, Rev. A., Royal Air Force Club, Piccadilly, S.W. 1.
1934. MacIntyre, Hugh M., Elmsley, Racecourse Road, Ayr.
1936. McIntyre, Captain John L., R.E., 15, Clarendon Way, Chislehurst, Kent.
- 1020 1933. Mackay, Mrs. Ernest, Brambledown, Whiteleaf, Monks Risborough, Bucks.
1937. McKenna, Squadron-Leader A. F., R.A.F., Kohat, N.W.F.P., India.
1933. Mackenzie, D. M., The Bookshop, Baghdad.
1934. MacLean, T. Traill, Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
1925. Mackenzie, Major F., 1/15 Punjab Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1931. Mackie, Lieut.-Colonel W. B., M.C., 104, Wick Hall, Hove.
1921. Mackintosh, C. A. G., 41, Sharia Gabalaya, Gezira, Cairo.
1929. Maclean, H. W., C.M.G., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., 67, Lombard Street, E.C. 2.
1926. McLellan, W. F. B., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1932. MacLeod, Captain A. J. W., 3/12 F.F. Regt., Jandola, India.
1927. MacLeod, Rev. M. K., F.S.A., Officers' Mess, R.A.F., Manston, Kent.
1928. MacLeod, Brigadier N. M., D.S.O., M.C., 48, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1936. MacLeod, W. N., c/o Royal Bank of Scotland, Dumfries.
1933. McLorn, J., Chinese Postal Service, Tientsin.
1929. McMahan, Colonel Sir Henry, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
1922. MacMichael, Sir H. A., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., Government House, Jerusalem.
1927. McMurray, J. H., C.B.E., The Red House, Weybridge.
1936. Macnaghten, Sir Henry, 4, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1928. MacNair, Mrs. Harley, House of the Wu Tung Trees, 5533, Woodlawn Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
1937. MacNamara, Major J. P., M.B., R.A.M.C., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
- 1040 1933. Macnamara, Major J. R. J., M.P., Royal Fusiliers, House of Commons, S.W. 1.
1922. *Maconachie, Sir Richard R., K.B.E., C.I.E., Oxford and Cambridge Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Maconchy, Brigadier-General E. W. S. King, C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., Edenmore, Hook, Hants.

1938. MacPhail, Mrs. E. M., c/o The Bank of Scotland, 103, George Street, Edinburgh.
1934. McPhee, S. E., 12, Hailes Gardens, Colinton, Midlothian.
1920. Macpherson, C. F., C.I.E., c/o I.P.C., P.O.B. 309, Haifa.
1933. Macpherson, Duncan Richard de Lancey, c/o Godwin & Co., Winchester, Hants.
1923. Macquoid, Brigadier-General C. E. K., C.I.E., D.S.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1929. MacWilliam, A. R., 4, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1924. *Maffey, Sir John, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Mahler, Flying Officer, J. R., Air House, Habbaniya, 'Iraq.
1936. Maillart, Mlle. Ella, 10, Avenue Gaspard Valletta, Geneva.
1930. Main, Ernest, St. Andrew's Club, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1934. Maitland, H. Comyn, I.C.S.(ret.), 2, Brick Court, E.C. 4.
1923. Makant, Mrs., Thorns Hall, Sedburgh, Yorks.
1936. Malcolm, J. A., 25, Palace Gate, W. 8.
1908. *Malcolm, Major-General Sir Neill, K.C.B., D.S.O., 67, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1927. Malden, Rev. R. A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1927. Mallam, Captain P., Tank, N.W.F.P., India.
1933. Mallowan, M. E. L., 58, Sheffield Terrace, W. 8.
- 1,060 1934. Mance, Brig.-General Sir Osborne, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Hill Top, Frith Hill, Godalming.
1928. Mandi, H.H. the Rani Amrit Kaur of, Mandi State, Punjab.
1928. Mannerheim, General Baron G., Helsingfors, Finland.
1934. Mansur, Alexander, Advocate, Basrah City, Basrah.
1938. Mansur, George, Education Dept., Baghdad.
1933. Mar Shimun, His Beatitude the, Catholicos Patriarch of the Assyrians.
1927. Margoliouth, Professor D. S., Romney, Boar's Hill. (Hon. Member.)
1929. Marker, K. A., Marker Cottage, Quetta. (Life Member.)
1920. Marrs, Major R., C.M.G., C.I.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W.1.
1937. Marsack, Flight-Lieut. A. H., M.B.E., Air Headquarters, Aden.
1936. Marsack, Flight-Lieut. D. H., R.A.F., S.S.O., Nablus, Palestine.
1937. Marsden, P., I.C.S., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Marsh, Frank, M.D.(Lond.), B.S., Masjid-i-Suleiman, S. Iran.
1934. Marshall, A. G., 2, Howard Street, W.C. 2.
1925. Marshall, F. W., 7, South Hill Mansions, N.W. 3.
1937. Marshall, Major-General J. S., C.B., D.S.O., O.B.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1937. Marshall, J. Y., York House, Tiptree, Essex.
1929. Marshall, Lieut.-General Sir William R., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Marshall-Cornwall, Lieut.-General J. H., C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Martin, Arthur J., H.B.M. Consul, Foochow, China.

- 1,080 1934. Martin, Hamilton A., Marikuppam P.O., Mysore State.
 1926. Martin, Colonel H. G., D.S.O., O.B.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1923. Martin, Major R., M.C., 1st Batt. E.Y. Regt., Jullundur, Punjab.
 1927. Martin, R. Clare, 3, Albemarle Street, W. 1.
 1933. Martyn, W. L. D., Sharon, Bude, Cornwall.
 1931. Massie, Captain T. A., 9th Gurkha Rifles, Malakand, N.W.F.P.
 1935. Masson, J. R., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.
 1926. Massy, Major-General H. R. S., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1935. Matheson, H. M., 46, Princes Gardens, S.W. 7.
 1933. Matheson, Miss Ivy, 6, Queen Anne Terrace, Cambridge.
 1929. † Mathews, Flying-Officer J. R.
 1931. Matthew, J. G., C.M.G., O.B.E., 12, Warwick Square, S.W. 1.
 1933. Mattick, Herbert, Engineer, Baghdad Bridges, Baghdad.
 1933. May, Captain A. C. W., c/o Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1936. May, Miss Page, Lankton Grange, near Tunbridge Wells.
 1936. Maynard, Mrs. E., 71, Clare Court, Judd Street, W.C. 1.
 1929. Maynard, Brigadier F. H., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1930. Mayne, E. B., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1934. Meade, G. E., Irrigation Dept., Baghdad.
 1929. Meadows, William, Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1,100 1935. Medley, Lieut.-Colonel A. G., c/o Messrs. T. Cook and Sons, 1, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
 1912. Medlicott, Lieut.-Colonel H., D.S.O., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1929. Mehdi Khan, Mirza, c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, Tehran.
 1931. Meiklejohn, Lieut.-Col. J. F., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1920. Mellor, Donald, 25, Dault Road, S.W. 18.
 1933. Mellor, E. M., The Redlands, New Road, Uttoxeter, Staffs.
 1926. Mellor, Captain F. H., 1, Brambledown Road, Sanderstead, Surrey.
 1929. Mellor, Sir John, Bart., M.P. 1, Embankment Gardens, S.W. 3.
 1935. Merlange, Mlle. A., c/o Musée Guimet, Place de Jena, Paris, xvi.
 1933. Merton, Arthur, Devonshire Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Messervy, B., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1925. Metcalfe, Sir Aubrey, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.V.O., Foreign Office, Delhi.
 1932. Middleton, C. F., Farnah House, Bray, Maidenhead.
 1923. Millar, Captain A. B., c/o Hongkong-Shanghai Banking Corporation, Tokyo.
 1929. Milligan, Major E. D., Royal Artillery, Colombo.
 1922. Mills, E., C.B.E., Commissioner for Migration and Statistics, P.O.B. 437, Jerusalem.
 1935. Mills, Mrs. James, 4, Wilton Street, S.W. 1.
 1935. Mills, J. P., I.C.S., F.A.S.B., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. Milner-Barry, W. L., c/o Shell Oil Co., of Palestine, Jerusalem.
 1930. Milnes-Gaskell, C., Wenlock Abbey, Much Wenlock.

