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NOTICES

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR PHILIP CHETWODE will lecture to members of the Society on Tuesday, January 23.

On January 17 the second of the special war luncheons will be held at the Royal Empire Society. Mr. E. Gascoigne Hogg, C.M.G., will be the Guest and principal speaker. The first of these luncheons was held on December 19, on the war in China. Mr. E. M. Gull put very clearly many questions, military and political, connected with the Japanese invasion of China and the repercussions of the European situation, and although no definite answer can yet be given to the greater number of these problems, a good deal can be gained by seeing them in clear relation to each other and to the war in Europe.

On November 27 Sir Charles Innes, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., took the Chair at a meeting when Mr. Nathan showed a colour film of Burma. Mr. Nathan is an intelligent traveller and a superb photographer, and no country lends itself to a colour film better than Burma. From the Shwe-Dagon temple up-country to Myitkhina and back, and on the Irrawaddy river, the film showed beautiful pictures of temples, of different up-country types, bazaars and village scenes, and conveyed something of the peaceful atmosphere on the great river—the country's great waterway. The Chairman, congratulating the lecturer on his film and on his lecture, said that he hoped that some member equally proficient in photography might show the Society something of the out-of-the-way parts of Burma, equally beautiful and almost unknown, at another lecture.

The Council regret the few maps published with this Journal, an unavoidable war economy.

Mr. V. H. W. Dowson, who lectured in February on the "Date Cultivation and Date Cultivators of Basrah," has now translated some of the names the Arab growers give to the different varieties of date palm. The Trinidad Government Office has printed his pamphlet. To the specialist the list may read as any other fruit tree catalogue, but to the ordinary reader the translations throw some light on the poetic minds of the peasant cultivator, and the English writer, hard pressed for new titles for his novels, may find here very unexpected aid. The *Bint* series would almost write itself: "The

daughter of the Black Mare," "the daughter of the Arabs," "the daughter of the Sea," "the daughter of the Pasha," "the daughter of the Shaykh," "the daughter of the Mountain," "the daughter of the Lion"—the budding novelist is provided with a fortune without more ado. The "mother" series is more subtle, although "the mother of the Chains" might commend itself to a modern playwright and "the mother of Seven to an Ell" to the writer of folk-lore fairy tales. But what of "the Jackal's Yard," "the Mule's Stones," "the Refreshment of Ashrasi," "the flower of Husayn," and, most endearing of all, "Job's little eye"? How patient, how poor, how hopeful, how fond the Basrah cultivator must have been so to name his new variety. We who buy dates have up till now known nothing of all this; one doubts if it goes far outside the inner circle at Basrah. Could not the "Food and Wine Society" make a section for date-tasters and accustom us to ask for the thousand-and-one varieties each by its own name?

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

The title-page to Volume XXVI. (1939) is sent with this number of the Journal.

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 :

DINNER TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR

A SECTION of the Royal Central Asian Society entertained the Turkish Ambassador at a dinner given on December 12; the Rt. Hon. Lord Lloyd, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., was in the Chair.

His Excellency said :

MY LORD PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCIES, MY LORDS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, May I be permitted, first of all, to thank you for having organized this meeting and for having invited me to it. This has given me the opportunity of hearing words bearing the stamp of real friendship for my country, by which I have been deeply moved.

It was in a time of peace and in order to maintain peace that Turco-Anglo-French collaboration was negotiated and brought to a happy conclusion. The geographical and political position of Turkey makes it a factor of order and peace in an important part of the Old World.

It was with a clear and frank policy that Turkey could most usefully serve this cause, and she did not hesitate to act accordingly. The whole world knows that the Turk is faithful to his friendships and respects his engagements. It is also with the same conviction that he counts on the friendship and the fidelity of those who have given these to him.

Economic questions are to-day more in evidence than ever. A complete building-up will be required to adapt Turco-Anglo-French economy to the conditions of their political relations. But I think that the present situation, in spite of the difficulties which confront it, is of a nature to permit the speeding up of this work, although one might be inclined to believe the contrary. This is by way of being a paradox, but I do not hesitate to submit it for your consideration, as I am firmly convinced that success is awaiting the end of this task so courageously undertaken by the statesmen of our three countries.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express to them, in the persons of His Excellency Mr. Hudson and my friend Mr. Menemenioglu, who has unfortunately had to forgo the pleasure of being here this evening, all my sympathy and my gratitude, and I wish them every success in this noble task for a cause so happy and wonderful in its consequences, and I thank you once again, my Lord President, for having given me the opportunity of participating in this charming reunion.

BURMA AND HER LAND COMMUNICATIONS

By F. BURTON LEACH, C.I.E.

Report of a lecture given at a Joint Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association on November 1, 1939, Sir Hugh Stephenson, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: Before we begin our proceedings this afternoon, I feel that you would wish me to refer to the lamented death of Colonel Muirhead, who so recently gave up the appointment of Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State to India and Burma in order to take up again his war duties. Most of us well remember the very interesting talk he gave us only a few months ago on his flying visit to India and Burma, in the course of which he inspected the Burma end of this new China road, which is so closely connected with the subject of the lecture this afternoon. The country has suffered a great loss in his death.

It is a great pleasure to me to preside this afternoon and to introduce the lecturer, Mr. Burton Leach. He needs no introduction, as most of us have already listened to very interesting lectures of his on Burma trade and kindred matters. Mr. Leach served for twenty-nine years in the Indian Civil Service in Burma. I never had the pleasure of working with him, because he left Burma before I went there; but I can vouch for the value of his work and for his competence to speak on Burma matters. Mr. Leach came back again while I was still Governor and took up the appointment of Political Secretary to the Burma Chamber of Commerce, which has given him an outlook from an economic view-point which does not fall to the lot of most members of the Service and which is of particular value to the subject of his lecture this afternoon.

ONE of the most remarkable things about Burma is its geographical isolation from the rest of the world. By sea it is not on any through route, as Rangoon lies well off the line between any other two ports; even the Calcutta-Singapore steamers—the only passenger lines which make it a port of call—have to go several hundred miles out of their way to do so. By land, though it is bordered on one side by India and on another by China, it has no railway communication with either, and only in the last year has a motorable road been made into China. There is still no road into India passable by any kind of wheeled vehicle. Communications with the other two countries on its frontiers, French Indo-China and Siam, are equally primitive. The former only touches it for about 100 miles along the Mekong river on the extreme east of the Shan States, and the country on both sides is so wild and thinly populated that communications have never been

seriously considered. With Siam, however, it has a land frontier of about 1,000 miles, and there has been contact, sometimes for trade, sometimes for war, for centuries. It is now possible to go from Rangoon to Bangkok by motor by a circuitous route through the Shan States to Chiangmai and thence by rail to Bangkok, a distance of some 1,200 miles, but for purposes of through transport this route need hardly be considered. Only since air-transport started has Burma come on to any world route of importance, Rangoon being on the line from England to Australia.

It is not my purpose to-day, however, to discuss sea or air routes, but only the existing and possible communications by land between Burma and the neighbouring countries, which have become a matter of much greater interest owing to the Sino-Japanese war and the construction of the motor road from the Yangtze to the Burma frontier, which has given reality to some extent to the project which has been discussed for the last seventy-five years of making Rangoon a port of China. This is the most interesting and important of the land routes between Burma and the rest of the world, but before coming to it, I would like to speak briefly about communications with other countries.

The Siamese Border

It is convenient to start with Siam. The Siamese or Thai, as they now ask to be officially called, are of the same race as the Shans, who form the bulk of the inhabitants of the plateau country on the east of Burma and of three or four of the northernmost districts of Burma proper, and it is only natural that there should have been constant relations, more often warlike than peaceful, between the two countries. The natural approach to Siam from India and the west would seem to be from one of the ports in Tenasserim, the southern coastal strip of Burma, and the most southerly district, Mergui, was for some centuries part of Siam, and its old port of Tenasserim, no longer accessible by sea-going ships, was the principal port of Siam for all travellers from the west. Recent investigations have shown that it was probably by a route further south that Indians first reached the great Khmer Empire of South-Eastern Asia, whose ruins show clear traces of Hindu influence, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Mergui was the usual approach from India to Siam.

The road, however, has long become nothing but a mere jungle track, hardly feasible even for pack-animals, and there has never been any serious proposal to open out communications there either by road

or rail. If Burma and Siam are ever linked, this is the easiest route, as the densely wooded mountains which divide the two countries increase in height and in breadth from south to north. On the other hand, Mergui is a long way south of the line from Rangoon to Bangkok, and such proposals for a railway as have been considered were to start east from Moulmein or Tavoy. The country, however, is extremely difficult, and it is most improbable that any trade would spring up which would make a railway or a motor road a commercial success. The few passengers who want to go from Rangoon to Bangkok can now do so by air in two hours, and it looks as if air transport had finally killed any idea of a Burma-Siam railway. Even a road is hardly more than a dream of the remote future.

The Approaches to India

Let us turn now from the south-east to the north-west of Burma and consider the question of communication with India. There are two possibilities and two feasible routes in each case. The first possibility is to cross the mountains which separate Burma proper from Arakan, the coastal strip running from the borders of Bengal down to Cape Negrais, and thence on to Chittagong, where there is a railway to Calcutta; the second is to start from some point in the north of Burma and link up with the Assam railway. The second gives the shortest length of new road or rail to be constructed, but the country is very difficult and very sparsely populated; the journey from Calcutta to Rangoon would be very long and expensive, and there is little prospect of diverting either passengers or goods from the sea-route, which would be both quicker and cheaper. To go through Arakan would involve more new construction, but it would link Arakan with the rest of Burma, and there would be a certain amount of local traffic to be picked up there. A serious drawback is that the main line could not well pass through Akyab, the only important port, which would have to be approached by a branch line.

There are two possible passes over the mountains from Burma to Arakan—the Taungup pass in the extreme south, leading from Padaung opposite Prome on the Irrawaddy to Taungup on the Arakan coast, and thence up the whole length of Arakan to Chittagong, and the An pass leading from Minbu on the Irrawaddy to the neighbourhood of Kyaukpyu. Both these routes have been surveyed for a railway; the Taungup pass being only about 2,000 feet high is the easiest way across the Arakan mountains, the An pass being about

4,000 feet, but Arakan is an extremely difficult country for either rail or road construction, as it consists largely of mangrove swamps intersected by numerous tidal creeks, and the railway or road would have to be heavily embanked for most of its course, and the bridging would be extremely expensive.

Further north there are two possible routes to link Burma with Assam without touching Arakan. The first is to start from the Chindwin river and go through Manipur, and the second is to start from Mogaung on the Burma railway and go through the Hukong valley. Both routes involve crossing a long stretch of mountainous country, much of it practically uninhabitable, particularly on the Hukong valley route, where there is no chance of any local traffic. It can safely be said that no railway from Burma to India is likely to be a commercial success, and it could only be justified on strategical grounds, in the event of the sea-route being interrupted. This happened for three weeks in September, 1914, when the *Emden* was in the Bay of Bengal, and this event naturally led to much discussion of the question, but nothing has ever come of it. Since then the development of air transport has made the construction of either a road or a railway between India and Burma less likely than ever.

The Access to China

This is as much as I propose to say about communication between Burma and the other countries across its frontiers, and I will now turn to the most interesting question at the moment, the new Burma-China road, and the projected railway.

There has for centuries been a road across China to Yunnan, and thence down to the Irrawaddy river at Bhamo. The first description we have of it is in the pages of Marco Polo, and it is clear from his description that it was an old trade route even in those days. It seems certain that Marco Polo himself did not visit Burma and wrote of the road only from hearsay, and it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the British appear to have had a factory at Bhamo for a short time, that any European visited the north of Burma.

All communication with the interior of Burma then ceased, and it was only after the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim that Major Burney, the resident at Ava, obtained permission to send an officer to visit Bhamo in 1835. The officer was Captain Hannay, who obtained from the Chinese traders the first reliable information about the routes into Yunnan. He did not, however, go up from Bhamo into China,

and the withdrawal of the British resident at Ava a year later closed the country again for another thirty years, and it was not until 1868, after the second Burmese war, that Captain Sladen made the first journey into Yunnan from Burma. His objective was Talifu, which had been reached from the east by the great French explorer, Francis Garnier; but Captain Sladen was unable to get beyond Tengyueh, owing to the disturbed state of the province, which was in the throes of the great Muhammadan rebellion. It was not till 1874 that the country between Talifu and Tengyueh was at last penetrated by Augustus Margary, of the Chinese Consular Service, who travelled unarmed from Shanghai to Bhamo, one of the most brilliant feats of exploration ever accomplished.

Ten years later Upper Burma was annexed, and the country was soon opened up and the old trade between Burma and China was revived. It is remarkable, however, that even before the route had ever been traversed by a European the idea of Rangoon becoming a port of south-west China had taken firm root. As early as 1861 a paper was published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* on the communication of the south-west provinces of China with Rangoon, and in 1864 Dr. Williams wrote on the question of trade with China through Burma in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, while in 1865 another Mr. Williams actually wrote a memorandum on railway communication. Even more remarkable was a memorial on the subject from the Wakefield Chamber of Commerce to the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury in 1869, and two years earlier the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce had written to a "mercantile man," Mr. Theodore Stewart, who accompanied Captain Sladen's mission, expressing the hope "that a prosperous trade will ere long be established between China and British Burmah, and that the time is not far distant when the prediction that Rangoon will become the Liverpool of the East will no longer be a dream of the future, but an accomplished fact."

The Railway Project

It must be remembered that at this time the possibilities of the development of Burma itself were underrated; it was not until the opening of the Suez Canal and the consequent expansion of rice-cultivation in Lower Burma that Rangoon became a great port; also the geographical difficulties of crossing Yunnan were not realized until Margary's journey from Talifu to Bhamo. The earlier talks of a railway were sometimes based on the idea of a line running north from

Moulmein through the Shan States rather than from Upper Burma. This, it is true, would avoid the Salween crossing, but it still leaves the Mekong crossing to be accomplished, and this length of line would be prohibitively expensive. As soon as the railway was carried through to Mandalay after the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886, and afterwards, when it was extended to Lashio in the Northern Shan States, it was realized that the only feasible route was from Bhamo or from Lashio.

The Lashio branch was intended to continue to the Salween at the Kunlong ferry, with the idea of eventual extension into China; but this project was vetoed by Lord Curzon when he visited Burma as Viceroy of India in 1901. He was remarkably outspoken, even for Curzon, on the scheme. "The idea," he wrote, "that the wealth of Szechuan would stream down a single metre-gauge line, many miles of which would have to scale mountains by a rack, to Rangoon, while the great arterial rivers flow through the heart of the province of Szechuan itself—which are quite competent to convey its trade to and from the sea—is one, as it seems to me in the present stage of Central Asian evolution, almost of midsummer madness."

Whether or not Lord Curzon had seen reports of Major Davies' journeys in Yunnan in 1899 and 1900 I do not know, but his opinion found support in the reports of earlier travellers. Margary's untimely death a month after his great journey deprived the world of any detailed report from him, but an expedition which went up next year to enquire into his murder included Mr. Baber, also of the Chinese Consular Service, who first recorded the vast difficulties of the country between Talifu and the Burma frontier. "The valleys, or rather abysses, of the Salween and Mekong," he wrote, "must long remain insuperable difficulties, not to mention many other obstacles." He also pointed out that the natural approach to Eastern Yunnan is from the Gulf of Tongking.

In 1908 Major Davies published his book *Yunnan*, the fruit of his three years' journeys in 1895, 1899, and 1900, when he marched over 5,000 miles, covering all the important routes, and reaching many places never before visited by a European. This book remains the most detailed and authoritative description of the country. He discusses at length all the possible routes for a road or railway, and his account confirms the difficulties reported by Baber and previous travellers. There is no way of getting from Rangoon to the Yangtze valley without crossing somewhere the Salween and the Mekong, two of the

largest rivers of Asia, which run, as Baber says, in abysses rather than valleys, separated from one another and from the country on either side by precipitous ranges of mountains whose passes are between 7,000 and 8,000 feet above sea-level. The Mekong, where the new road crosses it, is 4,000 feet, and the Salween is less than 2,500 feet, and these are by no means the only large rivers and mountain ranges to be negotiated, so the switchback nature of the road can easily be imagined.

The Burma-Yunnan Road

In spite of these difficulties, the Chinese have succeeded in constructing a road passable by motor vehicles, at least during the dry season, from the Burma frontier to Yunnanfu, now called Kunming, the capital of Yunnan, and thence to the Yangtze at Chungking, the temporary capital of China. In December last the American Ambassador to China motored the whole distance from Chungking to Rangoon, about 2,000 miles, in 13 days, an average of 150 miles a day, which is sufficient to prove that the road is quite fit for traffic. The most difficult part of the road is the last 350 miles from Hsiakwan to the Burmese frontier. As far west as Hsiakwan the road had been constructed three or four years ago, but the last portion was made in about eighteen months after the outbreak of the war with Japan.

Baber's description of this country and the rough contour of the road which you see here gives some idea of the difficulties to be overcome, and when it is added that this 350 miles was constructed almost without any mechanical appliances, by human labour working against time, when the country was in the throes of a disastrous war, the magnitude of the task can be to some extent realized. Nobody who knows this part of the world—a tangled mass of precipitous mountains cleft by gigantic torrents, the upper waters of some of the greatest rivers in the world—can fail to be amazed at the engineering feat which has been accomplished, a feat which, with the limited means available, could only have been accomplished by the people who built the Great Wall of China.

No description of the road has, as far as I am aware, been published in any permanent form, but there have been a few accounts of it in the Press and in private pamphlets which give a good idea of it to anybody who has experience of that part of the world or of mountain roads in general.

Starting from the Burma side, the road leaves the rail-head of Lashio, about 3,000 feet above sea-level, and climbs for about 50 miles

over some of the finest country in Burma, much of it open rolling downs, the highest point being about 5,000 feet. It then descends for another 50 or 60 miles to the Chinese frontier, the first two towns in China, Wangting and Chefang, being, with the exception of the Salween crossing, the lowest points on the road. From there it continues to Mangshih, about 3,300 feet, the usual terminus of the first day's run. The Burma section of the road up to mile 105 was constructed some ten years ago, and is part of the Lashio-Bhamo road, and the only new construction in Burma is the short stretch from mile 105 to the Chinese frontier at Wangting.

Mountainous Stretches

After Mangshih the real difficulties begin, the climb to Lungling, and beyond Lungling to the pass at 8,000 feet, being very steep; and from the pass the road goes down equally steeply to the Salween bridge, which is only 2,500 feet. This bridge and the Mekong bridge are both suspension bridges of the same size, 860 metres long, and are said to be able to take a 10-ton load; the construction of them in these inaccessible situations is a remarkable engineering feat.

From the Salween the road climbs again to Takuansse at nearly 7,000 feet, and thence drops 1,000 feet to Paoshan, where the road meets the old mule-track from Bhamo, the first large Chinese city, and the usual second night's halt. This section is easier, and it is said to be possible to do 40 miles an hour for considerable stretches. The third day's run goes down from Paoshan to the Mekong, which is crossed at about 4,000 feet, and thence by a veritable switchback to Hsiakwan, 460 miles from Lashio. Hsiakwan is the road junction from Talifu and for trade routes from Tibet, and is the most important commercial town in the west of Yunnan.

From Hsiakwan to Kunming is 260 miles, and it is possible to do this in one day, but it is more usual to stop at Chuhsiung and leave a short run of 120 miles for the fifth day. Between Hsiakwan and Chuhsiung the road reaches its highest point, nearly 9,000 feet above sea-level. From here it descends to Chenan, and the last 150 miles on to Kunming is across the great Yunnan plateau varying from 5,000 to 6,250 feet, and this section of the road is comparatively easy.

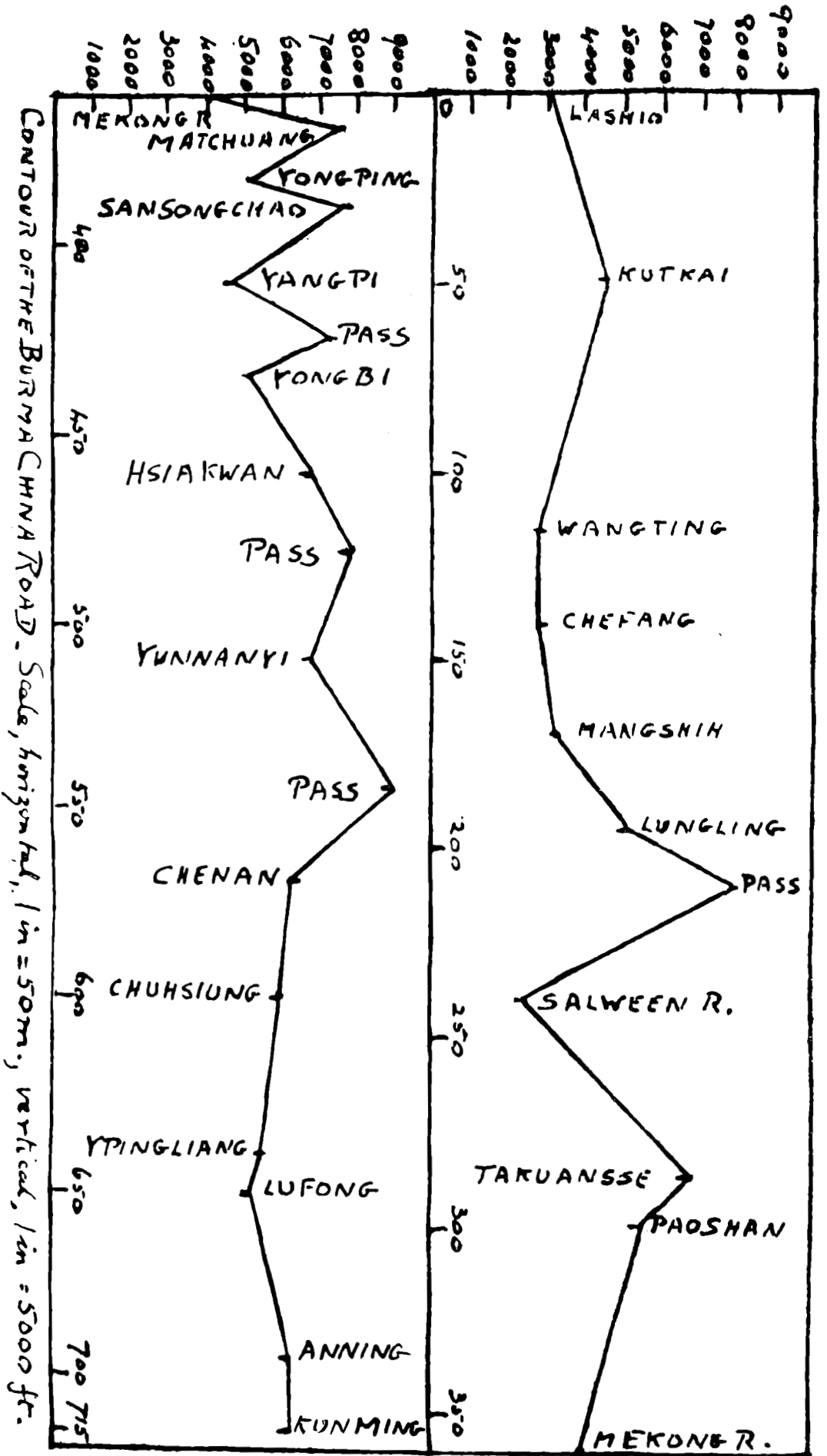
Kunming, better known by its old name of Yunnanfu, the capital of Yunnan, is an important centre, as the terminus of the Red River railway from Haiphong, and the junction of several roads from Szechuan and Kweichau provinces. There is a foreign population of

about 500, of whom half are French, and there are several hotels with European accommodation, a luxury not to be found anywhere else on the road, though it is proposed to build inns at the principal halts. There is also at present no petrol to be obtained on the road between Kunming and the Burma frontier, so it is necessary to carry enough for 600 miles. Most of the road is still unmetalled, and until it is metalled it will only be motorable, at any rate for heavy vehicles, in the dry season from October to May. Even after metalling it will be liable to frequent interruptions from landslides in many parts.

Routes to the Yangtze

Beyond Kunming there are several possible routes to the Yangtze. In a direct line north the distance is less than 100 miles; but the country is impracticable for a motor road, and the river is not navigable at this point, so a longer route had to be selected. The highest point on the Yangtze which could be considered for the road terminus is at Suifu, where the Min river joins it, about 400 miles from Kunming. An even longer route was, however, chosen, running eastwards to Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichau province, and thence northwards to meet the Yangtze at Chungking, the present capital of China, a distance of about 700 miles from Kunming, 1,400 miles from Lashio, and nearly 2,000 miles from Rangoon. The selection of the longer route from Kunming to the Yangtze was no doubt due to the fact that the country is easier and more thickly populated and trade prospects are better; but what trade there has been in the past from China to Burma has been mainly raw silk from Szechuan, which comes down to Kunming or Hsiakwan from the north, and the Kunming-Kweiyang-Chungking road will not be of much assistance to this.

Not content with the construction of this road, the Chinese are reported to have already commenced the construction of a railway from Kunming westwards to Hsiakwan, to be continued to the Burma frontier and connected with the Burma railway at Lashio. The latest reports speak of its being open to traffic in a year's time, which seems incredible, even allowing for the millions of labourers whom China can produce if required. The engineer-in-charge, however, is said to have constructed another railway in China of 215 miles in ten months. The railway will apparently follow the road from Kunming to Hsiakwan, but will take a completely different route between Hsiakwan and Lashio, running south and west to cross the Salween at the Kunlong ferry, and it will be useless until the Mandalay-Lashio line is continued



to this point, a distance of some 80 miles. As far as is known, nothing is being done to construct this extension at present. The Burma railways are metre gauge, and it was imagined that the Chinese would make their line of the same gauge, but it is now reported that the last 280 miles to the frontier—the most difficult section—will be 0·6 metre, about 24 inches, which is narrow even for a mountain railway. The cost is estimated at \$100,000,000 for labour alone, apart from imported material, for a length of 530 miles. This change of gauge will entail breaking bulk twice, and it seems doubtful if the estimated freight capacity of 300 tons a day, which is very small, will be reached. The one thing that is cheap is coal, of which Yunnan contains an almost unlimited quantity at present entirely undeveloped for lack of transport.

Commercial Transport

How far these gigantic schemes will ever be a commercial success is open to question. Lord Curzon may have underrated the trade possibilities of the trans-Salween route, which he spoke of as only enough to fill two dug-outs, but the value of the Burma-China trade has never amounted to more than a few hundred thousand pounds in normal times. At the present moment there is a demand for munitions due to the closing of the Chinese ports, but this is presumably only temporary, and whether in peace-time trade will justify the cost of construction and maintenance of the road and railway seems doubtful. Western Yunnan is a poor and thinly populated area, and the natural outlet from Kunming is down to the east. The Red River railway to Haiphong, which was built at the beginning of this century, is about 550 miles, almost exactly the same distance as Lashio to Rangoon, and the extra cost of freight to Rangoon, which is more than twice as far from Kunming, is going to be a very severe handicap. Also it must be remembered in considering this road as a backdoor into China, and not merely as a link between Burma and the two provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan, that Chungking itself is very isolated. It is 600 or 700 miles from the nearest railway at Hankow, which lies as far to the east of it as Kunming does to the west. Distances in China are so great that it is difficult for us to realize them, but the population and the possibilities of future trade when the country is opened up are also incalculable. There are doubtless men still living who thought the idea of trans-American railways linking the Atlantic to the Pacific was fantastic. Perhaps there are also men living who will see trans-China railways linking the Pacific to the Indian Ocean.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me we have been listening to a most interesting lecture, and I hope that many of the audience may be able to throw further light on some of the points on which Mr. Leach has touched.

When the question of the separation of Burma from India was under consideration, the principal relevancy of Burma's land communications was to the question of Burma's defence, and the difficulties of transport and access were then to that extent an asset in that they diminished the chances of invasion and decreased the necessity for military protection. This was only three years ago, and the idea of a motor road from China to Burma was then very high up in the air. This helps us to realize what Mr. Leach has referred to as the magnitude of the task undertaken in building this motor road from China. After that one does not like to prophesy, but I think Mr. Leach has clearly shown that the likelihood of any similar change on the other land frontiers is extremely small. Land communication with India can only be justified on strategic grounds, and then only if we have lost the command of the sea, not merely for three weeks, but permanently.

The linking up of Arakan is an internal problem of communication which must be left to be dealt with in due course as Burma expands, but I doubt whether it is anywhere near the forefront of the present development schemes before the Burma Government.

Mr. Leach has therefore concentrated on the construction of the new road. The wonderful feat of the completion of the road in an extraordinarily short space of time is undoubtedly due to Japan having deprived China of its ports. It is true that even before the war China had schemes of road and rail development which included Yunnanfu in their scope, and there were vague talks of extending them to Bhamo and Myithyina; but vested interests were strong, and the likelihood of a road link to Burma was exceedingly remote. The driving power of the new road was the need for munitions, but we cannot contemplate that the China-Japan war will last for ever, and therefore our main interest in the road is from an economic point of view. The lecturer paints these prospects with a very gloomy brush, but at the end he tried to cheer us with a vision, not of local trade, but of a time when China and Burma, and doubtless other countries, have laid aside their rivalries and joined in co-operation for a vast trade through a fully developed country.

We are fortunate this afternoon in having with us Mr. Chen, Counsellor of the Chinese Embassy, and I hope he will be able to give

us some more cheering view of the prospects of the future of this road. It is a depressing thought that such a magnificent achievement should be doomed to disappear through landslides or disuse, and I hope that some of us may be able to point out a way whereby this new road, this new link with the vast empire of China, may be made to serve and develop the prosperity of Burma. I do not know what the prospects are of minerals in Yunnan. Modern mining can do a very great deal more than the Chinese mining. We are told that "Western Yunnan is a poor and thinly populated area." Is this inevitable? Why is it sparsely populated? Is it due to denudation which might be remedied? Is there any possibility of exploiting some new crop relatively valuable to its bulk, such as tea? Is there any possibility of expanding a tourist industry? I have not been further than the borders of Burma myself, but the country up to that border would be an asset to any tourist agency. And I remember the thrill with which I walked over the China border for the purpose of saying that I had set foot in China.

I think we shall all agree that it is a depressing note to end up on if we find that this great achievement, this monument of human industry, is to be relegated to a grass-grown track when the immediate need of the present war is over. (Applause.)

Mr. W. C. CHEN (Counsellor of the Chinese Ambassador): I am very interested in what has just been said. You all know how vital it was for the Chinese Government to have the road to Burma completed and how important it is to have the route for use at all seasons as soon as possible. During the wet season there is a period of time when it cannot be used, and that is why the Chinese Government are anxious to have a railway, even a light railway, on the existing road laid for temporary use.

The urgency of the case is well understood because of the present need in transporting munitions. The Burma Government has been very liberal with us as to the transit duty for loading and unloading and transmitting material through Burma. I think the Chinese Government can never say that the Burma Government was not liberal with us. For that we have already expressed our thanks to the proper quarters.

As to the commercial value of a railway or a road, one must think that unless you have a road nobody will go to that place to live. When you have a road or a railway, people begin to populate the place and to make it wealth-producing. We are all of the opinion that this railway, when built, will continue to be used after the war is over. On the

Burma side from Lashio to the border, I was told, was 100 miles. If the Burmese Government do not want to build the line, we will build it for them. If they wish us to do so, let them let us know and we are quite ready to come in. If it is a matter of a subsidy in case after the war that 100 miles does not pay, there are ways and means of subsidizing that part.

As you know, ever since the Japanese invaded China they have been systematically destroying our higher institutions of learning. Anticipating this, some of these institutions in other parts of China bought land and started buildings in Yunnan and other south-western places, many of them near and around Yunnanfu, before the Japanese invasion. These are permanent institutions; they are there to stay.

Moreover, many factories, including power-houses, cotton mills, paper mills, and industries of a co-operative nature, are springing up in and near Yunnanfu and in the interior. So I have perfect confidence that the railway will pay for itself, even after the war is over.

Another thing: You have just heard what the Chairman said of the beauty of the country through which the road passes. From the tourist point of view it is very much like Switzerland. Several people who have travelled there have told me this, and I regret that I have never been to that part.

The completion of the Burma-Yunnan railway is a most urgent question with the Chinese Government. We hope that the British authorities will consider the proposition in a favourable light, in spite of difficulties. (Applause.)

Mr. BURTON LEACH, in reply, said: I am sorry that the Chairman thought I was gloomy; I really did not mean to be as gloomy as that. I never meant that the road was doomed to disappear and slide down the hillsides. All I wanted to express was that, from experience of even mule-tracks through that sort of country, I know how they are bound to be interrupted by landslides during the rains for several years until the ground has settled after being cut, and what a trouble this always is and what an expense it entails in maintaining the road.

I was very interested in Mr. Chen's remarks, and I see he takes the bold line which the Americans took in opening up North America—that you have to make your communications first and the trade will follow your communications. It is a very fine policy. It succeeded in the United States, and I hope most sincerely that it will succeed in this case.

I never meant to belittle this road. I expressed my admiration for

the work. But what I did mean to emphasize was that this road is an even more difficult piece of work from an engineering point of view than the Trans-American crossing. Most of the route in North America is across level plains; you have only a short stretch through the Rockies. This road is like cutting through the Rockies the whole way from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is an engineering work of the most amazing difficulty, and I most sincerely hope that Mr. Chen's outlook is right and that new industries will spring up following this road and the opening up of communications. I do not know whether I am likely to see such a result, but I hope Mr. Chen, anyhow, will see the prosperous result of this road, and that the communications which have now, after so many years of waiting, been opened up between Burma and China will not slide down the hill, but will remain permanently and will become the beginning of a new era of prosperity for that part of the world. (Applause.)

Brig.-General Sir PERCY SYKES: It is my pleasant task to thank the lecturer. We have enjoyed his lecture very much. The part that we in the Royal Central Asian Society have enjoyed most were his last words, and we wish Mr. Chen and his Government all good luck in providing the Burma-China road and rail link.

May I add a word about this combination of the two societies? People said: "Oh, in this time of war there will only be about twenty people there!" Now I think the two secretaries must get together and arrange with the Royal Empire Society for a larger hall. (Applause.)

THE YEMEN IN 1937-38*

By HUGH SCOTT

IN addressing the Royal Central Asian Society on the Yemen, I shall treat the subject from a point of view rather different from that which I have previously adopted. In December, 1938, at the Royal Geographical Society, I told the story of the natural history expedition to South-Western Arabia undertaken by myself and Mr. E. B. Britton between September, 1937 and March, 1938. In that lecture, and in the article published in the *Geographical Journal* for February, 1939 (vol. 93, pp. 97-125), it was explained that we were granted leave of absence from the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, where we are both members of the staff in the Entomology Department, in order to make collections, mainly of insects, in a part of Arabia scarcely explored from that standpoint. I also referred to my wish to compare the fauna and flora of the highlands in South-West Arabia with those on the opposite side of the Red Sea in Abyssinia, where I had previously made an expedition.

To render the present article in some measure the complement of the one just cited, attention must be concentrated on the historical and human aspects of the country, and also on modern political conditions, about which I have been asked to make some remarks; these latter, however, have to be mostly in the past tense, owing to the changes which have since taken place. Moreover, it should be remembered that I am by profession a naturalist and an entomologist, and that my observations on political and historical matters are those of an amateur.

The south-western corner of Arabia was chosen for our natural history investigations because it is the most elevated and fertile part of the whole peninsula, at any rate on the western side. Excepting the narrow belt of low-lying coastal desert known as the Tihama, the country consists of high, fertile plateaux, 7,000, 8,000, and nearly 9,000 feet above sea-level, and from these tablelands peaks and mountain ranges, still very little surveyed, soar to 10,000 and 11,000 feet and even higher. All this high country catches the south-west monsoon and is

* Taken from the verbatim account of a lecture illustrated with excellent slides given to the Royal Central Asian Society on November 22, 1939, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair.

subject to very heavy rainstorms from July to September. Much of it is thickly populated and closely cultivated, and in the interior streams, waterfalls, and rivers run perennially. Few of them, however, succeed in reaching the sea, for most are lost in the coastal desert.

It is not surprising that such a country should have been the seat of a very ancient culture. It is impossible to embark, even were I competent to do so, on even an outline of the old Minæan and Sabæan civilizations. But later in the lecture certain remains are discussed belonging to the pre-Islamic civilization usually spoken of as Himyaritic. For the inhabitants of the country themselves derive their ancient dynasty of princes from Himyar, great-grandson of Qahtan, and the latter is traditionally identified with the Joktan of the Book of Genesis as a descendant of Shem. I do not know how far the discoveries of modern archæologists and anthropologists will conform to these traditions, but it is impossible to describe the country without its background of ancient tradition.

Reference must be made to the introduction of Judaism and Christianity in the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era, to the conquest of the country by the Abyssinians early in the sixth century, and the Persian invasion late in the same century.

Since the final overthrow of these earlier powers by the Muhammadan conquest, the country has seen the rise of a peculiar sect—the Zaidis, a branch of the Shi'ah division of Islam. Though the Shi'ahs are mainly centred in Persia, they have this offshoot in the Yemen. The sect is named after Zaid, a descendant of 'Ali, and its head has been styled "Imam" ever since the beginning of the tenth century A.D. Moreover, since the withdrawal of the Turks from the Yemen in 1918, the Imam has become not merely the spiritual head of the Zaidis but the temporal monarch of the Yemen, one of the most autocratic monarchs in the world. It may be added that the withdrawal of the Turks, referred to above, closed their second period of dominion in the Yemen, 1872-1918. Their earlier rule, about 1538-1630, left its mark notably in the building (or rebuilding) of certain fine mosques in the larger cities. In these buildings, some of which will be mentioned later, the Turkish design contrasts with the Yemeni Arab architectural style. During the Turkish periods the Imam's position was generally only that of spiritual head of the Zaidis, whose stronghold is the high country about San'a, the capital.

Orientalists must decide whether the name Al Yemen literally means the country "on the right hand," or whether it is derived from

another Arabic word meaning "happiness" or "prosperity." The second meaning, of course, accords with the Roman designation, Arabia Felix.*

Since the frontier between the British Protectorate of Aden and the Yemen was fixed with the Turks in the early years of the present century, the old Yemen, in the geographical sense, the area that we were investigating, has been politically divided into the independent kingdom of the Yemen, as it now is, on the north and the British Protectorate on the south. For that reason, and because of the extreme reluctance of the Imam to admit any Europeans into his country at all, and then only under the closest supervision, my colleague and I had to undertake two separate journeys, starting from and coming back to Aden each time.

Our first journey was to the Amiri highlands in the western division of the British Protectorate, with Dhala, the Amiri capital, as our base. We camped for two months in various parts of that territory. Then we came back to Aden and made a separate journey, crossing the frontier into the Yemen proper, and going first to the chief city of Southern Yemen, Ta'izz. Thence we travelled by mule, and partly by car, through the central highlands via the ancient cities of Ibb, Yarim, and Dhamar to San'a. During a residence in San'a of over two months we made many excursions, and some treks lasting several days, by horse, mule, or car in the district. Finally we came down westward, by the motor route, to the Red Sea and left the country by Hodeida, the chief port. We thus did the journey in the reverse direction from that taken by many people. Most travellers enter the country at Hodeida and, if they succeed in getting further, go up to San'a, whence they either return the same way or travel southwards to Aden via Ta'izz.

Little can be said about our starting-point, Aden, that ancient and interesting port, with its most colourful native city, "Crater," actually in the old crater, and the outlying parts of the settlement. The history of Aden stretches back into the remote past. Incidentally, it is believed to be identical with the Eden (needless to say, quite distinct from the Garden of Eden) mentioned more than once in the Old Testament, notably in Ezekiel (chap. xxvii., verse 23), where it is included, in conjunction with "the traffickers of Sheba" (*i.e.*, Yemen), in a list of those

* See R. L. Playfair, *A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen*, chap. i., p. 2, 1859. See also Stewart Perowne, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, October, 1939, p. 201, footnote 3; apparently both Arabic words spring from the same root.

who traded with Tyre. In April, 1937, a few months before our visit, Aden had, after being under the Bombay Government for 98 years, been transferred to Colonial Office supervision and had become the newest British Colony. Nearly two years later, in January, 1939, its centenary as a British possession was celebrated.