- 1,120** 1938. Mirza, Major Iskander, Political Agent, Khyber, N.W.F.P.
 1935. Mitchell, G. E., c/o Messrs. Butterfield and Swire, Shanghai.
 1929. Mitchell, Air-Marshal Sir William, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O.,
 M.C., A.F.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1930. Moberly, Brig. A. H., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club,
 S.W. 1.
 1926. Moberly, Lieut.-General Sir Bertrand R., K.C.I.E., C.B.,
 D.S.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1936. Moberly, W. I., 10/12th F.F. Regt., Sialkot, Punjab.
 1920. Mocatta, Colonel V. E., O.B.E., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1930. Mohr, Dr. Anton, University of Oslo, Norway.
 1926. Moir, Brig.-General A. J. G., C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., Touch-
 wood, Bunch Lane, Haslemere.
 1929. Moll, Major W. R., 4/16 Punjab Regt., Poona, India.
 1936. Monck, Bosworth, 12, Wellington Square, S.W. 3.
 1935. Monins, Mrs. J., 12, Alexander Square, S.W. 3.
 1935. Montague-Douglas-Scott, J. H., 9th Lancers, Mooltan
 Barracks, Tidworth.
 1920. Monteath, D. Taylor, C.B.E., C.V.O., India Office, S.W. 1.
 1921. Monteath, G., I.C.S., Fifield, Oxford.
 1938. Montgomery, Squadron-Leader A. H., M.B.E., 28, Elm Park
 Gardens, S.W. 10.
 1936. Montell, Dr. G., Statens Etnografiska Museum, Stockholm, ö.
 1903. *Moon, Edward R. P., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
 1931. Moon, E. Penderel, I.C.S., Lahore, India.
 1931. Moore, Captain A. C. S., Tochi Scouts, Miranshah,
 Waziristan.
- 1,140** 1935. Moore, Mrs William, 4, East 54th Street, New York City.
 1938. Morgan, G. F., 16, Regent's Park Terrace, N.W. 1.
 1935. Moose, James S., American Consulate-General, Tehran.
 1920. More, Lt.-Col. J. C., C.I.E., D.S.O., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd.,
 Jersey.
 1936. Morgan, Mrs. A. Hickman, 14, Grosvenor Place, W. 1.
 1927. Morgan, C. Stuart, Room 2800, 26, Broadway, New York.
 1922. Morland, Major W. E. T., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy
 Club, S.W. 1.
 1927. Morris, Major C. J., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1938. Morris, J. Marshall, 88, Cedar Street, Santa Cruz, Calif.
 1929. Morris, Norman H., Tile House, Worplesdon Hill, Surrey.
 1936. Morris, Mrs. M., 78, Colney Hatch Road, N. 10.
 1931. Morrison, G. N. I., c/o Postmaster, Khartoum.
 1931. Morrison, R. M. S., West Lychett, Horsley.
 1925. Morton, Miss A. Anderson, Vann Water, Ockley.
 1931. Mousley, E. O., Norseland, Hayling Island.
 1935. Mudie, A., Port Officer, Cuddalore, S. Arcot, S. India.
 1937. Muir, The Lady, Blair Drummond, Stirling.
 1928. Mumford, Captain P. S., Farley Green Farm, Albury,
 Surrey.
 1933. Munn, Lieut. J. W., R.A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall,
 S.W. 1.
 1937. Mundy, C. S. Famagusta, Cyprus.
- 1,160** 1939. Murray, John, 50, Albemarle Street, W. 1.

1930. Murray, Colonel K. D., c/o Glyn Mills and Co., Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1921. Muspratt, General Sir Sydney F., K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.S.O., India Office, S.W. 1.
 1925. Muzaffar Khan, Nawab, C.I.E., Director, Information Bureau, Punjab.
 1916. Mysore, Hon. the Resident, Bangalore, S. India.

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1923. †Nairn, Norman, O.B.E., Box 30, Damascus.
 1937. Najafi, Al-Sayyid A., Badkuba School, Kerbela, 'Iraq.
 1922. Nalder, Lieut.-Colonel L. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., C.B.E., Savile Club, W. 1.
 1935. Namgyal, H.H. The Maharaja Sir Tashi, K.C.I.E., The Palace, Gangtok, Sikkhim.
 1921. Nariman, R. K., M.I.C.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1927. Nash, Prof. A. W., The University, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 1935. Nash, Captain G. H., 2/16 Punjab Regt., c/o Grindlay & Co., Bombay.
 1936. †Nashashibi, Anwar B., Common Room, Gray's Inn, W.C. 1.
 1938. Nasha'at, Al Sayyid M. S., Supervisor of Iranian Schools, Baghdad.
 1938. Natha Singh, Sardar Sahib, Supervisor of Works, R.A.F., Habbaniya, 'Iraq.
 1935. Nathan, E. J., O.B.E., Chief Manager, Kailan Mining Administration, Tientsin, China.
 1935. Nathan, Lady, 18, Kensington Gate, W. 8.
 1932. Nazir-ul-Mulk, Shazada, Chitral.
 1933. Neame, Major-General P., V.C., C.B., D.S.O., Brookes Croft, Selling, near Faversham, Kent.
 1936. Neep, Captain F. R., 4/11th Sikh Regt., Mardan, N.W.F.P.
 1924. Neilson, E. F., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1929. Neilson, R. G., C.B.E., Iona, The Droveaway, Hove, Sussex.
 1929. Neligan, A. R., M.D., 9, Corbett Avenue, Droitwich.
 1928. Ness, Mrs. Patrick, 34, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
 1933. Nettlefold, Lieut.-Col. E. J., Moyglare Glebe, Maynooth.
 1926. Newbold, Douglas, c/o Civil Secretary, Khartoum.
 1922. NEWCOMBE, Colonel Stewart F., D.S.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1. (Vice-Pres.)
 1921. Newton, Miss Frances E., 13, Moore Street, S.W. 3.
 1934. Ney, Major F. J., M.C., Royal Empire Society, 18, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2.
 1927. Nicholl, D. W. D., R.A., c/o Midland Bank, Swansea.
 1929. Nicholl, Mrs. S. J., Bleak House, Caythorpe, Lincs.
 1926. Nicholson, Major-General F. L., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
 1929. Nicholson, Lieut.-Colonel M. A., M.B., I.M.S., Abbottabad, N.W.F.P., India.
 1927. Nicholson, R. A., Litt.D., 52, Bateman Street, Cambridge. (Hon. Member.)

1929. Nicoll, C. F., Port Directorate, Basrah.
 1925. Nicolson, Hon. Harold, C.M.G., 4, King's Bench Walk, E.C. 4.
 1922. Nightingale, Major-General M. R. W., C.B., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., 144, Wick Hall, Hove, 2.
 1923. Noble, Mrs., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 35, Piccadilly, W. 1.
 1920. Noel, Lieut.-Colonel E. W. C., C.I.E., D.S.O., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
 1939. Norman, Edward A., 60, Beaver Street, New York City.
1,200 1921. Northcote, D. S., 82, Aescot Road, Bermondsey.
 1926. Northcroft, Ernest George Drennan, c/o A.I.O. Co., Tehran.
 1925. Noyes, Major-General C. D., C.I.E., M.C., Suffolk House, Rawlpindi, Punjab.

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1934. Oakshott, R. S., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1922. Oatway, Captain S. H., St. Helen's Court, E.C. 3.
 1921. O'Connor, Major R. L., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1927. O'Connor, Mrs. R. L., Albemarle Club, 37, Dover Street, W.1.
 1931. O'Connor, Colonel R. N., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. O'Dowd, Captain F. J., R.A.M.C., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1928. O'Dwyer, J. C., British Consulate-General, San Francisco, California.
 1920. *O'Dwyer, Sir Michael F., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., 22, Prince of Wales Terrace, W. 8.
 1931. Ogden, Alwyne G. N., O.B.E., British Consulate-General, Shanghai.
 1938. Ogden, Wing-Commander C. P., O.B.E., R.A.F. Club, W. 1.
 1931. O'Leary, Major B. J., R.A., British Legation, Copenhagen.
 1921. Olver, Colonel Sir Arthur, C.B., C.M.G., Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
 1938. Olzscha, Dr. R., Schlüterstrasse 29, Berlin-Charlottenburg.
 1935. O'Meara, Arthur, President, Civil Courts, Mosul.
 1933. O'Morchoe, Major N. C., 4/15th Punjab Regiment, I.A., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1926. O'Neill, Major H. J. D., M.C., c/o T. Cook and Son, 1, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
 1938. O'Neill, Wing-Commander H. D., A.F.C., H.Q. British Forces in 'Iraq, Habbaniya.
1,220 1937. Onslow, Captain J., D.C.L.I., att. Iraq Levies, Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
 1937. Oppenheim, A. Carl, British Consulate-General, Tunis.
 1935. Ormerod, Rev. E. W., East Woodhay Rectory, near Newbury, Berke.
 1930. Orr, C. R. M., Overseas House, St. James' Street, S.W. 1. (Life Member.)
 1928. Orred, Mrs., The Bracken, St. George's Hill, Weybridge.
 1934. Otway, C. W., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Haft Kel, Ahwaz.
 1936. Oudendijk, Sir William, K.C.M.G., Batt's Hotel, W. 1.