Travelling northwards we passed, at about 27 miles from Aden, and still in the lowlands, the town and oasis of Lahej, capital of the 'Abdali Sultanate. For those unfamiliar with the more recent history of Aden it may be stated that the chief of the 'Abdali tribe threw off his allegiance to the Imam of the Yemen in 1728, and he and his successors have since styled themselves "Sultan." With the Sultan of Lahej, as overlord of Aden, the emissaries of the Bombay Government (which, under orders from the East India Company, was seeking a coaling station and port of call) made contact in 1829 and the following years. Finally, after incidents culminating in a skirmish with the Sultan's forces, Aden was taken by the British on January 11, 1839. The Sultanate of Lahej became later a protected state, and its Sultan is now one of the leading native rulers in the British Protectorate.*

In November, 1937, after our return from the Amiri country, we stayed for some days at Al Huseini, a little north of the town of Lahej, on a plantation belonging to a member of the Sultan's family where many products of the eastern tropics are cultivated. To express our thanks for permission to do so, we afterwards called on the Sultan himself at Lahej. Our visit was arranged for the morning of the principal day of the Id al Fitr, or "Little Id" (the festival marking the end of Ramadhan), which in 1937 fell on December 6. The Sultan (H.H. Sir 'Abdul Karim bin Fadhl bin 'Ali al 'Abdali, K.C.M.G., etc.), a tall and dignified man of sixty or more, was wearing a bright-coloured turban, a black morning coat buttoning up to the neck and morning trousers, and over all a flowing black gold-edged 'aba of a fabric so fine as to be nearly transparent. He received us most cordially, questioned us about our journey, and showed amusement at the difficulties we had experienced in obtaining permission from the Imam to enter the Yemen. That monarch is evidently regarded as a "character" by the more sophisticated rulers in the British Protectorate! The Sultan also asked information about certain insect pests damaging the citrus trees at Al Huseini, and we were glad to be able to recommend a spray highly reputed for its efficacy. As we left we

* See R. L. Playfair, *A History of Yemen*, 1859, chaps. xix., xx.; also Harold F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia*, 1923, etc.

met a stream of men of all sorts and conditions passing up the palace steps to pay their respects to the Sultan at his public reception on the festival day. All wore their newest and brightest garments.

On our first journey to the interior, however, we did not stop at Lahej, but travelled direct, about 90 miles by car and lorry, to Dhala. This unwallled town of tower-like stone houses lies on a fertile, cultivated plateau at about 4,800 feet above sea-level, overlooked by the Amir's castle crowning a steep hill, while the whole is surrounded by mountains reaching between 7,000 and 8,000 feet.

The Amiri country is at present ruled by two Amirs, father and son, Amir Nasr and Amir Haidara. The ruling family has in the past more than once owed its security, and even its rescue from the "powers that be" north of the Yemen frontier, to British intervention. This is repaid by great devotion to the Aden Government, and no trouble or kindness on behalf of British visitors is too great for the Amirs, as we found during our two months in their territory. It was also pleasing to behold the open, simple, and almost fatherly relations existing between them and their tribesmen. We gathered, indeed, that the elder Amir had been persuaded to reside at Lahej for a time because he could not refuse the petitions of any poor tribesman, deserving or otherwise. This tended to drain his treasury, for the ruling family is not wealthy. These mountain chieftains, men of slight or even delicate physique, in their bright-coloured turbans and shirts, short cloth coats, and kilt-like silken "futas" of bright colours, recalled the Highland chiefs of bygone days.

The town of Dhala has a Jewish quarter, and we met members of the ancient community of South Arabian Jews in almost every town and village in the interior, both in the Protectorate and the Yemen. In talking to Amir Nasr of Dhala I fully realized how burning a question among the Arabs was British policy in Palestine. The Amir assured us of his devotion to British rule, but expressed amazement at our policy and our treatment of the Arabs, who had been settled in Palestine for so many centuries. Jews, he argued, lived contentedly side by side with his Arab tribesmen; why, therefore, could the two nations and religions not live together in Palestine under a strong British administration? (Naturally, Amir Nasr failed to realize the difference in culture between the Jewish communities settled for centuries in South Arabia, and the modern Jewish immigrants into the Holy Land.) We were to hear more of this question later, in the Yemen.

During a two days' visit of the Governor of Aden (Sir Bernard Reilly) the Tribal Guards of the Amir of Dhala paraded before the Governor and the Amir, while tribesmen lined the sides of the road leading to the parade ground, discharging their rifles into the air as the Governor's car approached. The Amir's soldiers appeared for the first time uniformed in khaki shirts and shorts, instead of their white native dress. The several companies were distinguished by turbans of different colours. There were (apart from the Royal Air Force) almost no British forces in the Protectorate, but the more important Arab rulers have these bodies of troops known as Tribal Guards. Started several years ago as an internal security force, they are maintained by their respective chiefs as far as possible, with help from the Government when the chief cannot bear the whole cost. In return the Tribal Guards are supervised by a British officer appointed by the Government, and, while they strengthen the authority of their respective chiefs, they must be used by the latter in a way approved by the Government. In the smart turn-out at Dhala we saw the results of training by qualified instructors under the joint control of the Amir and the Political Officer in the district, at that time Capt. the Hon. R. A. Hamilton. Since our return to England the Tribal Guards have been supplemented by a force of Government Guards under the direct control of the Government.

I have related elsewhere* how we transported ourselves, our Somali servants, and our elaborate collecting apparatus, as well as camp stores and kit, to the top of Jebel Jihaf, the great mountain-mass which overshadows Dhala. We camped there for more than a month, at the foot of a conical hill crowned by the small mountain castle, recalling a border peel-tower, in which the younger Amir (Haidara) was residing. This move involved the hire of nine camels and two donkeys, while three riding horses were lent by the Amir. The ascent over seven miles of stony track, winding in and out among spurs and gulleys, presents no great difficulty. As an example of costs, the total cost of transport, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees per camel, and including all extras, amounted to 34 rupees (£2 5s. 4d.).

The top of Jebel Jihaf is not simply a wild peak, but much of it is occupied by a bowl-shaped plateau, closely cultivated and with stone-terraced fields wherever human ingenuity has been able to contrive. The deep winding valleys in the outer walls of the mountain are also terraced in a wonderful manner; the little fields, covered in

* In the *Geographical Journal*, February, 1939, as cited above.

mid-September with crops of tall green *dhurra*, cling to the valley-sides one above the other, while clusters of stone towers and houses crown each eminence. The actual summit, to the north-east, is a bare rocky dome, reaching more than 7,800 feet, dotted with low scrub vegetation.

The wilder parts of the mountain claimed much of our attention, particularly a gorge, reached only with difficulty, filled with wild fig trees and luxuriant herbage; shady clefts in which perennial streams cascade, even in the dry season, into clear pools among a tangle of ferns, bushes, and flowers; and recesses in cliffs high up on the north-west face, protected from the burning sun during much of the day, where real alpine plants nestle in moist grit.

To the north and north-west Jebel Jihaf falls precipitously about 3,000 feet to a great and broad depression with an undulating floor. Beyond this rises the huge tawny rampart of the Yemen highlands, with Qa'taba, a little dark brown frontier town, at their feet. The most striking of the Yemen mountains, Jebel Heshha, lies to the west. At its northern end lofty cliffs are surmounted by three rounded peaks, on the middle one of which stands a whitewashed shrine. We are again brought into contact with the Old Testament books, for this glistening dome is venerated locally by the Arabs as the tomb of Ayub—in other word, the prophet Job. Local tradition, indeed, claims this district, the frontiers of Southern Yemen and the north-west of the Aden Protectorate, as the Land of Uz. Mr. Perowne has recently drawn attention to passages in the Book of Job vividly describing a mountainous country bordering on desert, a land in which streams swell and shrink with the alternating wet and dry seasons.* The subject cannot be fully discussed here; it can only be remarked that, while some of the phrases which he cites seem to indicate a more northern country than Yemen as the Land of Uz, yet "the companies of Sheba" and the "Sabæans" mentioned in the Book of Job itself can hardly mean anything but the ancient inhabitants of Yemen.

After leaving Jebel Jihaf by a difficult descent of 3,000 feet down the western face, we camped close to the swiftly running Tiban river, which winds in a valley through the vast depression. Later we moved to the foot of the sandstone mass named Jebel Harir, in the mountains east of Dhala. There we were at the extreme limits of the territory of the Amir of Dhala, and from the top of Jebel Harir (7,700 feet) we

* Particularly Job, chap. vi., verses 15-19, in the Revised Version. See Stewart Perowne, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, October, 1939, pp. 202-3.

looked eastward over country beyond his jurisdiction, the country of Jebel Halmein and towards Upper Yafa. The view itself was wonderful; a chaotic jumble of wild serrated ridges, coloured in various shades of brown and tawny, with a haze of green scrub. We saw it on a November day, with great masses of cloud rushing from the east across the deep blue sky. The country is, however, as difficult as it looks. It has no single native chief strong enough to keep order as in the Amirate of Dhala, but a number of small chieftains with high-sounding titles, liable to fight among themselves and to defy the Government. It will prove that such territories need a more direct form of British administration than is necessary in those where a strong native ruler holds sway.

Before leaving the subject of the Aden Protectorate I wish to put on record my great admiration for what I saw of the efforts of the British officers. The Government was very short-handed at the time of my visit, but happily the number of administrative officers has since been increased. Fortunately, too, technical advisers have been added; an agricultural expert is at work, while a medical survey is being commenced by my friend Dr. P. W. R. Petrie. The latter, a member of the Church of Scotland South Arabian Mission at Sheikh 'Othman (Aden), was, at the time of our visit, working in the Imam's hospital at San'a by arrangement between the Aden Government and the Imam. He is now lent by his Mission to the Aden Government to survey the Protectorate from the standpoint of medicine and hygiene. All these measures should tend to better the condition of the inhabitants.

The population of the Protectorate is computed at roughly 600,000; that of the Yemen from under three to over four millions. The anthropological classification of the people is not settled. The tall, bearded, aquiline Arab type is much mixed with elements spoken of as Hamitic, hither-Asian, etc. Consequently the tribesmen differ very widely in physique and dress from the Arab as generally pictured. Though varying much among themselves, they are usually dark skinned, rather short and slight, with short straight noses; they are nearly beardless but have thick black hair, sometimes hanging in long curls, and frizzy in some tribes. Turbans, short coats or cloths wound round the body, and scanty kilts replace the flowing robes worn further north. Some tribesmen recall physical types met with among the many races of Abyssinia. Negroid elements are present in the lowlands; negroes, Somalis and Indians in the sea-ports.

After entering the Yemen proper on December 10, we had no more free camping under canvas. In the larger cities we were lodged in a Government Guest-House, and in villages the headman had to find quarters for us in some house under Government orders. On even the smallest excursion we were accompanied by soldiers, generally uniformed in white knee-length skirts, with indigo-dyed shirts and turbans. On the longer journeys, lasting several days, we were under the charge of a *sha'ush* (sergeant) and one or two soldiers. These warriors politely but very firmly controlled our movements, and as a rule we could not wander more than a hundred yards or so from the prescribed path. Had I known no other phrases, "*mafish rukhsa*" ("there is no permission") at least would have stuck in my mind. The soldiers were usually very good-natured, however, and some sergeants became friendly and interpreted their instructions less strictly. The country-folk were invariably friendly, sometimes to an embarrassing extent, as they would frequently throng round and leave us little privacy.

It is unnecessary to describe afresh here the ancient walled city of Ta'izz, our first stopping-place in the Yemen, where we lived nearly three weeks in the ornate upper rooms of the great Guest-House of the 'Amil, mayor or governor of the city.

The 'Amil, Saiyid Muhammad al Basha, was a friendly and hospitable man between thirty and forty, short, and rather fat. A far greater person was the Amir of Ta'izz, who may be described as Governor-General of Southern Yemen. He had two residences, a lower house at Al 'Urdu, a mile outside the town, and a larger palace called Dar en Nasr (the "House of Victory"), situated 1,500 feet above the city on a spur of Jebel Sabir, the great mountain which rises to 9,800 feet, on the northern foot-spurs of which the city lies. We had four interviews with the Amir, two at Al 'Urdu and two at Dar en Nasr, to which we rode on mules up zigzagging mountain paths.

The Amir at that time, Saiyid 'Ali ibn al Wazir, was a man of fifty-three, highly intelligent. His striking appearance was marred by the loss of an eye, a defect which would have debarred him from being a candidate for the office of Imam, had this been vacant; an office which he would probably have been ambitious to fill. He has since been removed from his post at Ta'izz, and the position of Amir has been taken by a son of the Imam. In December, 1937, however, Saiyid 'Ali received us very cordially. He gave the impression, as did other high Yemeni officials, of wishing to be personally

friendly, but of mistrusting, and naturally finding it difficult to understand, our motives for visiting the country. He was under orders from San'a to restrict our excursions to certain appointed places. On our first visit we dragged specimen-boxes and collecting apparatus up to Dar en Nasr to explain our work. But the Amir only looked at them cursorily, saying, "*Na'am, na'am, hasharat!*" ("Yes, yes, insects!"), and turned quickly to politics. After he had told us news received by wireless from Rome and Paris, there followed a long and rather controversial talk on British policy in Palestine. The Amir argued that the Jews had only lived in Palestine as a nation for a comparatively short (*sic*) period in ancient times, and he could not understand why (as he said) the British were encouraging their return to the Holy Land, when great spaces in other parts of the world were almost empty. This last observation was in answer to our enquiry, where the Jews expelled from Central Europe were to go? The Amir wished us to make known how strong was the Arab opposition to any form of "partition" of Palestine (the policy then almost decided on). We tried to explain the difficulties of the British Government and its attempts to be fair to all parties; but the Amir asked why Arab, Jew, and Christian could not all live peaceably under a strong British administration, just as many Jews live quietly among Arabs in the Yemen. The emphasis of his remarks was softened by allusions to the traditional love of the Arabs for the British, and astonishment at British policy with its attendant danger of turning the Moslem world against Britain. It has also to be remembered that the officials of the Yemen Government were then said to be compelled to contribute from their salaries to the support of Arab activities in Palestine. But on the whole I might have found some of the Amir's arguments difficult to counter, even had I not been obliged to take part in the discussion through an interpreter.

While dealing with political matters, I may add that we arrived in the Yemen very shortly after the conclusion of the new treaty between Italy and the Imam. A special Italian mission had visited San'a while we were camping in the Aden Protectorate in the autumn of 1937. This treaty, following on an earlier one between Italy and the Yemen, was three years more recent than the existing treaty between Britain and the Yemen, the delicate negotiations for which had been brought to a successful conclusion by Sir Bernard Reilly in 1934.

Italian influence is, as might be expected, strong in the larger centres. An Italian army doctor was resident, with his wife, in Ta'izz,

while at San'a a party of Italian medical men lived together in a large and a smaller house in a walled compound. The senior member of this party, Dr. Emilio Dubbiosi, was personal physician to the Imam, and had resided in San'a about twelve years. Shortly after our departure in March, 1938, he finally left the Yemen and returned to Italy. We made friendly contact with the doctor in Ta'izz, though the lack of a common language other than French, in which he was not very fluent, hampered intercourse. No such difficulty hindered our acquaintanceship with the party at San'a; Dr. Dubbiosi spoke French and German and one of his colleagues was fluent in English. These gentlemen received us very kindly several times at their house. They made helpful suggestions regarding excursions, and Dr. Dubbiosi sent me various interesting entomological specimens.

Other foreign residents in the capital included Italian engineers and a Polish engineer; a Russian doctor (a lady), last of a delegation maintained by the U.S.S.R., who has since left; a Syrian contingent comprising medical men and two pashas engaged in reorganizing the army; some Egyptians in charge of a State factory of woollen goods; and, last but not least, our friends Dr. and Mrs. Petrie. The two latter, both medical doctors, had then been in San'a nearly a year, lent from their Mission at Sheikh 'Othman to work in the Imam's hospital. With them was Miss L. Cowie, a nursing member of the same Mission, and their house in the garden-quarter of Bir al Azab was our home during our two months' stay. I cannot speak too highly of the kindness of all these three to us, or their devoted work among the people. It is fortunate, indeed, that other British doctors have been found to succeed them.

Further, at Ta'izz we met the German explorer Dr. Carl Rathjens on his way to Aden. He took great pains in helping us gain permission to continue our journey to San'a, for the original permit to enter the Yemen had not extended beyond Ta'izz. With experience of the country extending over many years, he is joint author of a great work on the Yemen (C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, *Süd-Arabien Reise*), the second and third volumes of which (1932, 1934) are cited more than once below.

No diplomatic representatives of foreign powers reside permanently in the Yemen, nor has that State any such representatives in other countries. In the case of Great Britain, contact is maintained through the Government of Aden. The Aden Frontier Officer (Captain B. W. Seager) visits San'a periodically to discuss outstanding matters with the

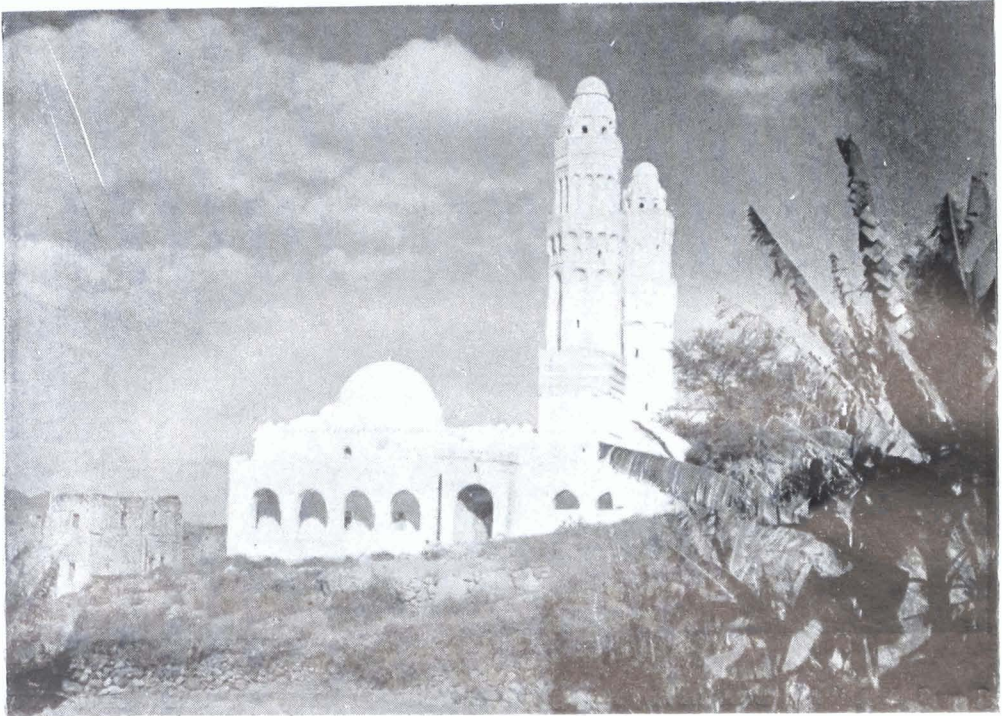
Imam and his ministers. On these occasions the Frontier Officer is received with the courtesies due to the representative of a foreign country, and is lodged in the principal Government Guest-House, originally a Turkish building, with a courtyard, close to the palace.

Some sympathy may be felt for the Imam's reluctance to allow foreign penetration. No doubt he feels his position between several powerful neighbours to be very difficult. On the south is the British Protectorate, across the Red Sea the Italian Colonial Empire, on the north and east the kingdom of Sa'udi Arabia. However, under the published Anglo-Italian Agreement of April 16, 1938, those two Powers mutually undertake to respect the independence of the Yemen. As regards Sa'udi Arabia, a treaty between that country and the Yemen was drawn up in 1934, after the brief war which determined the status of Asir as a part of Sa'udi Arabia.* So long, therefore, as agreements are respected, the integrity of his State, of which the Imam is most jealous, is safe. Moreover, as regards Britain, if he refuses, in theory at least, to recognize the Protectorate beyond his southern border, several points have to be considered. For instance, the frontier was agreed with the Turkish authorities in the Yemen as long ago as 1902-5, and, secondly, the Sultanate of Lahej had already thrown off its allegiance to the Imam's predecessors more than two hundred years ago (see above, p. 24).

This digression on the foreign relationships of the Yemen has led me ahead of our journey. During our three weeks in Ta'izz we made excursions, particularly into deep valleys between the northern spurs of Jebel Sabir. The countless terraces on their very steep slopes are almost entirely devoted to the cultivation of *qat*, a small tree related to the European spindle tree. It is said to have been imported originally from Abyssinia, and is grown for the sake of the alkaloid drugs contained in the young leaves. When the latter are chewed the effects at first are pleasantly stimulating, but unfortunately many people become addicts, and the practice, carried to excess, is most debilitating.

At the end of December we travelled northwards to San'a. Crossing an 8,000-foot pass by mule (with heavy baggage carried by camels), we halted at the walled city of Ibb (photograph 2). Unlike Ta'izz, where there is much empty space within the walls, Ibb has every square yard crowded with lofty houses and many mosques, separated only by very narrow twisting lanes. Europeans were still a rare enough spectacle for us to be thronged by crowds so dense that progress

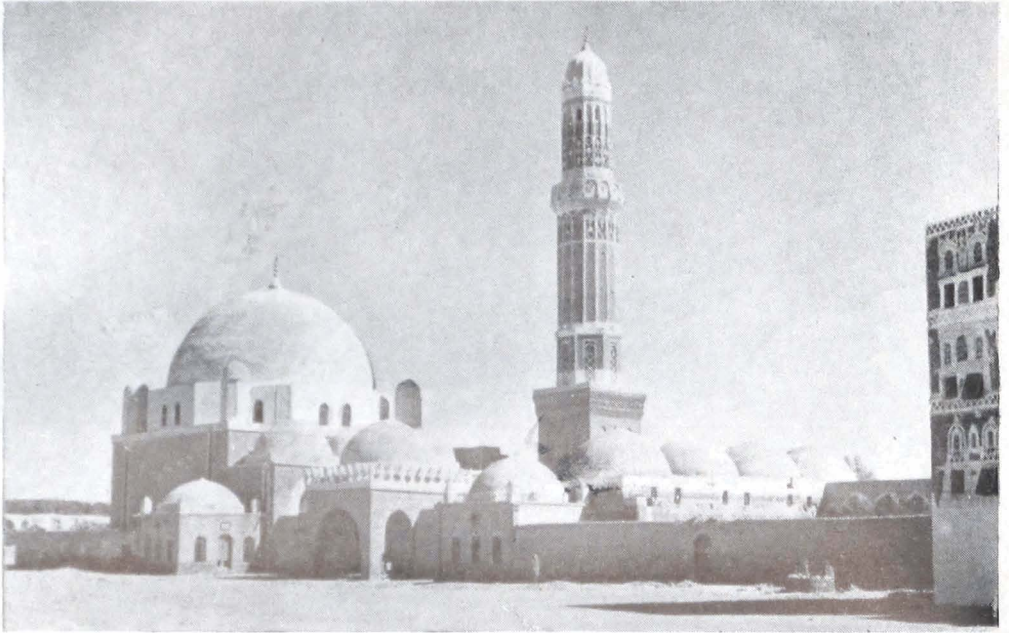
* This treaty was reinforced by a pact of friendship in 1937.



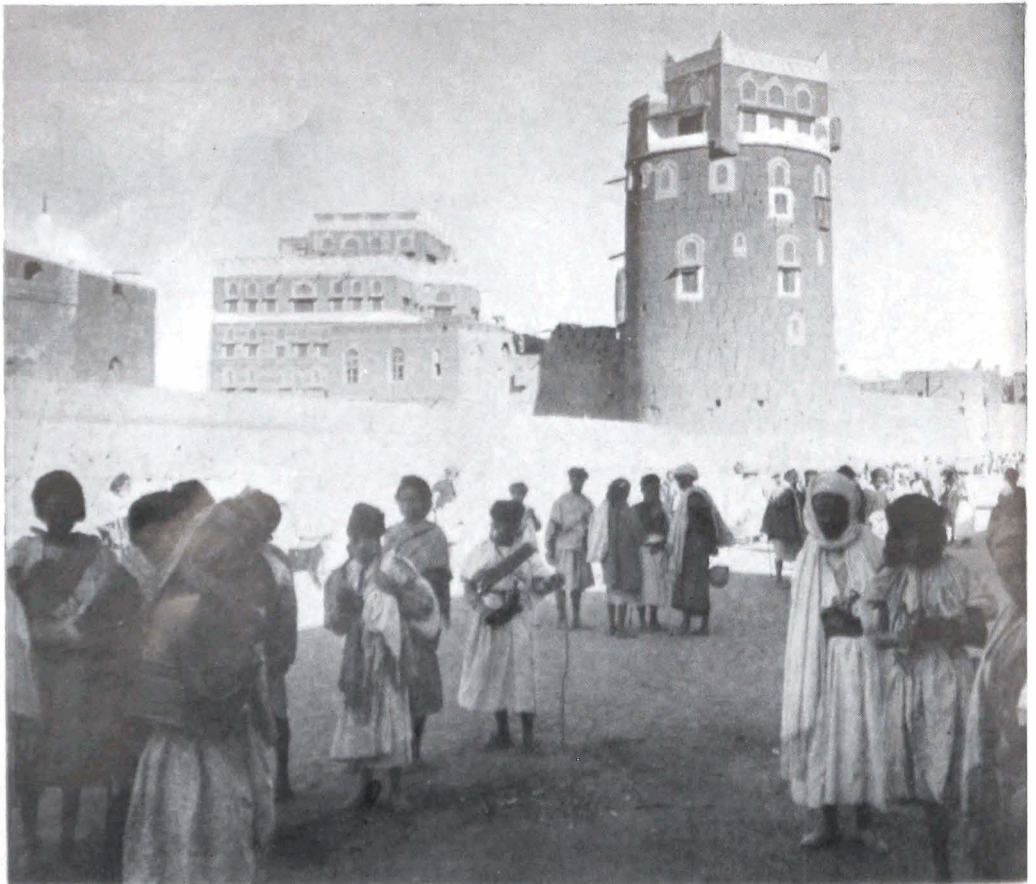
I.—TA'IZZ: ONE OF THE CHIEF MOSQUES, BUILT BY THE
TURKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



2.—IBB, FROM THE EAST, SHOWING THE AQUEDUCT BY WHICH
WATER FLOWS FROM THE MOUNTAINS



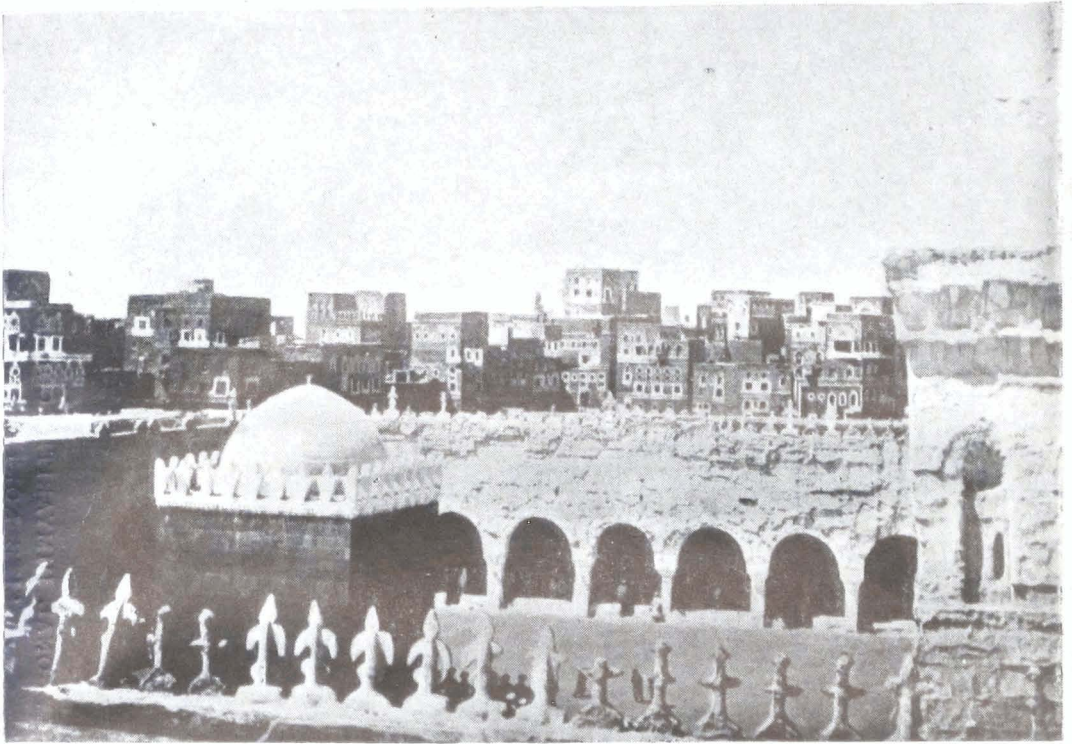
3.—SAN'A: AL BAKILIYE MOSQUE, BUILT BY THE TURKS (SIXTEENTH CENTURY), WITH LARGE CUPOLA SURMOUNTED BY CRESCENT



4.—SAN'A: OUTER WALL OF THE PALACE PRECINCTS, WITH A TOWER THE MAIN PALACE BUILDING IN BACKGROUND, LEFT OF CENTRE



5.—SAN'Ā : AL MADRESSA MOSQUE, BUILT IN THE YEMENI ARAB STYLE, WITH FLAT ROOF AND RICHLY ORNAMENTED MINARET SURMOUNTED BY A DOVE



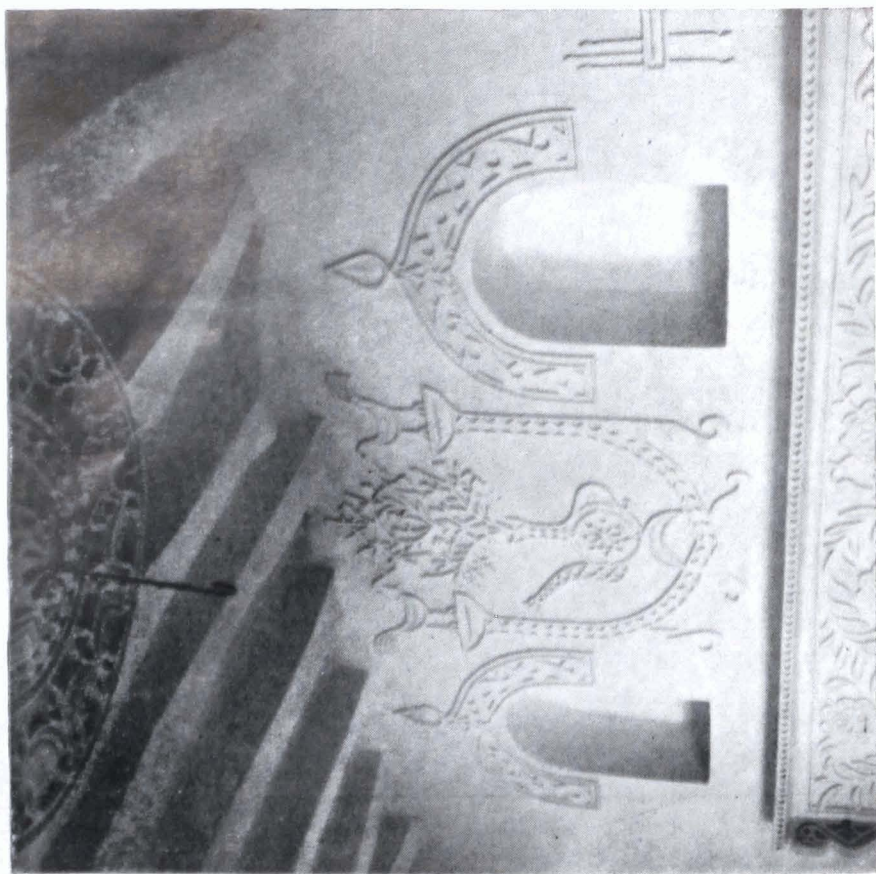
6.—SAN'A: COURTYARD OF THE GREAT MOSQUE, SHOWING THE SMALL RECTANGULAR BUILDING IN THE OPEN COURT. THE CROSS- AND ARROW-SHAPED ORNAMENTS IN THE FOREGROUND ARE THOUGHT TO BE SURVIVALS OF PRE-ISLAMIC EMBLEMS



7.—SAN'A: HOUSES IN THE SOUTH PART OF THE ARAB CITY, WITH WALLED GARDENS IN THE FOREGROUND



9.—AN OCTAGONAL HIMYARITIC COLUMN ON A PRE-ISLAMIC SITE NORTH OF SAN'A



8.—MODERN DECORATION IN THE 'AMIL'S GUEST-HOUSE AT TA'IZZ; CONVENTIONAL DESIGNS OF BIRDS AND PLANTS

through the streets was difficult. Our escort of soldiers was really necessary; at intervals they charged the populace, slashing at the people with long reeds, which fortunately made more noise than they did real damage. In the dense throng two men addressed me in English. One, who had been a sailor, knew London and Cardiff. The crowd, indeed, showed only friendly curiosity; no hostility was evinced except by one burly old man, who discharged torrents of Arabic at us. He appeared to think that we were emissaries of the Aden Government, and asked why should we wish to take the country, in which there was nothing to eat? I enquired why, in that case, he was so fat, but I doubt if the retort reached him.

Further long mule rides through magnificent country, crossing the Sumara pass (9,700 feet), brought us to the closely cultivated plateau of Yarim, about 9,000 feet above sea-level. At Yarim, another ancient city, interesting but less imposing than Ta'izz and Ibb, mule transport was dispensed with, and the final eighty miles north to San'a were covered by car.

San'a, the capital, the largest city of Southern Arabia, inhabited by some 40,000 to 50,000 people, stands at rather less than 8,000 feet on a fertile plain almost surrounded by grim and barren mountains. It consists—as I have described more fully elsewhere—of the wonderful old walled Arab city on the east, with the citadel on raised ground at its eastern extremity; to the west is a newer quarter of garden suburbs, consisting mainly of large houses standing apart in walled market gardens and orchards, with the crowded Jewish quarter at its western end. This western division was provided with walls, bastions, and gates more recently than the Arab city. It is shown, for instance, as unwalled suburbs in the plan given by the Danish explorer Carsten Niebuhr, who visited San'a in 1763.* The walling round of these western suburbs has given the city the form of an irregular figure-of-eight.

In the narrow waist between the two divisions stands the Imam's palace (photograph 4), separately walled off in its own precincts, with only a single gate leading into the Arab city. The main building of the palace is a great rectangular block six storeys high, built by the present Imam in the ornate San'a style in quite recent years. It is, however, connected with older buildings, including some dating from the period of Turkish dominion. The whole palace and its precincts

* C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien, etc.*, vol. i., Plate 70 (Copenhagen, 1774).

are termed Al Mutawakil, a name commemorating one of the former Imams, several of whom assumed it as their title.

Besides "Imam" and *Malek* (King), the monarch has many other titles. Among them, he is *Amir al Muminin* ("Commander of the Faithful"). When writing to him with the aid of a San'a merchant, I was advised to address the letter—though I cannot vouch for the correctness of the style—*ilal Hadarat al Jalalat al Maulat al Imam Yahya* ("to his Highness his Majesty the Lord Imam Yahya"). In conversation his foreign secretary, who interpreted, addressed him simply as "*Sidi*." The present holder of the Imamate, Yahya Muhammad Hamid-ud-Din, a man about seventy, is neither tall nor outwardly majestic, yet he can hardly fail to impress visitors by his personality. No photograph may be taken of one so sacred. We were, however, privileged to meet him three times. The first was a reception given to the few European men in San'a during the celebrations of the Id al Kabir, synchronizing with the pilgrimage at Mecca, which fell in February, 1938. At this audience, which took place in a richly decorated hall, the Imam's manner and welcome to his guests were most cordial. He spoke, among other things, of the Id festival, remarking genially that, while Moslems have only two such festivals in the year, Christians seem to be always holding festivals! We were summoned the following afternoon to a private audience in the Maqam Sharif, a small room or office, long and narrow, where the king, in plain every-day dress, was seated on the floor, toiling over the details of administration. No matter is too small for his attention. Around lay heaps of documents of all shapes and sizes, which he was quickly signing and annotating, assisted by his prime minister and some servants. These clerks stamped the papers with round or triangular seals in black or in red, and in the latter case the handwriting also was smeared with red ochre, a custom believed to denote succession to the old Himyaritic princes. The Imam, however, broke off his labours for a considerable time while he asked us why we had wished to visit his country, and about the practical uses of our scientific work.

We were free to go about San'a and its suburbs, and to make day excursions to certain places within six or seven miles. For longer treks, lasting several days, special permission was needed. The Imam himself prescribed two outlying districts for us to visit, respectively to the north and the south-east. Before each of these journeys we had to visit the prime minister, Qadhi 'Abdullah al 'Amri, who arranged for

transport animals and an escort. The Qadhi, a man of fine appearance, received us very courteously in his house for this purpose, usually early in the morning, before his departure for his long day's work at the palace.

The minister of whom we saw most was, however, the Imam's foreign secretary, Qadhi Muhammad Raghīb. A Turk formerly in the Turkish Diplomatic Service, he spared no time and trouble to help us. Being fluent in French, he visited us several times at Dr. Petrie's house or received us in his own, conversed on the affairs of the outside world, and narrated many anecdotes of his diplomatic career at St. Petersburg and other European capitals before 1914.

From Qadhi Raghīb, witty and skilful in argument, we heard more of the Jewish question and Palestine. He ever professed himself a lover, possibly even too persistent, of Britain, and one who regretted to see her walking in such a way as would surely antagonize the Moslem world.

The Jews in Yemen seemed contented and well treated according to local standards. Much of the craftsmanship is in their hands, such as silver- and other metal-work, plaster-work, and certain kinds of embroidery. In San'a the Jewish quarter is shut off at night from the rest of the city by a gate with a guard; but the Jews go about freely by day and have also ample space within their own quarter. Their houses are lower than many of the Arab houses, being only two storeys high and having much less external ornament. But those which we entered were spacious and very cleanly kept. The building of large and lofty synagogues, which would vie with the mosques, is not allowed, but the Jews have places of worship (and schools in which boys are taught the scriptures) in the form of low inconspicuous buildings. The making of wine is permitted, but it must be kept within the Jewish quarter. Their red wine is pleasant-tasting but strong, as I found when given a tumblerful by a prominent San'a Jew on a hot sunny morning.

In January, 1938, the Imam had thirteen sons living out of fourteen; the youngest was only three months old. These princes are styled "Seif-ul-Islam" ("Sword of Islam"). Qadhi Raghīb dictated a list, describing them as "un bataillon" and arranging their names in "divisions" under their respective mothers. He did not, however, list the numerous daughters of the king.

We were courteously received by two of the princes, the Crown Prince Ahmed, and one of his half-brothers, Qasim. The latter, as

Minister of Public Health, had the European doctors under his supervision. Both these princes resemble their father in being rather stout, bullet-headed men, physical characteristics uncommon among the Yemenis. The Crown Prince, who is said to be very popular with the army, did not mention politics, but questioned us about our work, at some features of which he laughed heartily. With Prince Qasim the conversation took a rather awkward political turn when he heard that I had been in Abyssinia under the old régime. Three of the princes had incurred the Imam's displeasure and were in captivity, albeit under fairly comfortable conditions. Two were in the citadel and one was confined in the rooms at the top of the tower shown in photograph 4. Prince Husain, the first member of the reigning family to visit Europe, who has made long stays in London, was away from the Yemen throughout our visit.

I know nothing of the political sympathies of the princes, and can express no opinion on what would happen were the Imamate to fall vacant. Doubtless it is intended that the eldest son shall succeed. But the office has not always been directly hereditary in the past, and candidates must possess peculiar qualifications.

After being given the rare privilege of travelling to San'a through the central highlands, we felt almost sure of receiving the comparatively often-granted permission to travel down to Hodeida by the old mule-road via Manakha. I was eager to finish my journey thus, instead of following the newer motor-route, which describes a considerable detour to the south, by Madinat-al-Abid. But to our surprise this request was refused, despite all the efforts of Qadhi Raghīb. Our third and last interview with the Imam had, therefore, a less happy ending than the previous ones. The King was intensely preoccupied, and we sat facing him in silence for an hour or more, while he dealt with sheaf after sheaf of the papers which were brought to him. For a few minutes he interrupted his labours, when I thanked him for having allowed us to visit Ghaiman, south-east of San'a, close to the burial-place of a famous Himyaritic monarch. He asked, with kindly manner, if we had any idea why the Himyaritic prince should have chosen that place for his residence. Then he sank into his work. At last Qadhi Raghīb put our request to the King twice, first verbally and, later, by handing him a written petition. But the Imam was adamant, and by no subsequent endeavours could he be induced to reconsider his decision. We have never known the reason.

The motor-route to Hodeida, however, traverses a fine and varied

stretch of country, comparatively rich from the natural history standpoint. The great monuments of past centuries are seen no more when the highlands are left behind. The ancient civilization seems to have moved outwards like an expanding belt as desert conditions from the interior encroached, but never to have reached the hot, tropical, malarious valleys of the foothills. In the Tihama, villages of grass-thatched huts of African appearance are passed and the desert belt is crossed, until at length Hodeida, with all the characteristics of a Red Sea port, is reached.

At Hodeida our difficulties were by no means over. I had hoped to be allowed to continue by the lowland route to Ta'izz, and so overland to Aden. But the Amir of Hodeida, Saiyid 'Abdullah ibn al Wazir (a cousin of our friend the Amir of Ta'izz), put us off with excuses while he telegraphed to San'a. He finally admitted that he could not let us proceed by land, and that we must wait for a steamer. He also expressed his views on British policy in Palestine emphatically and at some length. The Amir plainly mistrusted our motives for being in the country, and questioned us regarding our doings during the preceding three months. We were closely watched and accompanied by soldiers on even the shortest walk. On the other hand, we were liberally catered for and everything possible was done for our comfort during our stay of four nights in the great Government Guest-House facing the sea. On March 15 we quitted the Yemen by Italian steamer for Aden. Even allowing for some disappointments, we heartily acknowledge the kindness shown to us by His Majesty the Imam and his officers. We carried out our scientific work, and saw far more than many European visitors of the Yemen.