1923. Owen, Captain G. Fenwick, Brantham Court, East Suffolk.
 1938. Özkaya, Inayetullah Cemel, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Ankara.

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1926. al-Pachachi, Al-Sayyid Muzahim Amin, Legation Royale d'Irak, Rome.
 1938. Page, J. J. J., R.A.F. Club, W. 1.
 1938. Page, Captain R. F., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Rangoon.
 1927. Palmer, Sir H. R., K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Government House, Cyprus.
 1927. Palmer, Captain I. M., R.N., Operations Division, Admiralty, S.W. 1.
 1932. Palmer, J. A. B., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1.
 1930. Pan Tsi Lu, 48, West Wilson Street, Tientsin.
 1929. Parke, Captain Laurence Stanley, Mauritius.
 1928. Parker, Dr. W. Rushton, 21, Albemarle Street, W. 1.
 1934. Parkes, Roderick, I.C.S., Asst. Political Agent, Bahrein Persian Gulf.
 1921. Parr, Robert, Brooks' Club. S.W. 1.
 1,240 1934. Parsons, G., c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1933. Partridge, Captain H., 24, Minster Road, Bromley.
 1927. Patrick, P. J., 13, Upper Hamilton Terrace, N.W. 8.
 1933. Patterson, Miss Gertrude, 10, Down's Court, Brighton Road, Purley.
 1936. Patterson, Captain L. D. M., Royal Signals 21, Lansdowne Crescent, Glasgow, N.W.
 1927. Patterson, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Stewart, K.C.V.O., C.S.I., C.I.E., Daneswood, Dover Park Drive, S.W. 15.
 1934. Pattinson, J. M., c/o A.I.O. Co., Ltd., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
 1933. Pavlovsky, W. Petro-, c/o French Consulate, Chengtu, Szechuan.
 1938. Payen, Mme. B., 37, Boulevard de la Tour Maubourg, Parisvii.
 1929. Payne, Captain F. E., R.E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1935. Payne, L. C., c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1908. §Payne, Mrs. Wood, 101, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
 1938. Peake, Lieut.-Colonel F. G., C.B.E., Amman, Transjordan.
 1938. Pearce, Richard S. C., The Hainings, Downs Avenue, Epsom.
 1936. Pears, Henry E., Speen House, Portman Mansions, W. 1.
 1936. Pears, Mrs. H. E., Speen House, Portman Mansions, W. 1.
 1936. Pearson, F. F., 1st Gurkha Regt., Brant House, Kirkby Lonsdale.
 1936. Pearson-Rogers, Flight-Lieut. H. W., R.A.F., Belstead House, Ipswich.
 1922. Peel, E. G. B., C.I.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1933. Pelly, Squadron-Leader C. B. R., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1,260 1937. Penderel, Mrs. A., c/o England, Scotland and Australian Bank, 5, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
 1928. Penton, D. Stephen, Lower Canada College, Montreal.
 *†PENTON, Sir E., K.B.E., Brooks' Club, S.W. 1. (Hon. Treasurer.)

1927. Perkins, B. W., 19, Windsor Court, W. 2.
 †Perowne, Colonel J. T. Woolrych, V.D., T.D., Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Perowne, S., c/o B.B.C. House, Langham Place, W. 1.
1937. Perry, Miss C. E., The Bath Club, 16, Berkeley Street, W. 1.
1930. Perry-Keane, Squadron-Leader A. L. A., Headquarters, R.A.F., New Delhi.
1929. Perryman, Captain C. R. E. W., D.S.C., R.N., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Persson, Dr. Carl, Tegnergatan 8, Stockholm, v.
1938. Peterson, Sir Maurice, K.C.M.G., The Bath Club, W. 1.
1928. Pett, W., Glen Cottage, Clapham Hill, Whitstable.
1935. Philby, H. A. R., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. *Philby, H. J., C.I.E., 18, Acol Road, N.W. 6.
1938. Phillips, Mrs. E. Llewellyn, O.B.E., R.R.C., c/o National Bank of Egypt, Cairo.
1921. Phillips, Miss L. B., 24, Scarsdale Villas, W. 8.
1931. Phillips, Captain R. R., 3/7 Rajput Regt., Mir Ali, near Bannu.
1937. Pilditch, D., Intelligence Bureau, Govt. of India, New Delhi.
1934. Pile, Major-General Sir Frederick, Bart., C.B., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Pilkington, R.A., M.P., 90, Gloucester Place, W. 1.
1925. Pim, Sir Alan, K.C.I.E., K.B.E. C.S.I., Ridgway, Pullan's Lane, Headington, Oxford.
1934. Pishdad, M., c/o Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Kirmanshah, Iran.
- 1,280** 1923. Pitkeathly, Sir James S., C.M.G., C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B.E., D.S.O., Stores Dept., Govt. of India, New Delhi.
1927. Pitt, T. A., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Platt, H. E. A., c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1938. Pollock, Major H. A., D.S.O., Old Thatch, Bourne End, Bucks.
1933. Pope, A. Upham, 724, Fifth Avenue, New York City. (Hon. Member.)
1935. Pope, Major-General S. Buxton, C.B., D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1920. Popham, Lieut.-Colonel E. Leyborne, D.S.O., Hemyock, Nottingham Road, Natal.
1923. Postance, Major J. F. A., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1925. Powell, Major-General Sir Charles H., K.C.B., The Lower House, Wickham, Hants.
1931. Power, Sir John C., Bart., M.P., 38, Belgrave Square, S.W. 1.
1926. Pratt, Sir John, K.B.E., C.M.G., 4, Elm Court, Temple, E.C. 4.
1925. Prendergast, Lieut.-Colonel N. H., D.S.O., M.C., c/o Grindlay and Co., Bombay.
1924. Press, Edward, c/o National Bank of Egypt, Cairo.
1933. Preston, Captain E. D., Overseas Club, St. James's Street, S.W. 1.
1931. Preston, Captain G. W., R.E., Reston Lodge, Petersham.

1924. Preston, Lieut.-Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1927. Price, Major C. H., 2nd F.F. Regt., Dehra Dun, India.
1933. Price, John Playfair, H.B.M. Consulate, Los Angeles, California.
1921. Prichard, J., Judicial Department, Baghdad.
1927. Prior, Major C. G., C.I.E., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1,300 1921. Prior, Mrs. Upton, Eaton Grange, Cobham.
1929. Pritchard, Dr. S. H. de G., 58, St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge.
1934. Proctor Beauchamp, Lady, c/o Barclay's Bank, 451, Oxford Street, W. 1.
1931. Proctor, Lady, c/o Barclay's Bank, Ltd., 451, Oxford Street, S.W. 1.
1937. Prorok, Count Byron de, c/o The Guaranty Trust Co., 4, Place de la Concorde, Paris.
1927. Puran Singh, Dr., 8/22, Pasha Lane, Basrah.
1930. Pym, Mrs. Michael, 106, East 56th Street, New York.
1934. Pyman, L. F. L., c/o Foreign Office, S.W. 1.

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1930. Qadir Khan, Abdul, Afghan National Bank, 35, Queen Street, E.C. 4.
1922. Queenborough, Rt. Hon. Lord, G.B.E., Camfield Place, Hatfield, Herts.