ARCHITECTURAL AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES

Under this head I have gathered together some remarks, even if rather disconnected, on houses and mosques, and on certain remains of the ancient pre-Islamic culture.

The houses in the mountain villages are rough, usually with little external ornament and constructed entirely of stone. Those in the cities have only the lowest storeys of stone, above which they are of local bricks, first sun-dried and then burnt. The brickwork displays abundant external ornament in relief, picked out in whitewash against the natural reddish-brown of the bricks. The appearance of these houses can be judged from photograph 7; though many are lofty, the

number of stories is less than in the great skyscrapers of the Hadhramaut. Three or four storeys is a common number, and a little pavilion or belvedere, a *mifraj*, is often added on the roof. The number of storeys often looks greater from outside, as the living rooms in the upper floors have two rows of windows, the lower ones unglazed but furnished with shutters, the upper windows glazed and traceried. The interior of these upper rooms is often beautifully decorated with plaster-work in the form of wall-reliefs, traceried brackets, and niches.

The following paragraphs relate to the exterior of the mosques—entrance to which is forbidden to any but Muhammadans—beginning with the more recent and working back to the oldest type, which appears to be a direct descendant in plan of the ancient temples of the pre-Islamic astral worship.

Photograph 1 shows one of the principal mosques of Ta'izz. This is of Turkish design, built in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, with one large and several smaller cupolas. Its two minarets, like the single one of the Jami' Masjid and others in Ta'izz, present features with which we did not meet again, not even among the mosques of the Turkish period in San'a—namely, series of recessed and round-arched alcoves one above the other. Though some of the mosques of Ta'izz claim foundation by very early Imams, all the principal ones as they now appear must have been either built or rebuilt under Turkish influence. All are entirely covered with whitewash, and stand out glistening against the darker houses of the city and the background of Jebel Sabir. Only three large mosques and some smaller mosques and tombs remain intact. Ruins of a fourth are shown, and formerly others existed, both within and without the walls.*

The mosques seen during our short stays in Ibb, Yarim, and Dhamar resemble more or less the varied types in San'a. The capital possesses at least forty-four (roughly one for every thousand inhabitants, a smaller proportion than in some towns of the Hadhramaut).† Nearly all are in the old Arab quarter, from which more than twenty minarets rear their heads aloft.

* See the ground-plan and "prospect" of Ta'izz given by Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, vol. i., Plates 66, 67. The accounts of the mosques given by Niebuhr (1774) and Manzoni (*El Yemen*, pp. 314-6, 1884) do not entirely agree. According to Niebuhr the one shown in my photograph is Qubbat Husain, built over the grave of a Turkish pasha. Unfortunately I did not get the names on the spot.

† See Miss Caton Thompson in this Journal for January, 1939, p. 81.

Among these varied and beautiful buildings, the large mosque Al Bakiliye (photograph 3), close to the eastern wall of the city, is one of those built under Turkish influence.* Here again, as at Ta'izz, are a large dome and several smaller cupolas, but the design and ornament of the minaret exemplify the Arab style of San'a. Both the large dome and the minaret, be it noted, are surmounted by a crescent, the emblem specially associated with the Turks.

A little to the north-west stands the small mosque (photograph 5) of Al Madressa, one of many in the characteristic San'ani Arab style. The roofs are flat, without domes, and the design of the minaret is most intricate: a quadrangular base ornamented with calligraphy, and above it an octagonal stage, topped by a coronet of arrow-shaped ornaments—possibly survivals of a pre-Islamic symbol—then a tall cylindrical stage, decorated with patterns in relief picked out in whitewash; above the gallery, a slender polygonal shaft, capped by a graceful fluted cupola, surmounted, not by a crescent, but by a dove.† The diversity of beautiful patterns in the minarets of the smaller and older Arab mosques is a constant source of delight.

The dove surmounting several of these minarets became a sacred emblem to the Arabs through an incident during the Hejira. Readers may recall how the Prophet, in flight, hid for three days in a cave. His pursuers, finding a spider's web across the entrance, and a pair of doves nesting on the walls, thought that no one could have entered the cavern for a long time past, and so they departed without search. Since, in the Quran, spiders' webs are used to typify flimsiness, the spider did not become a venerated emblem as did the dove, against which nothing is said.‡

The Jami' al Kabir, "the Great Mosque," in San'a, at which the Imam is wont to lead the public prayers on Fridays, may be ranked as one of the oldest and most famous sanctuaries of the Muhammadan world. Its history stretches back to the beginnings of Islam and beyond, for remains of pre-Islamic buildings are incorporated in the present edifice. Extensions of the original mosque are recorded at various dates from the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D. Externally

* According to A. J. B. Wavell (*A Modern Pilgrim in Mecca and a Siege in Sanaa*, chap. xii., p. 244, 1912) the Bakiliye mosque was built by the Turks during their earlier dominion in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and restored by them when they retook the city in 1872.

† Not a cock, as I wrongly stated in the *Geographical Journal*, February, 1939, p. 113.

‡ This version of the story is from Manzoni, *El Yemen*, chap. ix., p. 109.

the building has little to show but blank walls and two tall minarets, roughly finished and whitewashed. Inside, it has the primitive form of an arcaded courtyard, and the roofs of the covered spaces round this are supported by rows of columns. In the open court, but slightly west of the centre, is a little rectangular building with domed roof, representing the Ka'ba at Mecca (photograph 6). Besides nine or ten doors in use, there are three blocked doorways in the north-west wall. The ground-plan is compared by Rathjens and von Wissmann with that of the great mosque at Kairouan (Tunisia), the most ancient mosques in Cairo, the tomb-mosque of the Prophet at Al Madina, and others which are even older in their original lay-out than the Haram at Mecca.

Opinions differ as to whether the pre-Islamic remains incorporated in the Great Mosque are those of a Christian church built by Abraha,

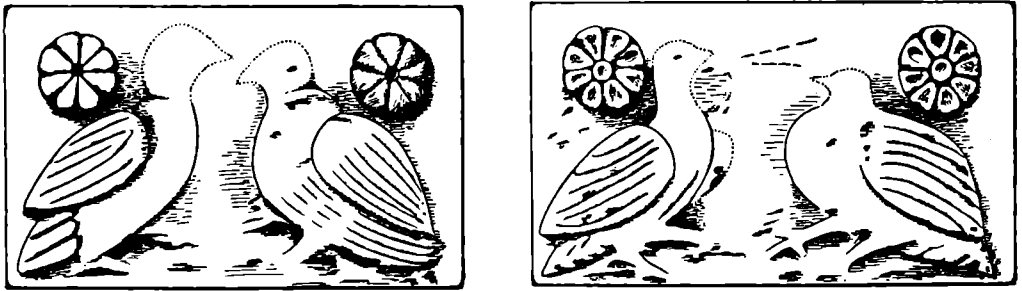


FIG. 1.—Sculptures built into the outer wall of the Great Mosque, San'a (from photograph by the writer).

the Abyssinian conqueror, in the sixth century, or of some part of the still more ancient (pre-Christian) stronghold of Ghumdan.*

Certain stones sculptured in relief, and built into the north-west wall of the Great Mosque, have never (as far as I know) been illustrated. I photographed, and from an enlargement had tracings made, of the two shown in figure 1. These flank the blocked doorway at the west end of the wall. Each represents a pair of rosettes and a pair of birds, but the heads of the latter, represented by dotted lines, are much weathered. The birds, if not purely conventional, might be intended to represent pigeons or sand-grouse. The rosettes strongly resemble those in some sculptured reliefs of very graceful design found at Al Gheras, north-east of San'a, and figured by Rathjens and von Wissmann in their work just cited (vol. ii., p. 134); the explorers regarded these latter sculptures as of comparatively late date, showing Hellenistic influence, and possibly taken from a Christian church. Perhaps, therefore, the sculptures in the wall of the Great Mosque did form

* Rathjens and von Wissmann, *Süd-Arabien Reise*, vol. ii., 1932, p. 72. The German explorers fully discuss, and give a plan of, the Great Mosque. See also Playfair's *History of Yemen* (1859), p. 30.

part of the "Kalis" (*ecclesia*), the famous church built after A.D. 525 by Abraha.

The quite modern wall-decoration shown in photograph 8 indicates that conventional designs of birds and flowers are used by some, at any rate, of the present-day Muhammadan people of the Yemen.

It has been said that worked stones from the ruins of Marib were built into Abraha's church at San'a. (Marib, seventy miles or more to

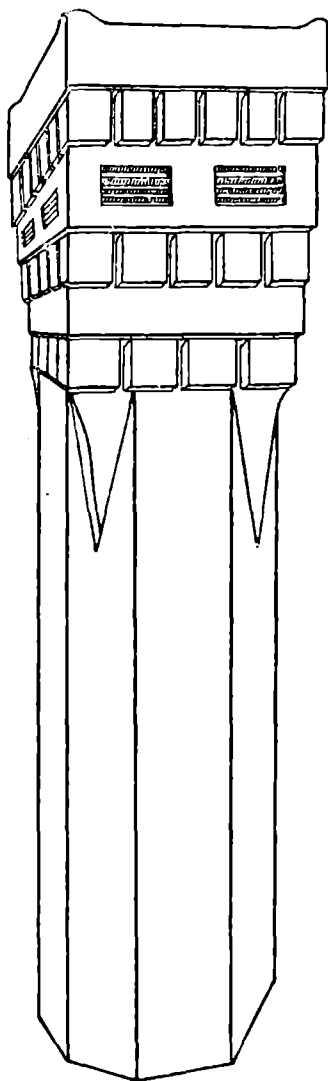


FIG. 2.—Column from the temple at Huqqa
(from Rathjens and von Wissmann).

the east, was destroyed by the bursting of its great dam early in the second century.) Were any such fragments incorporated in the pre-Christian stronghold of Ghumdan, mentioned above? Ghumdan, situated where the south-eastern part of the Arab city now stands, was a castle many storeys high, renowned for its size and splendour. Ruined by the Abyssinian invasion, A.D. 525, but rebuilt under the Persian viceroys later in the same century, it was finally destroyed at the Muhammadan conquest. Al Hamdani, a man learned in many

fields, who died in his native San'a 334 A.H. (945-6 A.D.), has recorded that in his time Ghumdan was a gigantic ruin close to the north-east side of the Great Mosque. From several sources we learn that the castle had its lower courses of freestone, its upper part of polished marble. What a landmark it must have been gleaming in the brilliant sunshine!

As to the temples of the primitive astral worship of Arabia, from which the plan of the earliest mosques appears to have been derived, one of these was excavated by Dr. Rathjens in 1928 at Huqqa, north of San'a. As this place is at the southern edge of the grim volcanic country known as the Harra of Arhab, the streams of scarcely weathered black lava, geologically very recent, may have overwhelmed the great temple. When we visited Huqqa in February, 1938, little

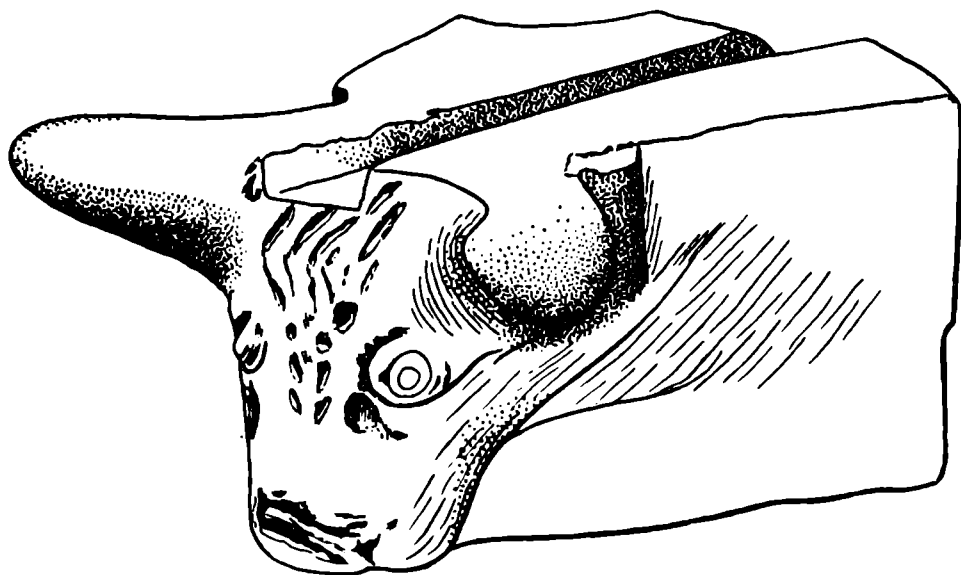


FIG. 3.—Bull-headed waterspout from the temple at Huqqa (from Rathjens and von Wissmann).

was to be seen but some courses of masonry composed of huge black blocks, and the opening to a vast subterranean cistern, now dry. The more valuable fragments are preserved in a Government building at San'a, but many sculptured pieces of white stone, and capitals and shafts of columns, are built into houses in the village of Huqqa. One of the commonest forms of Himyaritic column at Huqqa and other places in the same district was an octagonal pillar with capital as shown in figure 2. An octagonal shaft lying in the open is seen in photograph 9.

The plan of this temple, as exposed by Rathjens and von Wissmann (vol. ii., pp. 27, 65), was a court with pillared loggias on the east, north, and south sides. The entrance was in the east façade, and the west side was occupied by a raised covered building. These archæolo-

gists believed the temple to have been dedicated to the sun-goddess. They found, however, many bull-headed water-spouts (figure 3) which, I am told, indicate a dedication to the moon-god. Bull-headed spouts were also discovered at the temple to this god recently excavated near Hureidha, in the Hadhramaut, which has been described by Miss

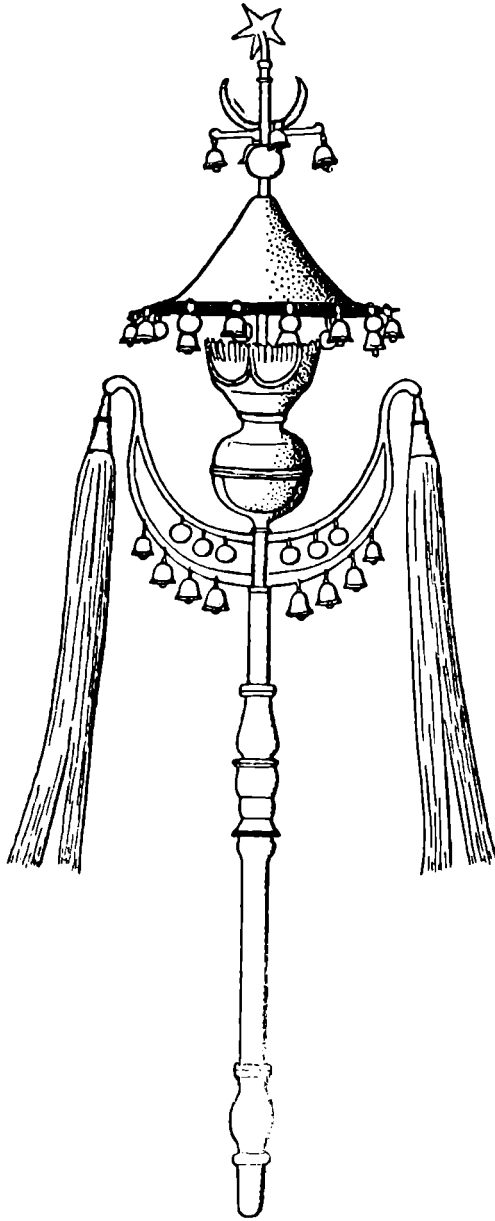


FIG. 4.—Emblem with star, crescents and bells, carried in the Id al Kabir procession (from photograph by E. B. Britton).

Caton Thompson in this Journal for January, 1939 (Vol. XXVI., part 1), and also in *Asia* for May, 1939 (pp. 294-299). The two temples to the same god, three hundred miles apart, evidently differed considerably in detail.

It was natural that pastoral peoples should choose the bull's head as

an emblem. If, as seems likely, and as is believed by experts,* it was chosen because of the resemblance of the bull's horns to those of the crescent moon, then the visual resemblance between the two was forgotten at an early date. The bull's head and the crescent had widely parted company probably about 400 B.C. The two symbols have been found, in some cases, carved on the same stone.

Questions suggest themselves which I cannot answer: for example, in what forms do symbols of the moon-god now survive? Have the ibex-horns projecting from the corners of some houses in San'a any connection with the ancient religion? Or the curious horn-like projections at the base of some of the processional crosses used in Abyssinian churches—for pre-Christian Abyssinia shared with South Arabia the worship of the astral triad: moon-god, sun-goddess, and the planet Venus (regarded as male)? Further, was the crescent taken over by the Turks, and possibly other Asiatic nations, from the ancient astral worship? I would close by showing, rather inconsequently, the insignia (figure 4) carried by a soldier in the parade of troops before the Imam at the festival of the Id al Kabir. It is topped by a star, has two crescents, jingling bells and streamers. I have not seen the like elsewhere, but similar objects may be used in other Muhammadan countries. The flag flown by the modern State of the Yemen has no crescent in its design, but a sword and five stars in white on a scarlet ground.

NOTE.—The photographs are the writer's, except No. 7, taken by E. B. Britton, and No. 6, which I owe to the kindness of Herr Robert Deutsch, an engineer who conducted a survey under the Turks for a projected railway in 1911-12. The drawings for Fig. 1 were made by Miss Margaret Mackay.

* I am indebted to Miss Caton Thompson for letters giving information on the points mentioned in this paragraph.

TRANSLITERATION

In the spelling of place-names I have, as far as possible, followed the "First List of Names in Arabia (N.W. and S.W.)," issued by the Royal Geographical Society (Permanent Committee on Geographical Names) in December, 1931, and the pamphlet *South-West Arabia: Transliteration of Names*, published by the Government of Aden in January, 1937. Proper names of persons are also spelt in nearly every case according to the latter pamphlet. A few other Arabic words in the text have been checked against standard grammars or dictionaries. Even so, absolute consistency has not been aimed at. In some instances more phonetic, or conventional English, spellings have been used.

Incidentally, the transliteration Al Yemen (as opposed to Yaman) is used in both the lists cited above, and also on the postage stamps issued in the country itself.

THE MALLESON MISSION TO TRANS-CASPIA IN 1918

By COLONEL J. K. TOD, C.M.G.

Based on a lecture given to the Royal Central Asian Society on December 6, 1939. General H. Rowan-Robinson, C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair.

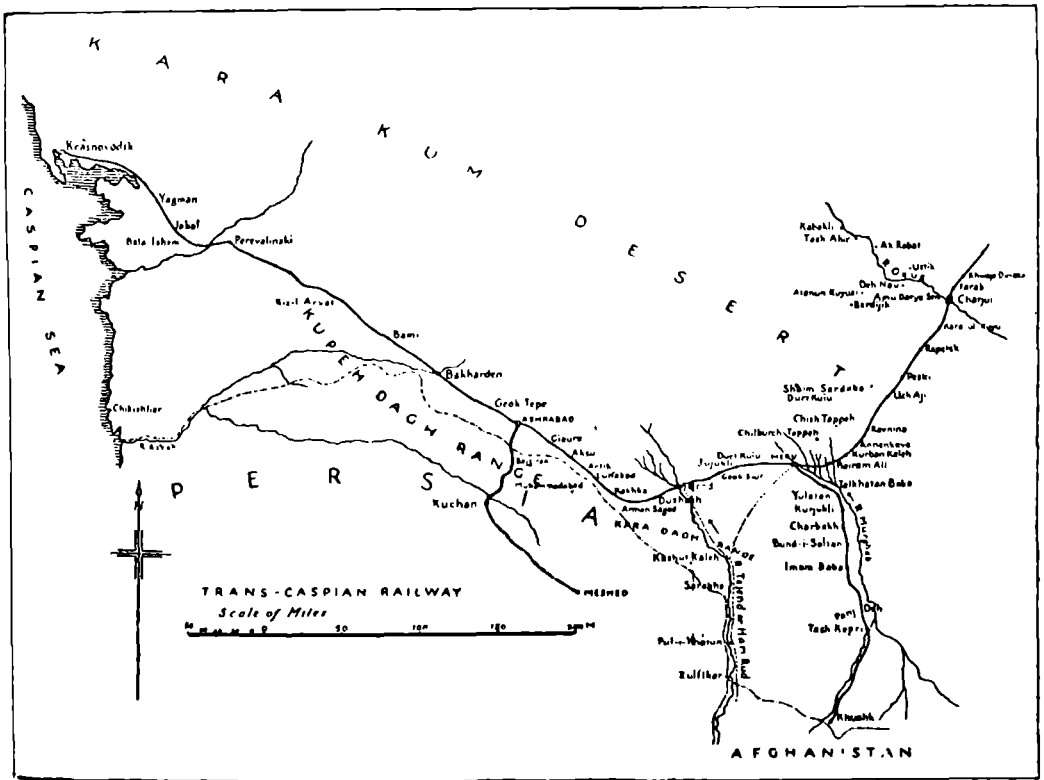
MORE than twenty years have passed since General Malleison carried out his mission, so the title does not suggest an up-to-date lecture; there are, however, aspects of the subject that have more than passing connection with the interests of this Society. The activities of the mission were in a remote and rarely visited region of Central Asia. Its primary object was to counter a revival from a new source of the recurring menace to the British position in India: a menace that has embarrassed the Government of India from time to time since the middle of the last century. The Soviet policy of aggressive expansion at the present time suggests that the region of which we are speaking may again come prominently to the forefront of international relations.

In order to follow the story of the Malleison mission, the main features of the geography need to be kept in mind. The former Russian province of Trans-Caspia, reconstituted by the Soviet Government as the republic of Turkmanistan, is that part of Russian Turkistan that adjoins Northern Persia and Afghanistan and extends from the Caspian on the west to the Oxus and Khiva on the east and north; a vast territory, but nearly all of it barren sandy desert, the Kara Kum (Black Sands). The only part that is capable of agricultural development and settled habitation is the narrow southern strip where streams that come down from the mountains of the Persian border form fertile areas along the edge of the desert. Eastward larger oases are formed by rivers that take their rise in the snows of Central Afghanistan, the Hari Rud which becomes the river of Tejend, and the Murghab which fertilizes the lands of the ancient city of Merv. The series of oases marked the only practicable line for the Central Asian Railway, constructed by the Russians as they annexed and developed the country between 1880 and 1885. The railway is in every sense the one main artery of the province. Starting from Krasnovodsk, the port on the Caspian, it traverses a desert tract, and after 200 miles approaches the

Persian border at Kizil Arvat, headquarters of the Central Asian Railway. The railway employees here formed the preponderating European element of the population. The line now runs parallel to the Kupeh Dagh range, which rises precipitously a few miles to the south, by Geoktepe, where Skobelev overwhelmed the Tekke Turkman on January 24, 1881, to Askabad, 350 miles from Krasnovodsk, the capital of the province, a town well laid out and with the usual features of a town in European Russia. The line continues to skirt the foothills, with stations at several settlements, till it reaches Dushak, 450 miles, where it bends north-eastward to Tejend, 480 miles, and Merv, 500 miles. Twenty miles beyond modern Merv is the model estate and settlement of Bairam Ali, near the ruins of ancient Merv. From this point the line runs north-east across 130 miles of sand desert to the bridge over the Oxus at Charjui. From Charjui the railway continues by Bokhara and Samarkand to Tashkent. Russian occupation brought many changes in the population and conditions of life in Trans-Caspia. The Turkman had to submit to the despotic rule of Russia, and to accept as fellow-subjects the immigrants of other races—Russian, Caucasian, Armenian, Persian, and others. These became the town dwellers, while the Turkman, forming the bulk of the population, adhered as far as they could to their traditional nomadic ways of life.

The train of events that led up to the Malleison mission were briefly as follows. The annexation of Trans-Caspia was the culmination of the step-by-step advance of Russia into Central Asia in the last century. When the Russians had stabilized their position here they began to extend their influence by political, commercial, financial, and military measures over North Persia. They were soon predominant in the north, but when they began similar penetration in the south British interests were so seriously threatened that the Government of India were reluctantly compelled to take counter-measures, posting consular officers at various points to thwart Russian intrigue. Acute tension ensued between Great Britain and Russia, which was only allayed by the agreement made between them in 1907 defining their respective spheres of influence. A strong motive for the settlement of Anglo-Russian disputes in Persia was the entry of Germany into the arena as a competitor. The primary object of the Germans was to supplant British supremacy in the Persian Gulf and its coasts. German political and commercial agents worked actively against British interests. Such in bare outline was the position on the outbreak of war in 1914. The strategy of our enemies included offensive action against the British

in India. The Germans looked to their Turkish allies to raise a "jihad" of Islam against the British. The activities of German and Turkish agents in Persia were intensified, and some penetrated to Afghanistan. In order to intercept such agents the East Persian Cordon was instituted in July, 1915, to watch the approaches to the Afghan border. From Seistan north to Birjand the cordon was furnished by troops of the Indian Army, while our Russian allies undertook to extend it from Birjand to the border of Russian Turkistan. Many enemy agents were thus intercepted, but a few of the more enterprising evaded the cordon in the difficult country and got through.



From *The Army Quarterly*.

Turkish and German missions even reached Kabul, the latter taking an autograph letter from the Kaiser to the Amir Habibullah; the latter, however, remained faithful to his agreement with the British and our enemies' attempts failed.

In February, 1917, came the Russian revolution. First in comparatively moderate form, but extreme elements, fostered by Germany, gained the upper hand and in October the Bolshevik revolution followed.

In Turkistan the revolution brought a welter of strife and confusion. The Young Turks' ideal of a Pan-Turk coalition stirred the

diverse Muhammadan races to rise against Russian rule. Among the Russians extreme revolutionary ideas prevailed. Troops sent to restore order went over to the extremists. Moderate elements might have stemmed the tide, but they lacked leadership, and by the end of 1917 the Bolsheviks had gained the upper hand throughout Russian Turkistan. The secession of Russia from the Allies' cause opened to Germany the way for the long-planned eastern thrust. The menace to India became imminent. The Germans reached Batum by sea and established corps headquarters at Tiflis. Their plan was to dominate a Trans-Caucasian federation, secure Baku and the Caspian, thence the road to Bokhara, inciting Afghanistan and the tribes to invade the North-West Frontier. It became known later that the Turks had other aims and there was little concord between them and the Germans. At the time, however, the Government of India believed that they had to oppose a combined attack. The Cossacks who held the northern part of the East Persian Cordon deserted their posts concentrated at Meshed and marched away across the frontier. Hearing what had happened in Russia, their one desire was to get back to their homes. Their defection left a length of the Afghan border unguarded. The British troops of the cordon were hastily reinforced to enable them to occupy the line up to the northern limit.

In the meantime steps were taken to deal with the threat of the Turco-German advance. Early in 1918 General Dunsterville went on his mission to North-West Persia and the Caucasus. The story of Dunsterforce is well known; how after many vicissitudes he reached Baku in August, but soon had to withdraw after heavy fighting, as the revolutionary troops failed to give any effective co-operation. One important achievement was the improvisation of the small British naval squadron which eventually dominated the Caspian.

The further measures decided upon were the sending of missions to investigate the situation in Russian Turkistan and advise as to what steps could be taken to counter the enemy's threatened advance. The centres that seemed best situated were Meshed and Kashgar. Consultation between the Home and Indian Governments involved delay, and it was not till June, 1918, that General Malleison was called upon to take charge of the mission to Meshed. He was specially selected on account of his varied experience and able conduct of Central Asian Intelligence work. The general tenor of the instructions given to him was that he should find out all he could about the conflicting elements in Turkistan, where the Bolsheviks were maintaining their control by a reign

of terror, and seek an opportunity for co-operating with any party that might further the cause of the Allies and oppose the menace to India. The Tashkent Soviet were cut off from all direct communication with European Russia. The lines of connection between Tashkent and Russia in normal times are, first, the railway to Orenburg and on to Samara, the junction with the Siberian railway. Between Tashkent and Orenburg a Cossack force under Hetman Dutov were opposing the Bolsheviks, while in Siberia Admiral Kolchak, with his army of loyal Russians and Czechs, was advancing westwards along the Siberian railway; secondly, the Central Asian Railway to Krasnovodsk, and thence across the Caspian to the Caucasus. Here the Bolsheviks would encounter the Tsarist generals who were rallying their forces against the revolutionaries. The Turkistan Bolsheviks had, however, a strong force consisting mainly of released German, Austrian, and Hungarian prisoners of war who had been captured by the Russians during the campaign in Galicia in 1916 and interned near Tashkent and Samarkand to the number, it is said, of 90,000. After the revolution all were set free. It is estimated that about half died of privation and disease. The remainder found that their only means of subsistence was enrolment in the Red Army. Quite ignorant of the course of the war, they were told that they only had to defeat the weak forces opposed to them to find the way open to their homes in Europe, where the Central Powers were victorious. They were well armed and equipped from the Russian arsenal at Kushk, now in Bolshevik hands. Malleison arrived at Meshed early in July, accompanied only by one officer, after a rapid and arduous journey.

The Bolshevik leader in Tashkent was a man called Kolesov, who had been in the ranks of the Russian Army, but was forceful and ruthless enough to take control and rule with a rod of iron. He showed ability by organizing and training the released prisoners of war to form a considerable armed force.

In June, 1918, Kolesov went to Askabad to raise a stronger force for operations against Dutov in order to open direct communication with Moscow. His tyrannical methods of conscripting the Russians in Trans-Caspia provoked stubborn resistance. He also planned to transfer the entire railway headquarters from Kizil Arvat to Tashkent so that he might have the railway administration under his own control. The railway workmen resisted this plan while no provision was made for their wives and families. Not having sufficient force with him to compel acquiescence, Kolesov returned to Tashkent and there

selected an agent to execute his purpose. This man, Frolov by name, was sent to Askabad with an Austro-Hungarian escort and a free hand to reduce the inhabitants to submission. Many local leaders and hundreds of others were shot without trial and much property confiscated. Frolov was accompanied by his wife, a kindred spirit. They are said to have driven rapidly along the streets firing indiscriminately among the people. He then went to Kizil Arvat. A deputation from the community met him to protest against the transfer to Tashkent. His reply was to shoot them all. The railwaymen, infuriated by such treatment, rose and killed Frolov, his wife, and their party. Then, having irretrievably committed themselves, they decided to dare everything in the hope of overthrowing the Bolshevik tyranny throughout Central Asia. Hastily improvising an armed force, and cutting the telegraph wires, they started eastwards in a series of trains, and, gaining accessions to their strength as they went, destroyed all Bolshevik officials as far as the Oxus. They even crossed the river at Charjui, and might have achieved their whole purpose if only a rising that occurred in Tashkent itself against Bolshevik rule had succeeded. However, it failed through lack of good leadership and was drastically suppressed. As it was, the Trans-Caspians, outnumbered, ill-armed, and undisciplined, soon had to retreat; the Bolsheviks, largely reinforced, recrossed the Oxus and forced them back to a position covering the Merv oasis. It was at this stage that the provisional government at Askabad, in fear of merciless retribution for the revolt, appealed to General Malleison for help.

This government came into being after the revolution, replacing the former Tsarist administration. Their appeal seemed to General Malleison to open a possible way for the accomplishment of his mission. They were a queer lot with whom to have diplomatic relations—mostly railway workmen. General Malleison was able to see the humour of the situation. He describes the president, an engine driver named Fountikov, as a jovial person, too fond of vodka and little hampered by scruples. He eventually fell from his high estate in consequence of his embezzlement of many millions of roubles from the treasury. One of the few non-railwaymen was a schoolmaster named Zimen; he was made Foreign Minister, partly, General Malleison understood, because he could read and write, but also because he possessed a frock coat and tall hat. Other members were guards, firemen, and signalmen. Very important considerations compelled General Malleison to refer to higher authority. To afford the Trans-Caspian Government

the assistance they asked for would mean committing the British Government to war with the Bolsheviks. To use Meshed as a base of operations would compromise the neutrality of Persia even more than it had been infringed by contending forces already. The mission had no troops at its disposal, but there were some Indian cavalry and infantry of the East Persian Cordon which might be made available. Even so, it was no light matter to embark on such a campaign with a mere handful of troops which would be operating at a distance of 1,400 or 1,500 miles from the nearest base of reinforcement and supply at Quetta. On the other hand, to abandon Trans-Caspia to the Bolsheviks, who in Europe had ceased opposition to the Germans, would, under the conditions then ruling, leave an open road for a Turco-German advance via Baku and Krasnovodsk into Central Asia. General Malleison telegraphed the whole case urgently to India. The answer came authorizing him to comply with the Askabad Government's appeal, and telling him to act as he thought best on the spot. A heavy responsibility for one so far from any support or possibility of personal consultation. Anything that could be done must be done at once. The troops of the East Persian Cordon had fortunately been reinforced, as already mentioned. They were now made available for such action as General Malleison might decide upon. Part of the 28th Light Cavalry and of the 19th Punjabis, both very fine regiments, were at hand in Meshed.

Sir Wilfrid Malleison has himself addressed the Society on the subject of his mission, but that was about 18 years ago, and he regretted then that time did not admit of his describing the military operations of the mission. I therefore make no apology for devoting part of the time now to that aspect of the subject, for though on a small scale it affords a striking instance of the splendid services rendered by the soldiers of our Indian Army in the last war. It should be borne in mind that in this campaign they were fighting, not such a rabble as the Trans-Caspian force, but more or less seasoned soldiers of European armies, well armed and striving resolutely to open a way to return to their home lands.

The governing factor throughout the operations was the railway, a single line running for the most part through sandy, waterless desert. Both sides lived in trains which carried men, horses, food, and guns. The only water supply was that carried in large butts on open trucks. Neither side could move far from their trains or act independently of them. Every advance or retirement was made in a succession of trains

led or followed by an armoured train with guns mounted on trucks. The Bolsheviki had guns that outranged those of the Trans-Caspian, a very serious disadvantage for the latter.

As a first step, and a gesture that might possibly cause the Bolsheviki to hesitate in their advance, a small column with two machine-guns was ordered to Muhammadabad on the Russian frontier, a place historical as the birthplace of Nadir Shah. Crossing the Allahu Akbar Pass over the rugged Kupeh Dagh, they reached Muhammadabad on August 2. As their movement to the frontier did not deter the Bolshevik advance, the machine-gun section under Capt. Gipps was sent across, and reached the front beyond Bairam Ali by rail on the 12th, none too soon, for the Bolsheviki attacked on the 13th. The Trans-Caspian force, mostly Turkmans, outnumbered and outgunned, made little more than a show of resistance, hastily entrained and retreated. Complete disaster was only averted by the gallantry of the British machine-gun section. Capt. Gipps and his men held on, covering the retreat till they were in danger of being cut off and the guns were too hot to use.

The Trans-Caspian retreat was only stopped next day at Dushak, 100 miles from the scene of the fight. Capt. Gipps and his party, some of them wounded and all exhausted, rejoined their unit at Muhammadabad—the first British unit that had ever fought in Turkistan.

In the meantime the Askabad Government sent an emissary to General Malleison at Meshed, a man named Dokov, who had been a ticket collector on the Central Asian Railway. General Malleison relates that Dokov, at first boorish in manner and appearance, soon modified his demeanour, took to wearing a collar and tie, shaved with fair regularity, and made improvements in his attire. It transpired that this was not due to a sense of the dignity of his diplomatic status, but to the fact that he was courting a Russian lady refugee in Meshed.

Another member of the Trans-Caspian Government arrived at General Malleison's headquarters, Count Dorer, who, as a social revolutionary, had been exiled to Siberia under the Tsar's Government. His rôle seems to have been rather that of a spy on Dokov than a colleague. It was with Dokov that Malleison concluded a formal treaty in August, 1918. By this treaty the British Government was to assist the Trans-Caspian Government with troops and munitions, so far as General Malleison, the British representative, might be able, provided that they on their part defended themselves to their utmost ability. Financial aid was also to be given on conditions. The Trans-Caspian

Government undertook to further any such action as General Malle-son might at any time require to be taken, and to deny to a hostile force both the port of Krasnovodsk and the Trans-Caspian Railway.

At the same time, to render the Trans-Caspian force the support so desperately needed, the 19th Punjabis, under their gallant and able commander, Major D. E. Knollys, were marched from Meshed to Muhammadabad and across the frontier to the railway. They then entrained and joined the Russians on August 26 at Kakhka.

Major Knollys found a force ill-prepared for resistance to a determined enemy. The only fairly efficient components were the artillery, manned by ex-officers of the Russian Army with a few modern field guns, and a body of about 100 other officers and soldiers of the former Tsarist Army. The total strength was about 2,100, of which 800 to 1,000 were Turkmans, mounted on serviceable ponies—hardy men, but, lacking training and discipline, they were very unreliable. Their familiarity with the country and their bitter hatred of the Bolsheviks, from whom they had suffered much, made them useful for harassing the enemy and raiding the railway in his rear.

The commander of this mixed force was himself a Turkman, Oraz Sirdar by name, chosen for his great influence over his people, an important consideration, for there was little confidence between Russians and Turkmans, the latter having never reconciled themselves to the rule of the former. Oraz Sirdar was son of Tekme Sirdar, who led the Turkman resistance to Skobeleff in 1881. His father sent him as a boy to be educated at the Military Academy at St. Petersburg, whence he became an officer of the Russian Army. He occupied his difficult position with quiet dignity, and was liked and respected by all British officers who knew him.

There can be no doubt that Major Knollys arrived at Kakhka with his battalion only just in time to stem a further probably disastrous retreat. He hastily prevailed upon the Russian staff to modify their faulty dispositions for resisting the imminent attack. Kakhka village is grouped round the solidly constructed railway buildings and surrounded by enclosed orchards, vineyards, and melon beds. The position taken up was a ridge about a mile east of the village. Early in the morning of August 28, the second day after the arrival of the 19th Punjabis, the enemy attacked with a wide turning movement over the desert. The Turkmans on this flank made no effective resistance, and the enemy were only prevented from rushing the station and the troop trains by Captain Stewart of the 19th rallying the camp guard and

followers to counter-attack; then a bayonet charge led by Major Knollys himself drove the Bolsheviks out into the desert to the north. The events of the day proved to the British commander that he must trust in future to his own initiative. The position was reorganized and the defences strengthened. A timely reinforcement arrived, a company of the 1/4th Hants from General Dunsterville's force. The Bolsheviks, largely reinforced, attacked again on the 11th, but were easily repulsed now that our little force was firmly established. Again on the 18th they made their most determined attack. It is fortunate that by that time the defenders of Kakhka had received an invaluable reinforcement in the shape of a section—two guns—of a British field battery from Dunsterforce. The enemy made a wide turning movement in great force; a body of their cavalry even reached the railway in rear. However, the vigorous defence of the Hampshire men and the Punjabis foiled all the enemy's efforts and the attack failed.

In the meantime General Malleison, tied to the telegraph at Meshed, was beset by increasing anxieties. General Dunsterville had, as already related, been forced to withdraw from Baku; the Turks were now in occupation of that city and a German force was at Tiflis in their support. It was now, in September, 1918, that an unforeseen and extremely serious complication arose; a matter so important that although it may be known to some of the audience, it cannot be omitted from any story of the Malleison mission.

Lenin's Central Soviet at Moscow were striving to consolidate the Bolshevik régime; their situation was precarious, threatened as they were by the active opposition of forces led by Tsarist Generals, Wrangel and Denikin, in the Caucasus, Kolchak in Siberia, and Dutov in the Urals. Outlying regions were seething with unrest and dissension, no part more so than Asiatic Russia. The Tashkent Soviet, composed of men of an ignorant type with no administrative experience, had exasperated the inhabitants by their brutal measures of repression. Pan-Turk propaganda had incited the Muhammadan races to revolt against the hated Bolshevik tyranny. In Trans-Caspia the Turkmans, who had never reconciled themselves to Russian rule, saw in the prevailing anarchy a chance to free themselves from the yoke. In the Caucasus, too, there was chaos among the turbulent and diverse peoples.

Lenin saw that a primary necessity for the continuance of the Soviet régime was the establishment of some sort of order in place of this wild confusion.

To deal with so great a problem he formed a commission of his most trusted supporters to proceed first to the Caucasus, before crossing the Caspian to renovate and stabilize the Bolshevik authority in Turkistan. The leader of this commission of twenty-six commissars was Stepan Shaumian, an Armenian, whom Lenin had appointed to supreme charge of Russian Central Asia, a vast region. The events that followed, though almost unknown in England, caused the profoundest emotion throughout Russia, and owing to a mistaken belief in the part taken in them by the British have ever since been the chief reason for bitter resentment against the British people. The deputation reached the Caucasus, crossed into Azerbaijan and started upon their commission, but becoming involved in the advance of the Turks against Baku, and being headed off from the north by the operations of Denikin's army, they entered Baku shortly before the British force under General Dunsterville evacuated that place. Thence, partly from necessity, partly in order to prosecute their activities on more favourable ground, they took ship and crossed the Caspian to Krasnovodsk. After what had occurred in Trans-Caspia, it was only too obvious that the first object of these influential emissaries would be to rally the strong Bolshevik element in the population to overthrow the provisional government, with whom General Malleson had just concluded a treaty, and to join hands with the Bolshevik troops from Tashkent, against whom our handful of British Indian troops were co-operating with the Trans-Caspian force at Kakhka. If attacked in rear as well as in front by so ruthless an enemy, these troops would have been between the devil and the deep sea.