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1931. Rabino, J. F., c/o 36, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1924. Radley, Lieut.-Colonel H. P., C.I.E., M.C., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1928. Raikes, Major C. P., Thatched House Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Ralston, Brigadier W. H., D.S.O., M.C., Chomwedzi, Marandellas, S. Rhodesia.
1932. Ramsay, Capt. Norman, I.P.S., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Ramsden, Omar, St. Dunstan's, Seymour Place, S.W. 10.
1926. Randolph, John, United States Consulate, Quebec.
1938. Rangaswami, V. K., Titilagarh, Bengal-Nagpur Rly., via Raipur, India.
1929. Rankin, E., 45, Parkway, Seven Kings.
1935. Rankin, Niall, 4, Avenue Road, N.W. 8.
- 1,320 1933. Rassam, T., Legation de France, Baghdad.
1937. Rathbone, Mrs. William, 2, Lord North Street, S.W. 1.
1935. Ravensdale, The Baroness, 10, Cornwall Terrace, N.W. 1.
1937. Raw, W. G., I.P.S., c/o Political Dept., Delhi.
1934. Rawlinson, L. E., c/o Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Abadan.
1921. Ready, General Sir Felix F., G.B.E., K.C.B., C.S.I., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Redl, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. F., C.M.G., C.I.E., The Sycamores, Newick, Sussex.
1924. Reed, Squadron-Leader G. S., C.B.E., Air Headquarters, Jerusalem.

1938. Reid, D. M., B.I.M.S. Club, Kodak House, Hornby Road, Bombay.
1924. Reid, Miles B., M.C., 47, Lowndes Square, S.W. 1.
1928. Reid, Mrs. Walter, 26, Rossmore Court, N.W. 1.
1923. Reilly, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Bernard R., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., O.B.E., Government House, Aden.
1923. Relton, T. L., O.B.E., Little Manor, Whyteleafe, Surrey.
1938. Rendall, R.A., Brooks' Club, S.W. 1.
1924. Rennie, F. P., C.I.E., c/o Lloyds Bank, 222, Strand, W.C. 2.
1925. Renton, Major J. M. L., O.B.E., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1924. Rice, D. Talbot, M.A., B.Sc., F.S.A., The Pigeon House, Foss Bridge, Cheltenham.
1929. Rice, Mrs., Fairlight, Tangier Road, Guildford.
1936. Rich, Mrs. Clive, The Old Farmhouse, Fyfield, Berks.
1938. Richards, Miss Mary, Ladies' Automobile Club, W. 1.
- 1,340 1937. Richardson, H. E., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1937. Riches, C. W. H., 4, Marlborough Gate House, W. 2.
1926. *Richmond, Admiral Sir Herbert, K.C.B., Great Kimble House, Aylesbury.
1927. Richter, F. J. P., 3, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1937. Rickmers, Dr. W., 5, Unertlstrasse, Munich.
1931. Ridley, Rev. H. French, Allen Lodge, Allenhead, Allendale, Northumberland.
1933. †Ringang, R. D., Electrical Engineer, Lhasa.
1924. Roberts, Lieut.-Colonel Sir James Reid, C.I.E., M.B., M.S., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Roberts, W. H., Imperial Govt. Auditor, Abadan, Iran.
1927. Robertson, A. W. M., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Robertson, Sir Benjamin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., Oriental Club, W. 1.
1937. Robinson, Lieut.-Colonel A. E., 1st Battalion Green Howards, c/o Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1920. Robinson, Major F. A., M.C., Aldersyde, Dringhouses.
1931. Robinson, Major J. A., O.B.E., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1924. Robson, Lady, 26, Eaton Square, S.W. 1.
1920. Rodd, Colonel W. J. P., D.S.O., c/o Messrs. H. Berry & Co., Shell Mex House, W.C. 2.
1934. Roffey, Professor M. H., D.S.O., M.I.E.E., Hong Kong University, Hong Kong.
1934. Rogers, Captain A. L., O.B.E., 296, King's Road, N.W. 3.
1931. Rogers, Mrs. D. J., Robinswood, Fitzroy Road, Fleet.
1931. Rogers, Miss M. Ramsden, 56, Westbourne Terrace, W.2.
- 1,360 1924. Rogers, Sidney H., The Red Cottage, Laleham, Middlesex.
1939. Roots, Right Rev. L. H., D.D., 4, Hay's Mews, Berkeley Square, W. 1.
1914. *Rose, Archibald, C.I.E., Church Manor, Bishop's Stortford.
1938. Rosetti, G. W., School of Oriental Studies, Vandon Street, S.W. 1.
1925. *Ross, Sir E. Denison, C.I.E., D.Litt., 229, St. James's Court, S.W. 1. (M. of C.)
1938. Ross, Frank E., 1,178, Kentucky Avenue, Indianapolis, U.S.A.

1934. Ross, Dr. S. G., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Hornby Road, Bombay.
1935. Ross, Mrs. W., 37, Markham Square, S.W. 3.
1929. Rothstein, A. F., c/o Barclays Bank, 16, High Street, N. Finchley.
1926. Routh, Lieut.-Colonel G. M., C.B.E., D.S.O., 61, Philbeach Gardens, S.W. 5.
1930. ROWAN ROBINSON, Major-General H., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1. (M. of C.)
1937. Rowlatt, Miss Mary, Zohria, Gezira, Cairo.
1938. Roy, Captain D. W., Transjordan Frontier Force, Zerka, Transjordan.
1934. Rumbold, H. A. F., 88, Cadogan Place, S.W. 1.
1934. *RUMBOLD, The Right Hon. Sir Horace, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.V.O., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1. (Hon. Vice-President.)
1936. Rumbold, Lady, 4, Grosvenor Crescent, S.W. 1.
1921. Rundle, Major C. A. Grant, M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1925. Russell, Major A. A., M.C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Russell, G. W. M., c/o Westminster and Foreign Bank, Ltd., 22, Place Vendôme, Paris.
1937. Russell, J. R. Vaughan, c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1937. Russell, Lady, Zamalek, Gezira, Cairo.
1937. Rutenberg, Pinhas, P.O.B. 10, Haifa, Palestine.
1929. Rutter, Eldon, Berwick St. John, Shaftesbury. (Hon. Mem.)
1936. Ryan, Major C. C. L., Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1935. Rylaarsdam, J. C., 315, Hertzog Hall, New Brunswick, U.S.A.
1920. Rynd, Major F. F., D.S.O., United Service Club, S.W. 1.

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1929. Saben, G. P., P.O.B. 1051, Nairobi, Kenya.
1934. Sadler, F. B., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1926. Said-Ruete, Seyyid Rudolph, 27, Kensington Court, W. 8.
1925. Saint, Captain P. Johnston, Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1931. St. John, Lieut.-Colonel F. O., D.S.O., M.C., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Sale, G. S., 58, Eaton Place, S.W. 1.
1927. Salisbury-Jones, Major A. G., M.C., Guards' Club, W. 1.
1923. Samuel, Miss M. Sylvester, Cadogan House, 93, Sloane Street, S.W. 1.
1933. Sandilands, Brig. H. R., C.M.G., D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1936. Sandilands, Major-Gen. J. W., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Drum-albin House, Camberley, Surrey.
1929. Sarell, Philip C., Oriental Club, W. 1.
1927. Sargon, Major A. I., D.S.O., O.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Sarsfield-Hall, E. G., C.M.G., LL.B., Skiddaw Lodge, Keswick, Cumberland.