The deputation landed at Krasnovodsk apparently unaware that they had to deal with one who was animated by a bitter hatred of Bolsheviks, from whom he had narrowly escaped with his life, and to whom he attributed several attempts that had been made upon him. This was a Russian named Kuhn, one of those masterful and ruthless characters that assert themselves in times of revolution and anarchy. He was said to have been a ticket collector on the Central Asian Railway, but had now become dictator of Krasnovodsk and its district and ruled with a rod of iron. Kuhn was a handsome man, and his athletic figure was well set off by the Cossack costume that he affected. He seems to have received the commissars, arranged a special train to convey them to Askabad, and provided an escort, so-called, to accompany them. When the train had proceeded some miles into the desert it was stopped, the commissars were made to alight, they were then all

shot and buried by the line. There can be little doubt that Kuhn was acting in collusion with the Askabad Government. The Bolsheviks at once attributed this cold-blooded murder to British instigation, and a wave of intense indignation swept through Soviet Russia; not so much because of the heinousness of the crime—for murder for political ends was common enough with the Bolsheviks themselves—as on account of the great importance of the victims. What actually happened was this: When General Malleison heard of the arrival of the commissars at Krasnovodsk he immediately took steps to counter this grave menace. He decided to demand that the Trans-Caspian Government should arrest the twenty-six commissars before more mischief could be done. Dokov, the Askabad representative, was still in Meshed, but the matter was too urgent to admit of any delay in dealing with an intermediary. If the commissars should reach Askabad the situation would be most critical. General Malleison therefore decided to telegraph to his liaison officer with the Government at Askabad. Before he had time to act Dokov and Dorer came for their daily interview. They had been in telegraphic communication with Askabad in the morning, so knew all about the commissars. General Malleison told them at once what he had heard, and demanded that the commissars should be arrested and handed over to him for internment in India. Noticing embarrassment on their part he repeated his demand in the strongest terms, threatening the withdrawal of British support if it were not complied with. Dokov and Dorer then said that they would do their best, but that it was probably too late as they doubted whether the commissars were still alive. They protested that if they should reach Askabad they would raise a revolt, and that the government and its supporters, not merely twenty-six individuals, but many hundreds who took part in the extinction of Frolov and his gang, would certainly be slaughtered.

At noon General Malleison despatched the telegram to his liaison officer. After relating what Dokov and Dorer had said about the probable fate of the twenty-six commissars, he went on to say that General Malleison particularly desired that the commissars should be handed over to himself alive, and that he would send an escort to Askabad to take charge of them. The liaison officer was told that "if not too late" he was to insist upon this.

The liaison officer was keen and capable with a fluent knowledge of Russian. He promptly carried out his instructions; unfortunately, however, instead of communicating them verbally, as was intended,

he, desiring to omit nothing that might affect their general sense, handed over these instructions in full, including the words "if not too late"—words which were naturally inserted in the message to the liaison officer himself after what Dokov and Dorer had said to General Malleson. These words remained on record and constitute the ground for the charge made by the Bolsheviks that the treacherous murder of the commissars was instigated by the British. As it happened, nothing that General Malleson could have done after receiving news of the arrival of the party in Trans-Caspia would have been in time to save them. There were no British troops and no British representative in Krasnovodsk at the time.

This tragic incident was made the basis for the intensification by the Soviet Government of anti-British propaganda. A picture was fabricated and widely distributed showing General Malleson himself as the central figure directing the execution of the unarmed commissars. A film of similar purport has been exhibited all over Russia. A monument to the murdered commissars was erected in Baku. A British trades union delegation that went to Russia in 1924 saw this monument and were shocked to learn that the massacre of these unarmed prisoners, which was regarded as one of the principal historic events of the Russian revolution, was attributed to instructions given by officers of the British forces at that time operating in North Persia. On returning to England they made careful enquiries, and found that the evidence entirely exonerated the British. They added to their report: "In view of the fact that these accusations are generally believed throughout the whole of Russia, the delegation is of opinion that the matter should be definitely cleared up by a joint enquiry."

Commenting on this report, General Malleson writes: "No such enquiry has ever been held, nor is it easy to see how one could be held, as the Bolsheviks in the meanwhile have themselves destroyed practically everyone connected with the case."

There is only this to be said for the Askabad Government and all who had a hand in doing the commissars to death—and it seems only fair to say it—they acted under a sense of overpowering dread of the savage retribution that would certainly have been vented upon them if the commissars had had their way.

Now to revert to the front at Kakhka, where on September 18 a determined attack by the Bolsheviks had been repulsed. With the welcome addition of two squadrons 28th Light Cavalry it was now felt that it was possible to take the offensive. The Russian staff

had a new and much more efficient chief, who had been on the general staff of the Russian Army throughout the war, and who passed under the name of Colonel Urusov. A plan was made for a surprise attack upon the Bolshevik force, who were in their trains at a station 9 miles from Kakhka. The march was made at night, but the lack of discipline and disregard of orders by the Russian troops and the Turkman betrayed the advance to the enemy, and they were found to have retired to the next station, Dushak. It was decided to attempt a similar surprise attack upon their new position. Again difficulties of co-operation caused delay, and it was only on October 14 that the attack could be made. Even then the advantage of surprise at dawn was lost through an unfortunate collision in the dark between patrols of the 19th and a stampede of mules. The advance was made from a ruined village north of the railway against the enemy's right flank.

Daylight had come before the march could be resumed. The force deployed a mile from Dushak station, the Russians on the right, Punjabis in the centre, and Turkmans on the left. The British guns covered the advance, the Russian guns joining in some time later.

The Bolsheviks, failing to realize that this was the main attack, kept some of their trains forward, west of Dushak. Nevertheless, the attack over a flat plain with no cover to speak of was met by a strong well-organized defence on a line of irrigation channels along the western outskirts of Dushak. Behind were a second line with a number of machine-guns, and the Bolshevik artillery opened fire from rising ground beyond the station. As the enemy's shrapnel began to take effect, the Russians on the right took such cover as they could find, the Turkmans on the left disappeared, and the 19th Punjabis were left to carry on the attack alone except for a few Russian ex-officers. They rose to the occasion, drove the enemy from his first line, carried the second with the bayonet, then on to the artillery position, putting the gunners to flight and capturing six guns as well as sixteen machine-guns. Many of the enemy fled south towards the hills, where they were met by the 28th Light Cavalry. The British had directed their guns with devastating effect upon the station and the supply trains in the sidings. Buildings and trains were in flames. One burning train moved out eastward, but was met by Turkmans who made short work of the unfortunate survivors. Other trains steamed out westward. A shell then struck some wagons loaded with explosives, and they blew up with terrific force, completely wrecking the station.

The Turkmans and some of the Russian infantry now reappeared,

rushing forward to loot the supply trains. The enemy's leaders, seeing the confusion, rallied their troops, and at 11.30 attacks in force came from both directions, from the trains to the west and by fresh troops from Tejend, proving that the Turkmans had failed to cut the line as they had undertaken to do. All the British officers of the 19th had fallen and nearly half of the other ranks. The remainder under the command of the Sikh Subadar-Major, who was himself wounded, hastened to meet these attacks from east and west.

All might have been retrieved if the Russian commander had sent forward his armoured train, and the company of the 1/4th Hants which was with him, to attack the enemy from the west, but paralyzed by fear of an attack towards Kakhka he remained inactive. The two squadrons of the 28th Light Cavalry came up from the south; the officer commanding, seeing the imminent danger of the force being annihilated, ordered a retirement. The gallant Subadar-Major, reluctantly complying, conducted the retirement with great steadiness. Covered by the cavalry and artillery the 19th brought away all its wounded and withdrew to the station in rear.

The Russian official account of the action strikingly corroborates the above details, and ends thus: "Our losses were about one hundred and seventy wounded and forty killed; the great majority of those were the heroic sepoy and Indian cavalry. The enemy lost about one thousand men. Giving their due to the heroic sepoy and Indian cavalry and part of our troops, one must with sorrow remark on the conduct of those who by their disgraceful behaviour spoilt such a great chance, and prevented further extension of such a golden opportunity, which might have made it possible to annihilate the enemy."

Next morning the retirement was continued to Kakhka. The enemy was so demoralized by this attack that they evacuated Dushak as soon as they could clear the wreckage from the line, first to Tejend, and then to Merv, where they halted to remove war material from the arsenal at Khushk. The 28th Light Cavalry under Major Kreyer, with some Turkmans, followed up, made a wide detour, and threatened the Bolshevik rear. The enemy then hastily evacuated the whole Merv district and withdrew across the desert to the railway bridge over the Oxus at Charjui. The British troops advanced to Merv and then to Bairam Ali near the ruins of ancient Merv. Orders from India emphatically forbade the advance of any British troops beyond Merv, so the Russians only, with their armoured train, continued to follow up the retreating enemy.

Risings against the Bolsheviks now took place in Bokhara, Ferghana, and other parts. If the Trans-Caspian army had been capable of a vigorous offensive, or the British troops had been permitted to continue their advance, the enemy could have been driven across the Oxus and the Bolsheviks might even have been compelled to evacuate Turkistan. As it was the Bolsheviks came to a stand at a station halfway to the Oxus and the pursuers halted at the next station. Here on November 14 a premature burst occurred in the gun on the armoured train and caused a panic in the ranks of the Mensheviks. They retreated at the fastest speed the train could make, and only came to a stand when they found cover behind some sandhills about six miles north-east of Annenkovo station, which is thirty miles from Bairam Ali.

Major Knollys, anxiously watching the course of events, quickly grasped its seriousness. No other part of the line in advance of Merv offered the necessary cover. If retreat continued Merv and all must go. An urgent message was sent to the armoured train to stand fast at all costs. Major Knollys sent an officer up to the front and a squadron to Annenkovo to stiffen the resistance. On November 17 a Bolshevik armoured train appeared and a heavy bombardment was made at a distance at which the Mensheviks' guns could make little effective reply. For two days the Menshevik armoured train bravely stood its ground in spite of much damage and many casualties. The Bolsheviks then withdrew to the cover of some sandhills, seven miles distant and a few miles south of Ravnina station. A lull ensued. Winter now set in with a severity deterrent to military operations, the temperature often falling to zero; before Christmas the desert was covered with snow. Life in the crowded troop trains was comfortless and unhealthy.

Conditions on that desert front were dreary in the extreme. The moral of the Russian troops sank to a very low ebb. The night pickets for the protection of the armoured train refused to remain out, and the personnel of the train were worn out by day and night watchfulness. It became necessary to send up a company of the 19th Punjabis from Bairam Ali for the vital outpost duty. They were relieved weekly and were sheltered from the bitter cold by "yurts," the felt-covered movable huts of the nomad Turkman.

The Russian commander, while anxious to advance, could not rely upon his troops without British co-operation. The committee in Askabad thwarted efforts to improve the efficiency of the force, even withdrawing better-class Russian soldiers for employment on the railway

and sending useless Armenians and others in their place. Some improvement was effected by the training of detachments in Meshed by British and Indian officers and non-commissioned officers. A troop of fifty Daghistan Cossacks were sent over from the Caucasus, and there was a reorganization of supply and other services. An attempt to conscript the large numbers of Russians who preferred the security of Askabad to the hardships and dangers of the front failed. The government could not enforce its order, and the citizens retorted that if the men whom the committee had retained for its own protection would lead the way they would follow. Rumours of a greatly reinforced Bolshevik advance caused so much unrest that a general disarmament was carried out in Askabad and Merv.

At the end of the year a political crisis resulted in the resignation of the incompetent committee and its replacement by a directorate of five, which included, on General Malleison's insistence, two influential Turkman Sirdars.

In the meantime the troops at the front were not inactive. Patrols of the 28th Light Cavalry, the Turkmans or the Cossacks, reconnoitred the enemy's position daily, especially to see whether the arrival of more troops portended an attack. There was desultory fighting and bombardment from the enemy's armoured train. An attempt to dislodge the enemy from the Ravnina position failed without British co-operation.

The Russian staff lived in the train at Bairam Ali station, an hour and a half's steam from the front, and were in daily communication with the British headquarters at the palace. It may well be imagined what a surprise it was to find here at Bairam Ali, amid the deserts of Turkistan, an Imperial Palace as the centre of a well-laid-out and organized model estate. At Hindu Kush, 20 miles upstream on the Murghab, was a fine electrical power installation, the turbines worked hydraulically from a barrage of the river. Hence the Bairam Ali estate was lit by electricity, and up-to-date machinery for dealing with the cotton crop and its by-products of oil, soap, etc., was worked. The palace was a handsome single-story building, though not so luxurious as the name implies, for the Bolsheviks had been there before us. The lands were irrigated by an elaborate system of canals and distributaries with well-constructed regulators.

Early in January, 1919, Brigadier-General Beatty arrived from India to take command of the troops under the direction of General Malleison. His appointment was the first step towards the execution of a

plan for a possible spring campaign with a British force strong enough to clear the Bolsheviks out of Turkistan and so put an end to the menace to India which their domination of Central Asia involved.

At the beginning of 1919 the operations by British troops in Trans-Caspia were transferred from the control of the Government of India to that of the War Office, and the force came under the command of General Sir George Milne commanding the army of the Black Sea.

The strained expectation of fresh developments on the Annenkovo front reached its climax on January 16. News had been coming in of large reinforcements to the Bolshevik army. The night had been intensely cold and a dense fog settled upon the desert. The usual patrols went out in the early morning, but could see nothing and returned after daybreak. Soon afterwards the sound of explosions far away in the rear put the force on the alert. The line had been blown up on both sides of Annenkovo station and the telegraph wires cut. Dispositions were made to meet an attack, all pivoting on the armoured trains in their position under cover of the sandhills, Captain Pigot's company of the 19th with the Meshed-trained parties and the Trans-Caspian Infantry Corps covering the trains on the west—the threatened flank—the two troops of the 28th Cavalry and the Turkman Horse on the right. The Bolsheviks chose the day on which the relief of the company of the 19th was due. They had learnt that it was customary, owing to shortage of rolling stock, for the same train that took back the company in the morning to bring back the relieving company later in the day. They planned their attack for the time when neither company would be at the front. Most providentially Captain Pigot's company had not yet entrained, though it was on the point of doing so. An urgent message was sent to Bairam Ali and the relieving company immediately entrained.

Patrols reconnoitring westwards came upon the enemy's demolition parties which had blown up the railway and brought in a German prisoner, who divulged the enemy's plan of attack as follows: A corps of 400 cavalry was to raid and destroy the railway and was to isolate the troops and trains at the front. Twenty train-loads of troops had been brought up to Ravnina for a supreme effort. Attacks were to be made simultaneously with the blowing up of the line. The main attack by 2,500 men was to envelop the left flank, another attack down the railway against the front and right by 1,500 men. These attacks were to be supported by the fire of the 4.5 in. guns on the armoured trains, eight field guns and a number of machine-guns. The

defenders of the Annenkovo position having been thus overwhelmed, the main Bolshevik force was to march upon Merv by a direct track across the desert and so to isolate Bairam Ali. Camel and cart transport with three days' rations was in readiness. This plan was well calculated to crush the defence and to effect the reconquest of Trans-Caspia at one blow. It was within an ace of succeeding, and probably would have but for the fog which made it impossible to co-ordinate the attacks and screened the defence from the greatly superior artillery fire of the attack.

The main attack developed about mid-day against the left in such force that the defence was outflanked, when all who could be were withdrawn from the centre, including three platoons of the 19th.

The attack against the centre and right now came on and gradually forced back the 28th and the Turkman Horse. The Russian commander having lost control resigned the direction of the action to the British company commander.

By 3 p.m. the situation had become extremely critical. The enemy had worked round the left flank and were approaching the railway in rear of the trains. Most opportunely the train arrived from Bairam Ali bringing the other company of the 19th. It detrained at once and dashed forward, met the advancing enemy in the mist, found their right flank and pressing the attack rolled up the enemy's line and sent it northward in headlong flight across the front of the original line. Meanwhile in the centre by about 5 p.m. the leading armoured train was surrounded and a fight was being carried on at close quarters. The enemy had occupied the picket post close to the train when the Russian gunners sprang out of the train and charged them gallantly. Captain Pigot followed with his last platoon and together they drove the enemy off to the north. As darkness fell the desperately fought action ended in victory for the defenders.

On January 21 General Sir George Milne came from Constantinople to visit the Bairam Ali front and to discuss the situation with General Malleison. Very soon afterwards the decision to withdraw the mission and all British troops from Trans-Caspia was communicated to General Malleison.

Demobilization was proceeding and the demand for retrenchment and withdrawal from all unnecessary military commitments was insistent. The Turco-German menace to India had passed away and strife between Menshevik and Bolshevik had become a domestic concern, the burden of which our Russian Allies were too ready to put on

British shoulders. Withdrawal was no easy matter. General Malleeson foresaw that if it were taken in hand hastily the Bolsheviks would immediately resume the offensive and most of the Russian troops at the front would desert to them. The railwaymen would probably refuse to work the railway, the extremists among the population would be aroused, and the withdrawal might easily become a matter of the troops having to fight their way out. He asked to be given to the end of March. Absolute secrecy was essential. The force was quietly relieved of all surplus encumbrances. The War Minister of the Askabad Government, General Kruten, was furnished with funds to go to Baku and obtain reinforcements and munitions from Denikin's army, sufficient to make a demonstration, under cover of which the withdrawal could be made. General Malleeson then broke to the Trans-Caspian Government the news of the impending departure of the mission and its troops, news which caused great consternation. He then contrived through his agents in Turkistan to spread rumours that the British were hatching a deep plot to deceive the Bolsheviks by an ostentatious retirement from the Merv front while they made a wide detour by a line of wells in the desert west of the railway in order to cross the Oxus below Charjui and get across the Bolshevik line of communication with Tashkent. The Russians and Turkmans largely reinforced from across the Caspian would then advance from the Merv front against Charjui, while the British attacked it in rear. So successful was the ruse that the Bolsheviks not only hesitated to advance, but even made preparations for a rapid retreat. By the first week in March the orders for withdrawal had to be made public, and they immediately evoked appeals from all classes to General Malleeson for delay or reconsideration. The Turkmans especially insistently begged that British protection in some form might be allowed to remain. The bravery and good conduct of the British troops had won their admiration and respect, the intervention of the mission in their interests on various occasions had instilled a genuine belief in British justice and good rule, and so most friendly relations had developed. As a result of the careful preparations made by General Malleeson the evacuation was carried out smoothly. On April 1 the last Indian troops marched out of Askabad for the Persian frontier, and by the 5th the last of the mission had followed.

At this withdrawal from Trans-Caspia my story of the Malleeson mission must end, for time does not permit of my relating its subsequent activities. The withdrawal was far from being the end. With-

out British help the Mensheviks were unable to withstand the Bolshevik advance. Askabad fell in July, 1919, and by the autumn the whole of Trans-Caspia was in possession of the enemy. Their outposts were in touch with the British at Bajgiram where the Meshed—Askabad road crosses the Persian frontier. The Bolsheviks availed themselves of their position to intrigue with the Kurds of this part of Persia and instigate a rising. In the spring of 1919 the Afghan War came. It was followed by intrigue between Afghans and Bolsheviks. These and other developments gave rise to a series of problems for the mission. An account of these problems, and the skill with which they were dealt with and solved by Sir Wilfrid Malleison, might easily fill a volume.

A few remarks in conclusion :

Little has been said about the work at the headquarters of the mission during the course of the military operations. General Malleison was tensely occupied in striving to instil, through his liaison officer at Askabad, some sense of governing into the incapable government which he was committed to support; a task that called for unremitting patience, tact, and forbearance, as well as the closest watch upon the critical and bewildering situation. This government was composed, as has been shown, of members devoid of the necessary education and experience, each more intent on using his position for his own profit than on forwarding the cause that he was supposed to represent, all living in an atmosphere of jealousy, suspicion, and intrigue. Most of the essential resources of a government were lacking, though their financial difficulties had been temporarily eased by the seizure of a large sum of money that had been entrusted by Lenin to the murdered commissars. Without security there could be no stability, hence the first object was to strengthen resistance to the threatened invasion. General Malleison therefore undertook that if the Trans-Caspian Government would raise a Corps 1,000 strong from the Russians known to be available, he would help by organizing, arming, and equipping them. Few reliable recruits were, however, forthcoming, and those that there were the government preferred to keep for their own protection against their many enemies.