1930. Sassoon, Major Arthur, O.B.E., M.C., 51, Orchard Court, Portman Square, W. 1.
- 1,400** 1925. Sassoon, Mrs. Dulcie, 56, Green Street, W. 1.
1936. Sassoon, Mrs. Frederick, Ashley Cottage, Roehampton Lane, S.W. 15.
1925. Saunders, Major-General Macan, C.B., D.S.O., Headquarters, Lahore District, Lahore Cant., Punjab.
1937. Savory, Miss Isabel, 27, Campden Hill Gate, W. 8.
1933. Scale, Lieut.-Colonel J. D., D.S.O., O.B.E., Clutha, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey.
1923. Scarlett, Major-General Hon. P. G., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Schäfer, Dr. Ernst, Prinz-Albrechtstrasse 8, Berlin.
1928. Schiff, Mrs. Wilton, 36, Sloane Court, S.W. 3.
1938. Schloessinger, Dr. Max, Talbieh, Jerusalem.
1931. Scott, Lieut.-Col. J. Bruce, M.C., 8th Gurkha Rifles, Quetta, Baluchistan.
1927. Scott, J. M. H. D., Frontier Constabulary, Tank, N.W.F.P., India.
1933. Scott, J. S., 8, Billiter Square, E.C. 3.
1927. Scott, L. D., Kuwait Oil Co., Kuwait, Persian Gulf.
1936. Scott, Mrs. P. F., Genesis Green Stud, Wickham Brook, Newmarket.
1933. Scott, R. H., British Embassy Offices, 27, Bund, Shanghai.
1933. Scott, Captain R. W. H., Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, Levy H.Q., Hinaidi, 'Iraq.
1931. Scott, Lieut.-Colonel T., 6th D.C.O. Lancers, c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1927. Seager, B. W., 4A, Newgate Street, E.C. 1.
1937. Seager, Major J. E. B., Government House, Aden.
1933. Searle, Major C. S., M.C., Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1,420** 1938. Secord, C. H., 5, King's Bench Walk, E.C. 4.
1930. Selous, G. H., O.B.E., H.B.M. Consul, Basrah.
1929. Sendell, G. E., 29, York Terrace, N.W. 1. (Life Member.)
1938. Senior, Mrs. H. W. R., 42, Meriden Court, Manor Street, S.W. 3.
1935. Serkau, Gabriel G., Ritz Carlton Hotel, Montreal.
1922. Seton, Sir Malcolm, K.C.B., 26, Upper Park Road, N.W. 3.
1930. Sevian, Vahé, Irrigation Directorate, Baghdad, 'Iraq.
1938. Seymour, Horace, C.M.G., C.V.O., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
1939. Seymour-Mellor, Lieut.-Colonel J., O.B.E., M.C., 70, Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1933. Shabandar, Ibrahim, P.O.B. 9, Baghdad.
1934. Shah, Major A. A., 3rd Jammu and Kashmir Mtn. Battery, Jammu Cantonment, Kashmir.
1923. Shakespear, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., Te Whanga, Whanga Paroa, Auckland, New Zealand.
1932. Sharbat Khan, Khan Bahadur, C.I.E., Babani Banda, Kohat, N.W.F.P.
1927. Sharp, A., Isfahan, Sandheath Road, Hindhead.
1933. Sharp, Sir Henry, C.S.I., C.I.E., 3, Palmer Street, S.W. 1.

1933. Sharp, Ven. Archdeacon J. H., Box House, Minchin-
hampton, Stroud.
1928. Shaw, Mrs. Bernard, 4, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1936. Shaw, Mrs., K.C., c/o Judicial Dept., Jerusalem.
1938. Shaw, T. R., British Consulate-General, Tientsin, China.
1934. Shaw, W. B. K., Dept. of Antiquities, Jerusalem.
1933. Shaw-Mackenzie, Major C. J., M.B.E., Balblair, Rosshire.
1925. *SHEA, General Sir John, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., 66,
Evelyn Gardens, S.W. 7. (Vice-President.)
1929. Sheahan, T., Royal Societies Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Shearer, Lieut.-Colonel J. E., M.C., 1/15 Punjab Regt.,
c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1929. Shekleton, Mrs., 9B, Church Terrace, Lee, S.E. 13.
1931. Shelley, Bt. Lieut.-Colonel J. P., Junior U.S. Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Shepherd, Miss E., Folly Cottage, Penton Mewsey, Andover.
1938. Sheppard, Lady, Hingham, Norfolk.
1927. Sherlock, Squadron-Leader D. J., R.A.F., Kalafra, Malta.
1926. Sherriff, Captain George, c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd., Bombay.
1932. Short, G., c/o Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Masjid-i-Suleiman,
South Iran.
1935. Shuttleworth, H. Lee, I.C.S., 70B, Belsize Park Gardens,
N.W. 3.
1938. Sibley, Reginald O., M.D., O.P.H., c/o Lloyds Bank, Ltd.,
Belgrave Road, S.W. 1.
1936. Sides, Miss Hilda, 102, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1935. Sievwright, Mrs. M. L., c/o Coutts & Co., 440, Strand, W.C. 2.
1936. Silberbauer, E. R., P.O.B. 844, Pretoria, Transvaal.
1919. Silberrad, C. A., Kirkton Farm, Crianlarich, Perthshire.
1930. Sillem, J. A., Bussum, Holland.
1936. Sillem, Steuart W., 56, Chelsea Park Gardens, S.W. 3.
1937. Silman, Jonah, 39, Ramban Road, Rehavia, Jerusalem.
1931. Simms, H. G., Hongkong and Shanghai Bank, 9, Grace-
church Street, E.C. 3.
1920. Simpson, J. Alexr., India Office, S.W. 1.
1937. Sinclair, Miss Gertrude, 11, Clifton Gardens, W. 9.
1931. Sinclair, Captain J. M., R.A., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Sinclair, Major R., c/o National Bank of India, 26,
Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.
1935. Sinclair, Mrs. Walker, Albemarle Club, W. 1.
1923. Sinderson Pasha, Dr. H. C., O.B.E., M.V.O., North Gate,
Baghdad.
1926. Skelton, Major-General D. S., C.B., D.S.O., Junior Naval
and Military Club, W. 1.
1924. Skliros, J., O.B.E., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Skrimshire, C. W. F., c/o Eastern Bank, Kirkuk, Iraq.
1922. Skrine, C. P., O.B.E., I.C.S., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. Slater, Mrs. E. M., 4, FitzGeorge Avenue, W. 14.
1925. Slater, S. H., C.M.G., C.I.E., Keene House, Hillier Road,
Guildford.
1938. Slee, Major R. A., 92A, Holland Road, W. 14.
1930. Smallwood, Lieut.-Colonel H. St. Clair, Thatched House
Club, S.W. 1.

1920. Smith, A. L. F., C.B.E., M.V.O., Edinburgh Academy, Edinburgh.
1927. Smith, Major C. C. H., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1935. Smith, G. W. R., c/o Gray, Mackenzie & Co., Bahrein.
1936. Smith, Myron B., Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
1936. Smith, Sir Thomas, V.D., Merlewood, Virginia Water, Surrey.
- 1,480** 1923. Smith, W. Donald, c/o Royal Automobile Club, S.W. 1.
1930. Soane-Malcolm-Ellis, Mrs., 36, Cranley Gardens, S.W. 7.
1936. Sofiano, Flight-Lieut. V. J., M.B.E., Adastral House, Kingsway, W.C. 2.
1932. Soltau-Symons, Miss A. M., 4, Basil Mansions, S.W. 3.
1925. Sotham, Mrs. Bernard, 125, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.
1931. Souter, J. E., c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1935. Southcott, Mrs. V., c/o 9, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1934. Southwell, C. A. P., Batchworth Hill House, Rickmansworth.
1928. Soutter, Captain James C. J., R.N.(ret.), "Cairnton," The Avenue, Branksome Park, Bournemouth.
1927. Spaight, Captain W. J. M., 3rd Gurkha Rifles, Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1929. Spalding, Miss Hilda, 133, Queen's Gate, S.W. 7.
1921. Spencer, Dr. Gordon, Old Oak House, Pembridge, Herefordshire.
1922. Spencer, Mrs. Hugh, 5, Clifton Gardens, W. 9.
1927. Spender, J. A., C.H., D.L., Warren End, Farnborough, Hants.
1929. Spens, J. Ivan, 4B, Frederick's Place, E.C. 2.
1929. Spicer, L. D., D.S.O., M.C., 16, Pelham Place, S.W. 7.
1935. Spink, Captain Harold, Hillside, Groombridge, Kent.
1916. Spranger, John Alfred, 4, Via Michele, Florence.
1934. Spurgin, Mrs. Clare, Marala, Burwood Road, Walton-on-Thames.
1932. Stable, Lieut.-Colonel R. H., D.S.O., Junior Naval and Military Club, 96, Piccadilly, W. 1.
- 1,500** 1927. Stables, Major F. H. A., 2/8th Gurkha Rifles, British Embassy, Tokyo.
1935. Stafford, F. E., O.B.E., National Liberal Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Stafford, Lieut.-Colonel R. S., D.S.O., M.C., New University Club, S.W. 1.
1936. Stamper, Thomas, H. G., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Stanley, Major Douglas Richmond, Baluch Regt., c/o Lloyds Bank, Bombay.
1934. Stark, Miss Freya, Villa Freia, Asolo, Veneto, Italy.
1930. Stebbing, J. L., Windcroft, Blackpool, near Dartmouth.
1931. Steel, Wing-Commander J. V., O.B.E., Red House, Wheat-hampstead, Herts.
1909. STEIN, Sir Aurel, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., D.Sc., 22, Manor Place, Oxford. (Hon. Vice-President.)
1921. Stephen, Major F. W., M.C., 10, New Cavendish Street, W.1.
1937. Stephens, Miss H. E. M., Forum Club, S.W. 1.
1937. Stephens, Lieut.-Colonel Rupert, Manor House, Cholderton, Wilts.

1938. Stephenson, Flight-Lieut. D., R.A.F. Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
 1920. *Stephenson, G., Gresham College, Basinghall Street, E.C. 2.
 1930. Steptoe, H. N., c/o British Consulate-General, Peiping.
 1929. Stern, Sir Albert, K.B.E., C.M.G., 6, Angel Court, E.C. 2.
 1929. Steveni, Major L., O.B.E., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Stevenson, Lieut.-Colonel K. L., 21, Washington Avenue, Toronto.
 1937. Stewart, Brigadier-General Cosmo G., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Athenree, Durford Wood, Liss.
 1923. Stewart, F. W., M.C., 2, Broomfield Road, Kew Gardens, S.W.
 1,520 1923. Stewart, Sir Findlater, G.C.I.E., K.C.B., C.S.I., LL.D., Caledonian Club, S.W. 1.
 1933. Stewart, Lieut.-Colonel J. E., 42, Hurlingham Court, S.W. 6.
 1935. Stewart, Robert, 9, Cedar's Road, Barnes Common, S.W. 13.
 1927. Stewart of Coll, Brigadier-General E. M. Paul, C.B., C.B.E., Isle of Coll, Argyllshire.
 1931. Still, Captain G. B., Jamrud, Khyber Pass, N.W.F.P., India.
 1935. Stirling, Lieut.-Colonel W. F., D.S.O., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1927. Stitt, Lieut.-Commander G. M. S., Stretham Rectory, Cambs.
 1937. Stiven, Mrs. N. M., c/o 74, Kensington High Street, W. 8.
 1935. Stobart, Mrs. H. G., Thornton Hall, Thornton-le-Dale, Pickering, Yorks.
 1928. †Stocks, Mrs. C. A., Wonford House, Exeter.
 1907. *Stokes, Colonel C. B., C.I.E., D.S.O., O.B.E., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1934. Stolar, G., Hamilton House, 140, Piccadilly, W. 1.
 1933. Stopford-Adams, D. J., Bath Club, W. 1.
 1926. Storey, Mrs. Sandford, 14, Pelham Court, S.W. 3.
 1922. Storey-Cooper, Major E. S., M.C., Junior Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1921. Storrs, Mrs. F. E., 65, Chester Square, S.W. 1.
 1928. STORRS, Sir Ronald, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1. (Vice-President.)
 1933. Stotherd, Lieut.-Colonel E. A. W., Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1938. Strange, Miss J. M. N., 12, Granville Gardens, W. 5.
 1933. Straw, A. E., Standard Vacuum Oil Co., Phayre Street, Rangoon.
 1,540 1936. Streatfeild, Captain N. R., M.C., Hoseyrigge, Westerham, Kent.
 1934. Strettell, Major-General C. B. Dashwood, C.B., Flagstaff House, Peshawar, N.W.F.P.
 1929. Strick, F. C., 117, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
 1935. Strickland, The Hon. Constance, Forum Club, S.W. 1.
 1934. Struthers, A. A., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Masjid-i-Suleiman.
 1931. Stuart, Miss A. I., 7, Westfield Road, Benges, Herts.
 1935. Stuart, Captain D. J. A., Royal Scots Fusiliers, Ayr, Scotland.

1936. Stuart, Miss E. M., M.B., C.M., 5, Rugby Court, Richmond, Surrey.
1929. Stubbs, Lieut.-Col. J. W. C., D.S.O., M.C., M.B., c/o Kirkland House, Whitehall, S.W. 1.
1933. Sturges, R. S. M., O.B.E., Sheardown House, Malshanger, Hants.
1937. Sturgiss, Flight-Lieut. F. C., R.A.F., Risalpur, N.W.F.P.
1931. Suhrawardy, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Hasan, O B.E., M.D., Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University.
1936. Sutherland, Ian D., M.D., Indian Military Hospital, Peshawar, N.W.F.P.
1921. Swan, L. M., C.B.E., c/o 4, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1935. Swayne, Mrs. Blakeney, 11, Cardinal Mansions, Westminster, S.W. 1.
1935. Swayne, Lady, Craigie, Merrow, Guildford.
1932. Sweetnam, Mrs., 58, Cheniston Gardens, W. 8.
1933. Sykes, Christopher, 10, Wilfrid Street, S.W. 1.
1935. Sykes, Edward M., c/o Imperial Bank of Iran, Teheran, Iran.
- §*† Sykes, Miss Ella, 26, St. George's Court, S.W. 7.
1905. Sykes, Miss Ethel R., 2, Audley Square, W. 1.
1933. Sykes, Humphrey H., 9th Lancers, Officers' Mess, Tidworth.
1904. Sykes, Major H. R., Roveries, Churchstoke, Montgomeryshire.
1935. Sykes, Lady, 18, Eastbury Court, W. 14.
1907. SYKES, Brigadier-General Sir Percy M., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1. (Hon. Secretary.)
1928. Symes, H.E. Lieut.-Colonel Sir G. Stewart, G.B.E., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., The Palace, Khartoum, Sudan.
1937. Symon, A. C. B., The India Office, S.W. 1.

T

1937. Tabet, Monsieur Emile, P.O.B. 390, Beyrout, Grand Liban.
1921. Tainsh, Lieut.-Colonel J. R., C.B.E., V.D., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1927. Tancock, Lieut.-Colonel A. C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1928. Tancock, Colonel O. K., C.M.G., 54, Goldington Avenue, Bedford.
1936. Tandy, M. P. O'C., I.A., c/o Secretary, Political Dept., New Delhi.
1929. Taylor, E. R., Boxhurst Farm, Sandhurst, Kent.
1929. Taylor, Major G. F., Q V.O. Corps of Guides, Mardan, N.W.F.P.
1935. Taylor, H. L. G., Summerfield, Colehill, Wimborne.
1939. Taylor, J. E. J., Britannic House, E.C. 2.
1924. Teague, Major John, O.B.E., M.C., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1927. Teague, Major R. J. D., Kohat, N.W.F.P., India.
1934. Teasdale, G. A. J., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1919. Teichman, Sir Eric, K.C.M.G., C.I.E., c/o Messrs Barclay's Bank, Pall Mall East, S.W. 1.
1930. Tennant, E. W. D., The Vineyard, Saffron Walden.

- 1580 1922. Tennant, Hon. Mrs., St. Anne's Manor, Sutton, Loughborough.
 1934. Thabit Abd-un-Noor, Al-Sayyid, Chargé d'Affaires d'Irak, Jedda.
 1934. Thesiger, P. Wilfred, Sudan Administration.
 1932. Thiel, C. L., c/o American Consulate-General, Havana, Cuba.
 1928. Thom, Miss Marion, 8, Iverna Court, W. 8.
 1934. Thomas, A. V., Lieut.-Commander R.N., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1922. *Thomas, Bertram, O.B.E., Ph.D., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1905. Thomas, F. W., Ph.D., 161, Woodstock Road, Oxford.
 1934. Thomas, Henry, Baredown Hotel, Hook, Hants.
 1926. Thomason, Captain A. D. F., Bannu, India.
 1922. Thompson, Major David, Cavalry Club, W. 1.
 1936. Thompson, Lieut. E. C., R. Signals, c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1937. Thompson, J. H., I.C.S., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1931. Thompson, Lieut.-Colonel S. L., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1929. Thompson, The Rt. Rev. W. J., Anglican Bishop in Iran, c/o C.M.S., Isfahan.
 1933. Thomson, Major D. B., Southover, Colgate, Sussex.
 1920. Thomson, J. S., C.I.E., Greenham Common, Newbury.
 1921. *Thomson, Lieut.-General Sir William M., K.C.M.G., C.B., M.C., United Service Club, S.W. 1.
 1937. Thomson-Glover, Lieut.-Colonel J. W., C.B.E., R.A.F. Club, Piccadilly, W. 1.
 1938. Thon, Monsieur Th., Peltours, 10/12, Sharia Maghraby, Cairo.
- 500 1922. Thuillier, Lieut.-Colonel L. C., Old Yew Cottage, Dalwood, Axminster.
 1936. Tobin, Lieut.-Colonel H. W., D.S.O., O.B.E., Welford Farm House, Newbury, Berks.
 1908. Tod, Colonel J. K., C.M.G., Round Windows, Headley Downs, Hants. (Hon. Librarian.)
 1921. Todd, H. J., Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, c/o Foreign Office, New Delhi.
 1931. Tollinton, H. P., c/o Foreign and Political Dept., Government of India, New Delhi.
 1921. Tomlinson, A. G., Hillside, Whitchurch, Oxon.
 1936. Tomlinson, Flying-Officer G. C., R.A.F., c/o Barclays Bank, 1, Cockspur Street, S.W. 1.
 1927. Toomer, Wing-Commander S. E., D.F.C., c/o Lloyds Bank, Warwick Square, S.W. 1.
 1934. †Torbett, Captain.
 1934. Tottenham, Miss E. L., 14, Sherwood Court, W. 1.
 1935. Towell, Major R. H., M.C., R.A., Army and Navy Club, S.W. 1.
 1934. Townsend, Peter, Worcester College, Oxford.
 1935. Towsey, Major E. W., W. Yorks. Regt., c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1921. Tozer, P. H. S., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
 1930. Tripura, H.H. Maharajah Manikya Bahadur of, The Palace, Agartala, Tripura State, India.

1934. Trist, Maxwell B., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Haft Kel.
 1938. Tritton, Professor A. S., Ph.D., 29, Kensington Park Gardens, W. 11,
 1932. Trotman, E. W., I.C.S., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
 1920. Trott, A. C., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1908. *Tucker, A. L. P., C.I.E., The Lodge, Overton, Ellesmere.
 1933. Turner, Colonel J. F., C.B., D.S.O., 73, St. James's Street, London, S.W. 1.
 1933. Turrall, Geoffrey R., H.B.M. Consular Service, British Consulate-General, Harbin, Manchuria.
 1933. Tweedie, A. Cunningham, c/o 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
 1927. Tweedy, Captain Owen, c/o Government Offices, Jerusalem.
 1934. Twitchell, K. S., c/o Sa'udi Arabian Mining Syndicate, Jeddah.
 1920. Tyler, Sir Henry H. F. Macdonald, C.I.E., The Umbra, Magilligan, Londonderry.

U

1937. Usborne, Vice-Admiral C. V., C.B., C.M.G., 14, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
 1937. Utley, Miss Freda, 4, Princess Road, N.W. 3.
 1934. Uttley, K. H., M.A., M.D., D.T.M. and H., c/o 13, Thorpe Lea Road, Peterborough.

V

1927. Vance, Lieut.-Colonel R. L., M.B., c/o Grindlay and Co., Calcutta.
 1931. Van Pelt, Miss Mary C., American Mission, Kuwait, Arabia.
 1937. Vansittart, Miss M., 1, Sussex Mansions, S.W. 7.
 1938. Varvill, Major Bernard, 9, Windsor Mansions, Northumberland Street, W. 1.
 1934. Vaughan, E. L., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
 1911. Vaughan, Mrs., The Marches, Willowbrook, Eton.
 1930. Vaughan, Paymaster-Commander H. R. H., H.M.S. *Glasgow*.
 1933. Vaughan-Morgan, Miss D., White Cottage, Clareville Grove, S.W. 7.
 1935. Venn, Major T. W., 23, Warwick Avenue, Bedford.
 1930. Vernon, R. V., C.B., Lawn House, Hampstead Square, N.W. 3.
 1933. Vesey-Fitzgerald, S. G., LL.D., School of Oriental Studies, Vandon Street, S.W. 1.
 1935. Vickery, Surgeon-Captain G., R.N. Barracks, Chatham.
 1930. Visser, Ph. C., c/o Koninginerwag, 151, Amsterdam.

W

1933. Wadsworth, G., American Consulate-General, Jerusalem.
 1938. Waddington, C. W., C.I.E., M.V.O., 156, Sloane St., S.W. 1.
 1938. Waddy, Miss Charis, 92, York Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W. 11.
 1931. Wahba, Sheikh Hafiz, Royal Legation of Sa'udi Arabia, 6, Eaton Gate, S.W. 1.

1,620

1,640

1931. Wahbi, Al-Sayyid Taufiq, Director-General of Public Works, Baghdad.
1923. Wakely, Sir Leonard D., K.C.I.E., C.B., Oxford and Cambridge Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Wakeman, F. A.
1927. Waley, Alfred, 3, Whitehall Court, S.W. 1.
1921. Waley, Captain E. G. S., 7, King Street, S.W. 1.
1922. Waley, R. P. S., Pilgrim's Way, Reigate.
1929. Walker, Captain Edward, 41, Cadogan Gardens, S.W. 3.
1920. *Waller, Lieut.-Colonel A. G.
1935. Waller, Miss Allison, 2, Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7.
1923. Wallis, Lieut.-Colonel C., 5/7 Rajput Regt., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Wallis, L. G., I.C.S., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1938. Walpole, C. A., O.B.E., 6, Ashburn Gardens, S.W. 7.
1936. Walsh, The Hon. Mrs. C., Albemarle Club, 37, Dover St., W.1.
1937. Walter, Miss Evelyn, Tacolneston Hall, Norwich.
1930. Walter, V. L., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1929. Walton, J. C., 37, Clifton Hill, N.W. 8.
1923. Wanklyn, Mrs., 15, Cardinal Mansions, S.W. 1.
1936. Warburton, Miss M. C., St. George's Close, Jerusalem.
1934. Ward, J. G., The Mill House, Farningham, Kent.
1921. Ward, Colonel Sir John S., K.B.E., C.M.G., C.I.E., D.S.O., Basrah.
1933. Ward, Miss Shelagh, Runton Hill, W. Runton.
1920. Ward, W. R., O.B.E., 51, Gracechurch Street, E.C. 3.
1930. Waring, Mrs. H., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., 39, Old Bond Street, W. 1.
1931. Warner, Langdon, Fogg Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
1937. Warre, Mrs. H. G., c/o Williams Deacon's Bank, 9, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1928. Warren, Captain D. S., Old Bridge House, Marlow.
1934. Wasserman, W. S., Fidelity, Philadelphia Buildings, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.
1938. Waterhouse, Major-General G. G., C.B., M.C., Charmans Farm, Leigh, near Reigate.
1930. Waters, E. A., Woodmont, Penna., U.S.A.
1932. Waters, Mrs. E., c/o Messrs. Brown and Shipley, 123, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1934. Waters, H. R. B., A.M.I.C.E., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Abadan, S. Iran.
1933. Waters-Taylor, Colonel B. H., C.B., C.B.E., Travellers' Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Watson, Dr. F. H. C., P.O.B. 7, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
1938. Watson, Admiral Sir Hugh, K.C.B., C.V.O., C.B.E., 19, Alexander Square, S.W. 3.
1929. Watt, Hector Maclean, Sudan Political Service, Khartoum, Sudan.
1934. Watts, H. Temple, A.R.S.M., c/o Island Exploration Co., Port Moresby, Papua.
1934. Watts, J., 35, Portland Street, Manchester.

1933. Watts, Major R. P., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6, Pall Mall, S.W.1.
1936. Wauchope, General Sir Arthur, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., C.I.E.,
D.S.O., Naval and Military Club, W. 1.
1934. WAUGH, Sir Telford, K.C.M.G., 85, West Hill, Putney,
S.W. 15. (Vice-President.)
1934. Wavell, Lieut.-General Sir Arthur P., C.B., C.M.G., M.C.,
United Service Club, S.W. 1.
1936. Wayman, A. R., Heatherwood Cottage, Western Road, Hay-
wards Heath.
1927. Weatherbe, D'Arcy, 38, Bishopsgate, E.C. 2.
1931. Webb, Bt. Lieut.-Colonel F. Burns, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1921. Webb, Major W. F., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1935. Weigall, Miss J., 149, Grosvenor House, W. 1.
1921. Weir, Lieut.-Colonel J. L. R., C.I.E., East India and Sports
Club, S.W. 1.
1921. Weldon, S. W., East India and Sports Club, S.W. 1.
1934. Wellings, F. E., 'Iraq Petroleum Co., Katamon, Jerusalem.
1937. Welstead, Major G. L. M., 13/18th Royal Hussars, Ellerton,
Manor Park, Northwood.
1933. Were, C. A. W., New University Club, S.W. 1.
1938. Westenra, The Hon. Mrs. A. F., 37, Grosvenor Square, W. 1.
1935. Weston, Miss Beatrix, Brighthampton, Oatlands Avenue,
Weybridge.
1935. Weston, Mrs. Spencer, Brighthampton, Oatlands Avenue,
Weybridge.
- 1,700** 1926. Weston, Brigadier-General Spencer V. P., D.S.O., M.C.,
Brighthampton, Oatlands Avenue, Weybridge, Surrey.
1920. Wheatley, H., B.Sc., A.I.C., Director Madras Cinchona
Dept., Ootacamund.
1938. Wheatley, H. H., C.B.E., M.C., 3, Milnthorpe Court,
Eastbourne.
1923. Wheeler, Major G. E., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- †Whitbread, S. H., C.B., Southill, Biggleswade.
1929. White, Mrs. Armstrong, Artillery Mansions Hotel, S.W. 1.
1930. White, Dr. Henry, 16, Sandford Road, Bromley.
1930. White, L. S., I.C.S., 4A, Staverton Road, Oxford.
1933. White, O., C.M.G., British Consul-General, Mukden, Man-
churia.
1930. Whitney, Stanley S., Barclays Bank, Ltd., 29, Gracechurch
Street, E.C. 3.
1923. Whittall, F. E., c/o J. W. Whittall and Co., Istanbul.
1931. Whitteron, B., Water Board, Baghdad.
1933. Whitting, P. D., 2, Rivercourt Road, W. 6.
1935. Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I., LL.D., Athenæum Club,
S.W. 1.
1933. Wickenden, Owen H., Cedarshade, Reigate Road, Reigate.
1922. Wickham, Lt.-Col. E. T. R., M.V.O., M.P., Carlton Club,
S.W. 1.
1924. Wickham, Mrs. E. T. R., Lynchfield House, near Taunton.
1920. Wigram, Rev. Dr. W. A., D.D., Green Acres, Wells, Somerset.
1938. Wilkinson, Miss Helen, C.M.S., Amman, Transjordan.
1933. Wilkinson, J. V. S., Oriental Department, British Museum.

1921. Willcox, Colonel Sir William H., K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.,
M.D., 40, Welbeck Street, W. 1.
- 1,720** 1927. Williams, A. K., 130, Wood Street Avenue, Barnet, Herts.
1928. Williams, E. M. P., c/o Asiatic Petroleum Company,
Shanghai, China.
1929. Williams, Lieut.-Commander E. S., R.N.(ret.), Rosecadghill
Cottage, Penzance.
1921. Williams, Captain L., M.B.E., 2, Crosby Square, E.C. 3.
1932. Williams, L. F. Rushbrook, C.B.E., M.A., United University
Club, S.W. 1.
1935. Williams, S. L., c/o Messrs. Lionel Edwards, Karachi, India.
1926. Williamson, A. F., 21, Mahalat al Pasha, Basrah.
1922. Williamson, Lieut.-Colonel H. N. Hedworth, D.S.O., M.C.,
Longmoor Camp, Hants.
1923. Williamson, R. H., C.I.E., East India and Sports Club,
S.W. 1.
1938. Williamson, T. F., Victoria Cottage, Pittenweem, Fife.
1927. Wills, C. W., 122, Leadenhall Street, E.C. 3.
1924. Wilmer, Lieut.-Col. L. Worthington, 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
1920. *Wilson, Lieut.-Col. Sir Arnold T., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G.,
D.S.O., M.P., Athenæum Club, S.W. 1. (Life Member.)
1924. Wilson, J. M., C.B.E., 133, Moorgate, E.C. 2.
1920. Wilson, Major W. C. F., c/o 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1923. Wimshurst, C. R., Gosden Farm, Brenchley, Kent.
1929. Wingate, Miss R. O., Park Hill, Horsell Rise, Woking.
1937. Wingate-Gray, Major W. S., M.C., 34, Netherhall Gardens,
N.W. 3.
1922. *Winterton, Right Hon. Earl, P.C., M.P., 61, Eccleston
Square, S.W. 1.
- 1,740** 1930. Wise, J. H., 54, Parliament Street, S.W. 1.
1921. Wishart, G., Bishopton, Lochgilphead, Argyll.
1934. Wissman, Dr. H. von, Univ. Professor, Waldhauserstr. 29,
Tübingen.
1937. Wolferstan, D. P., Forwood, Minchinhampton, Stroud.
1934. Wolff, Mrs. C. E., Old Court House, The Green, Richmond,
Surrey.
1923. Wood, Colonel H., Driftways, Lower Bourne, Farnham,
Surrey.
1926. Wood, Miss M. M., c/o C.M.S., Salisbury Square, E.C. 4.
1930. Wood, Trevor L. C., 16, Bedford Row, W.C. 1.
1931. Wood, W. O., I.P., Frontier Constabulary, Peshawar.
1923. Woodman, G. Stewart, East India and Sports Club,
S.W. 1.
1931. Woodman, J., O.B.E., 17, Rue de Téhéran, Paris, viii.
1930. Woods, Major H. S., O.B.E., Landi Kotal, N.W.F.P., India.
1927. Wortham, H. E., 75, Courtfield Gardens, S.W. 7.
1918. Worthington, A. B. Bayley, Frognaal, Sunninghill, Berks.
1925. Wren, M. F., Reform Club, S.W. 1. (Life Member.)
1936. Wrenn, Cecil, 218, Lauderdale Mansions, W. 9.
1925. Wright, Major A. B., Government Offices, Cyprus.
1922. Wright, Colonel G., C.B.E., D.S.O., United Service Club,
S.W. 1.

1934. Wright, Philip W., Anglo-Iranian Oil Co., Ltd., Masjid-i-Suleiman, S. Iran.
1933. Wyatt, S. C., 63, Oakwood Court, W. 14.
1933. Wynter, Brigadier H. W., D.S.O., 6, Pall Mall, S.W. 1.
- 1,760 1936. Wyss, Dr. Hans, Küsnacht, Zurich, Switzerland.

Y

1930. Yahuda, Mrs. A. S., 25, Elsworthy Road, N.W. 3.
1905. *Yate, Colonel Sir Charles E., Bart., C.S.I., C.M.G., Madeley Hall, Shropshire.
1927. Yeatman, Commander M. J., R.N., H.M.S. *Impregnable*, Devonport.
1933. Yeatman-Biggs, W. H., J.P., Brooks' Club, S.W. 1.
1923. Yetts, Major L. M., M.C., 113, Ladbroke Road, W. 11.
1916. Yorke, Mrs. C. E., Ladies' Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
1931. Young, Herrick B., c/o Board of Foreign Missions, 156, Fifth Avenue, New York City.
1924. Young, J. W. A., C.B.E., c/o 6, King William Street, E.C. 4.
1931. Young, Dr. M. Y., C.I.E., M.B., Ch.B., 5, Palace Place Mansions, Kensington Court, W. 8.
- *†YOUNGHUSBAND, Lieut. - Col. Sir Francis E., K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., 14, Ashley Gardens, S.W. 1. (Hon. Vice-President.)

Z

1936. Zada, M. Mahmud Riyad, Royal Legation of Sa'udi Arabia, S.W. 1.
1934. Zarrinkafsh, H.E. Ali Asghar Khan, Britannic House, E.C. 2.
1936. Zaslani, R., Jewish Agency, P.O.B. 92, Jerusalem.
- *†ZETLAND, Most Hon. Marquess of, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Aske, Yorkshire. (Hon. Vice-President.)
1931. Zia-ud-Din, Mian, Peshawar, India.
1938. Zissu, T. A. L., 21, Leonard Court, Edwardes Square, W. 8.
- ‡ Membership has lapsed. § Deceased.

Recently elected :

- Black, Commander I.R.H., R.N., 4, Onslow House, S.W. 7.
- Clarke, W. H. Crawford, Swan Hill, Shrewsbury.
- Culley, Wing-Commander S. D., D.S.O., R.A.F., British Military Mission in 'Iraq.
- Diack, Lieut. A. H., R.N., H.M.S. *Cricket*.
- Dreschfield, Mrs. J. M., Ladies' Carlton Club, S.W. 1.
- Hembrow, Captain P. B., R.E., A.C.R.E., Larkhill, Salisbury Plain.
- Irvine, J. T., 91, Iverna Court, W. 8.
- Jeffers, Captain J. H., R.A.S.C., British Military Mission in 'Iraq.
- Morgan, G. F. 16, Regent's Park Terrace, N.W. 3.
- Natha Singh, Sardar Sahib, Supervisor of Works, R.A.F., Habbaniya, 'Iraq.
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