The government were anxious to regain possession of the Tejend and Merv oases, both to secure the province against famine and to check by a forward move the disintegration of their ill-disciplined force as a result of prolonged inaction. They were only too ready to

look to the British force to make such a move possible. General Malle-son further offered to provide machine-guns if the government would find Russians to man them and send the teams to Meshed for training by British instructors. This proposal, too, failed, and General Malle-son, determined to get something done, insisted that at least some improvement should be made in the staff and organization of the Trans-Caspian force.

There was naturally great mistrust between the revolutionary up-starts who had taken charge and the better class who had served the old régime. Fortunately, as related above, a former Tsarist officer came forward to replace the inefficient Chief of the Staff to Oraz Sirdar.

Although no fighting on a large scale took place on the Merv front after the action of Annenkovo, there were collisions between patrols of the 28th Cavalry and the enemy in which the former greatly distinguished themselves. On the morning of March 2, 1919, a patrol of fourteen men under a lance-dafadar (corporal) reconnoitring among the sand-dunes sighted five of the enemy's cavalry. The patrol was advancing cautiously when two parties of hostile cavalry, each about fifty strong, hitherto hidden by the sandhills, were seen converging from either flank. Galloping for the gap between them, the patrol were met by a third party: they divided and charged right and left. The enemy, firing from the saddle, dropped two of the 28th and wounded some horses. A hand-to-hand struggle followed, the 28th using their lances, and the men who had been dismounted their rifles. They claimed to have killed twenty-one of the enemy. The patrol then broke through and scattered. All got back to camp except two, who were believed to have been killed, but who were taken prisoners to Tashkent and escaped some months later. They made their way back to Meshed. The Russians, in admiration of the feat, conferred the Cross of St. George upon all of the patrol.

In any criticism of our Trans-Caspian allies, allowance should be made for the difficulties with which they had to contend and the raw material which they had to use. There were instances of personal heroism, especially among the ex-officers of the former Russian Army. The manner in which they strove to keep their end up under most discouraging circumstances won the admiration of their British comrades.

The wives and children of some officers were living in the trains

at Merv. Their cheerful endurance of their privations, exiles from their homes and robbed of their possessions, was beyond praise.

The hospital trains were good. The courage and devotion of the Russian lady nurses gained them deep respect. One specially will be remembered, for she was wounded in action with our Indian soldiers at Kakhka, but returned to her duty at the front.

AL JEZIREH

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

AL JEZIREH, little known to-day to the outside world, has many claims to future fame. It may in the not too distant future become as celebrated as Mosul, since it is the richest prospective centre of oilfields in Syria. It may, on the other hand, become notorious as yet another Middle Eastern storm centre.

The Jezireh is a border country on the Turkish-'Iraqi-Syrian frontier. Its strongly mixed population contains a large Kurdish element in the district of Upper Jezireh. A strong autonomist movement is in existence and has already led to violent conflicts with the Damascus Government. The population also contains two elements of unusual and in some respects unique interest: the devil-worshipping Yezidis and the Assyrians. To the tragic remnants of the once powerful Assyrian race the Jezireh has offered a temporary refuge, which may become their permanent home. The story of the Assyrians, who took up arms on the side of the allies during the World War, who after the tragedy of their massacres faced exodus from 'Iraq and for whom the League of Nations has unsuccessfully sought a home all over the world, makes one of the most distressing chapters in post-war history.

In other respects, too, Al Jezireh is worthy of study as characteristic of the conditions which typify many parts of the Middle East to-day. It is a vast and potentially fertile territory, sparsely inhabited, and cultivated to only a fraction of its former capacity. It still bears in many places the signs of a mighty irrigation system, of a prosperous and large population, and a brilliant ancient civilization, wrecked and obliterated by the nomads from the neighbouring mountains and the desert.

Boundaries and Geography

Al Jezireh*—meaning "the island"—is, in the wider sense, the vast triangle of territory lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, with its apex resting a little north of Baghdad and its base lying on the southern spurs of the Taurus in Turkey. The Jezireh to which this

* In order to distinguish it from "Jezireh"—as the Arab peninsula is usually called in Arabic—which has the same term both for island and peninsula.

paper refers is the northern section falling within the boundaries of the Syrian Republic. This Syrian Jezireh consists of the district of Jezireh proper and the Euphrates district. It includes the territory north of the Khabur River (the dividing line between Upper and Lower Jezireh) and a belt of Lower Jezireh extending from east of the Khabur to the 'Iraqi frontier. This latter zone, in its northern extremity, has been given by frontier delimitation a curious form which has earned for it the name of the " Duck's Beak " (*Bec de Canard*). The *Bec de Canard* reaches the River Tigris, which, except for this short stretch of about 40 km., flows from its source in the Armenian highlands entirely through 'Iraqi territory.

The frontier demarcation of the Syrian Jezireh was the subject of a prolonged controversy, firstly between the French Government and the English and later between the French and 'Iraqi authorities. The Jezireh boundary between Syria and Turkey was fixed in 1926 by the de Jouvenel agreement, while that between Syria and 'Iraq was laid down finally as recently as 1933 by the Iselin Commission sent by the League of Nations. As a result of the Commission's suggestions important changes were agreed to, in particular regarding the *Bec de Canard* section, which has been in existence ever since the Anglo-French treaty of 1920. These changes brought both gains and losses to the two parties concerned. The uplands of Jebel Sinjar, a territory of considerable economic and strategic importance previously partly within the boundaries of Syria, have now been transferred completely to 'Iraq. 'Iraq, on the other hand, has had to cede to Syria the fertile stretch between the Tigris and the Saffan-Dere. Owing to 'Iraq's reluctance to give up this tract, French troops were sent to occupy it on August 5, 1933.

The Jezireh is a low-lying plateau made up mainly of limestone, gravel and sedimentary detritus formations, intersected by low ranges of limestone, gypsum and basalt. This plateau descends from the southern spurs of the Taurus Mountains and merges to the east into the great alluvial plains of 'Iraq. The hilly northern section of the Syrian Jezireh gradually falls into undulating down country, displaying all the characteristics often associated with such regions—fertile soil, abundant water and fair rainfall. These favourable natural conditions deteriorate with distance from the hills, and finally the foothills give way to the desert steppe zone in the 'Iraqi section of Lower Jezireh. The Syrian Jezireh by far surpasses in agricultural value the 'Iraqi Jezireh, a large part of which is indeed a desolate and desert land.

The ancient importance of Upper Jezireh as the seat of a developed civilization is evidenced in the numerous ruins found here of ancient towns and villages and the remains of ancient highways and those of Persian, Greek and Roman times and of the early period of the Arab conquest. Where uncultivated or uncultivable, the Jezireh is a vast steppeland, covered in the rainy season with rich vegetation but barren during the rest of the year. Areas in the vicinity of springs and rivers form fertile oases, which are particularly numerous near the Khabur River and in the north-east and less frequent to the south-west.

The total area of the Syrian Jezireh amounts to 37,480 sq. km. It is the least populated part of Syria; its density of population is estimated at 5.6 per km., comparing with an average population of 8.7 for the entire state of Syria, 49 for the state of Lataqia and 93 for the Lebanese Republic.

The cultivated area of the Syrian Jezireh is estimated at 460,000 hectares, while the extent of the cultivable area is taken to amount to about 1,260,000 hectares.* Estimates of the cultivable land vary markedly due to lack of accurate information as to primary physical features, such, for instance, as the length of principal rivers. Thus Mr. Husni Sawwaf, in a review contributed to *Economic Organization of Syria*,† indicates 680 km. as the length of the Euphrates within the Syrian borders, while another authority, Mr. A. Gruvel,‡ estimates this at only two-thirds of the above figure, and at the same time M. E. Achard§ puts forward the much higher estimate of 800 km. Unfortunately no accurate investigations have yet been undertaken to dispose of such extreme divergencies on essential questions of fact, and without such a study most of the conclusions reached must remain largely speculative. The figure of 1,260,000 hectares of cultivable land indicated above may be taken as a liberal calculation, as it has been based on maximum estimates for the length of the rivers and the extent of the land areas in the Jezireh.

Administratively the Syrian Jezireh, which is divided into two districts (*Liwas*)—the Jezireh district and the Euphrates district—is further subdivided into *Qazas* (sub-districts), and *Nahiehs* (administrative units). The district administrations are placed under the Ministry of the Interior of the Damascus Government, but there are

* J. Eddé, *Géographie de la Syrie et du Liban*, Beyrouth, 1937-38, p. 54.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 32.

‡ A. Gruvel, *Les États de Syrie*, Paris, 1931, p. 262.

§ E. Achard, "L'Irrigation," *L'Asie Française*, May, 1924, p. 205.

French advisers helping local authorities in the main centres of the administrative units and French garrisons are maintained in various places.

Water Resources

The main water artery supplying the Syrian Jezireh is the River Euphrates. Its total length is estimated at 2,860 km., but only a small section of this, variously estimated at from 450 to 800 km., flows within the boundaries of the Syrian Jezireh. The figure of 680 km. indicated by Mr. Husni Sawwaf seems to be the most likely estimate, as it has been based on the latest investigations of the *Régie des Études Hydrauliques*, which is engaged in a systematic and scientific enquiry into the water resources of Syria. The discharge of the Euphrates depends on the season of the year and varies considerably. At a time of full flow (April, 1931) it was estimated that the Euphrates discharged 2,087 cu. m. of water per second. A minimum figure of 204 cu. m. was registered in the month of October of the same year. As irrigation water is mainly needed in late summer this minimum discharge of about 200 cu. m. per second may be taken as a basis of calculation. Under an agreement between Syria and 'Iraq each country is entitled to use half of the available discharge. The water available is sufficient to irrigate large tracts of land, the areas of which cannot, however, be reliably estimated without an accurate measurement of the length of the river. Thus Mr. Sawwaf puts the irrigable area of the Jezireh at 170,000 hectares, while M. Achard indicates a much larger figure of 250,000 hectares.*

The waters of the Euphrates are greyish in colour on account of the silt brought down by the strongly flowing stream from the Armenian plateau and the Taurus Mountains. This alluvial soil is rich in fertilizing elements. When at full flood the river overflows its banks; it deposits fertilizing silt in the same way as the Nile. Little is done at present by means of dykes or channels to make use of the river or its fertilizing properties. The valley of the Euphrates is 3 km. wide; its soil, enriched by alluvial deposits, is exceedingly fertile. It is thus only comparable with the valley of the Nile. This fertility may account for the traditional association of this region with the Garden

* According to M. Achard's calculation, which assumes the minimum summer discharge of the Euphrates at 300 cu. m., the quantity of water available for irrigation in the Syrian Jezireh in the summer would be 150 cu. m. and not 100, as assumed by Mr. Sawwaf.

of Eden: "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden . . . and a river went out of Eden to water the garden and from thence it was parted and became into four heads . . . and the name of the third is Hiddekel (Tigris), and the fourth river is the Euphrates" (Gen. ii. 10).

The Euphrates enters the Syrian territory at Jerablus at 325 m. above sea level and leaves the Syrian territory at Abu Kemal at a level of 166 m. This difference in level of only 159 m. over the river's slow and level course of 680 km. is not suited to the generation of hydro-electric power. Greater possibilities, not yet sufficiently investigated, seem to exist, however, for the exploitation for this purpose of the tributary streams of the Euphrates. The Euphrates water system is much simpler than that of the Orontes or other Syrian rivers. The most important of the tributaries within the Jezireh are the Khabur, al Jaq-Jaq and al Balikh, which in their turn collect many streams and springs.

The Khabur River is the most important water artery in the northern Jezireh (the district of Jezireh proper). It extends over a length of 260 km. and, together with its tributary the Jaq-Jaq and their secondary streams, combines to produce one of the most extensive of Syria's natural irrigable areas in the triangle Ras el Ain—Hassejeh—Qamishli. This triangle is intersected throughout its length and breadth by rivers and springs which here and there form swamps and islands. Some of these are submerged when the Khabur rises to overflow its banks. These lands are covered with a rich vegetation of wild plants which serves as pasturage for wild boars and other animals. The minimum discharge of the Khabur is estimated at 20 cu. m. per second, while that of the Jaq-Jaq amounts probably to only 10 cu. m. per second. Along the undulating foothills of the spurs of Jebel Sinjar and Jebel Abdel Aziz the waters of the Khabur descend in a strong flow which at some places turns into waterfalls. This triangle represents the best of the Jezireh lands and is most suitable for wide-scale intensive settlement and development. The cultivated and the cultivable areas in the Khabur region may be estimated at no less than 60,000 hectares.

The Balikh River, which crosses the western part of the Jezireh, is formed by the confluence of streams and springs flowing from the slopes of Kurdistan. Near Ain Arus it spreads into hundreds of rivulets, producing a rich growth of vegetation. This ever-green spot is the lode star of the nomads and their herds, attracting them in all

seasons of the year, but more particularly in the summer months when the steppelands become arid deserts. Remains of ancient settlement have been found near the river, and in 1925 Cellerier discovered an important piece of ancient mosaic, giving striking proof of the existence here of a brilliant civilization in the days of the Roman Empire. The main tributaries of al Balikh flow outside the boundaries of Syria, chiefly in Turkey, where a large part of their waters are used by the population of the Serouj Plain. Within Syria the Balikh River extends over 100 km. with a minimum discharge of 6 cu. m. per second. At full tide the river overflows its banks. Al Balikh joins the Euphrates at a point 8 km. west of Sabha.

The water system of the Tigris has little connection with Syria, crossing the Syrian territory for only about 40 km. at the northern extremity of the Bec de Canard. It flows in full stream in almost a straight line from where it leaves the Jezireh at Jeziret ibn Omar and creates favourable conditions for the irrigation of large adjoining areas which are too distant to be irrigated from the Khabur. These lands are fertile and are covered with variegated wild vegetation.

Climate and Soils

The climate of Jezireh is influenced mainly by the vicinity of the hills and the abundance of water resources at one extremity and by the proximity of the desert on the other. Climatically, the Jezireh forms a kind of transitional zone between the climate of Damascus and that of the Syrian desert. Considerable variations in climate are shown in different localities. Thus climatic conditions in Qamishli in the north differ from those prevailing in Deir ez Zor in the south-west.* The climate of Jezireh is much more equable than that of the neighbouring Kurdistan hills on the one hand and the Syrian Desert on the other. The summer heat is dry and easier to bear than the damp heat of the maritime plain. The winter is hard in the northern Jezireh, which is swept by the high winds from the hills of Kurdistan. In summer sandstorms sometimes come from the Syrian desert. Malaria is rampant, particularly in the marshlands of the Khabur south of Qamishli.

* The minimum average temperatures were 6.9° C. at Qamishli (500 m. above sea level), 8.2° C. at Deir ez Zor (200 m.). The correspondingly average maximum figures and annual averages (shown in brackets) were as follows: 31.5° C. (19.2) and 32.4° C. (20.2). The rainfall amounted to 350 mm. at Qamishli and 29 mm. at Deir ez Zor.

Most of the Jezireh soils are of a heavy, dark type. In many places, however, there is an overlapping sand cover mixed with gravel, lime and clay. The soils generally show a high percentage of lime, reaching some 10 to 12 per cent., which compares with a maximum of 5 per cent. in Egyptian soils. This presence of lime in such a high percentage is of great importance to the quality of the soil. There is also a sufficiency of other ingredients: nitrogen, phosphorus and potash. The texture and physical properties of the soil are favourable for cultivation. It was the fecundity of the Jezireh soils, the rich silts brought down continuously by the rivers, water flowing in plenty across its length and breadth, and its favourable climate which made of this fortunate and fertile territory one of the chief granaries of the ancient world and the home of a large population.

State of Agriculture

The agricultural wealth depends not so much on the fertility of its soil as on the proper use of its abundant irrigation resources. These, however, are employed to-day only to an insignificant extent and its present agricultural development bears no relation whatsoever to the potentialities which such an abundance of irrigation water offers under climatic conditions of this type.

“. . . At the present time,” states Mr. Sawwaf, “the area actually irrigated along the Euphrates is trivial compared to that which might be irrigated. Only several hundred hectares are actually under irrigation, usually in the vicinity of small towns located along the river.”*

The area cultivated to-day is almost entirely confined to the immediate vicinity of streams, where irrigation is easy and does not require any technical arrangements. In the Euphrates plains the farmer benefits from the alluvial deposits along the river. Irrigation practice is more difficult here than, for instance, in the Khabur basin, since the low-lying bed of the Euphrates and its slow course prevent irrigation by natural gravitation and necessitate the installation of pumps.

The main irrigation apparatus used by the native farmer to draw water from the river, here as elsewhere in Syria (the Valley of Orontes, Hama and Homs), is the *Na'urah*—a large wheel with tin buckets turned by mule, donkey or the force of the river's current itself. Until recently only a few motor-driven pumps were in use, but in latter years there has been an increase in their number, and these will increase in connection with the development of the Assyrian settlement. Dykes

* *Himadch*, p. 33.

and subterranean irrigation channels (*Fajawir*) constructed in Roman days have long fallen into disrepair and can be used only to a limited extent, unlike the ancient irrigation channels in the Orontes Valley and in the Damascus and Aleppo plains, which are widely used in several localities even to-day.

The main crops of the Jezireh are wheat, barley, maize, tobacco and sesame. In recent years cotton and rice growing has been introduced. Cereal crops (wheat, barley and maize) are grown chiefly in the south-west section of the Bec de Canard, south-west of Qamishli in the Khabur district, in al Balikh district, along the Turkish frontier and especially in the Tell Abiyadh region, in the neighbourhood of Jerablus, in the Valley of the Euphrates and in several of the wadis. Rice is grown in two localities where water is abundant: in the southern swamps and in the vicinity of Ras el Ain. Cotton cultivation is practised in the region of Deir ez Zor. Experiments were made last year with the cultivation of cotton in the Bec de Canard.

Animal raising is chiefly in the hands of the Bedouin tribesmen. It forms their main occupation in the Euphrates district where the nomad tribes specialize in camels and sheep. In the Jezireh district, with its abundant water resources and rich pasturage, sheep and goat breeding takes the first place, with camel raising as a subsidiary branch. Pigs are raised in the German settlement in the Jezireh district near Demir Kapu on the road from Nisibin to Mosul.

In a good year like that of 1937 harvests of wheat (the main crop) reach 85,000 tons, barley 5,000 tons, maize 1,200 tons, tobacco 62,213 kilos, sesame 700 tons, rice 450 tons and cotton 20 tons. There has been a considerable extension in agricultural production in recent years. An estimate of livestock in the Jezireh indicated in 1936 over 121,000 sheep, 61,000 goats, 14,000 camels and 320 pigs.

Agriculture provides the main exports, which find markets in other parts of Syria. The Jezireh proper is noted chiefly for its cereals and its sheep, while the Euphrates district exports chiefly sheep and camels. The sale of sheepskins and *samneh* (cooked sheep butter) forms an important item of the trade with Syrian cities.

Confused land ownership conditions present one of the main obstacles to agricultural advance and lead to extensive litigation. For generations a large part of the Jezireh lands has been held by the nomad and semi-nomad tribes. The inhabitants of the villages within the tribal areas recognized the overlordship of the tribes and paid them tribute in return for protection. In times of inter-tribal warfare—

regular occurrences in the history of the Jezireh—the villages were always the first to suffer from the violence and highhandedness of the nomad tribes. At such periods the feeble beginnings of settled cultivation in the villages were often almost entirely wiped out. When passions had died down the remnants of the villagers usually returned to the district to rebuild their homesteads from the ruins. Together with these returning fellahin there came new immigrants from various parts of Syria, attracted from their less fortunate districts by the reputed fertility of the Jezireh. This fluctuating process of settlement prevented the cultivators from establishing themselves firmly on the land and from securing through uninterrupted holding traditional rights of permanent ownership. This explains why the sheikhs of the important tribes everywhere in the Jezireh appear as claimants to land. Rich and influential townsmen also acquired rights in the country and after the war often made investments in irrigation improvements, repair of ancient dykes, purchase of motor pumps, etc. Land registration proceeds very slowly in view of the complicated ownership rights and disputes. Thus, for instance, although the new land books were opened in 1921 only 3,780 hectares have been officially entered in the Jezireh.*

Until land registration is completed, which judging by the present pace will take a long time, the Government will not be in a position to ascertain definitely the extent of the state lands it owns. Land prices, which are generally very low, have shown a tendency to increase in recent years, in particular with the commencement of Assyrian settlement, especially in irrigable areas.

Population

References to the Jezireh are frequent in ancient Arab geographies. The district was conquered by 'Ayadh ibn Ghanam in the days of Caliph Omar and the height of its prosperity in the Arab era was reached in the days of the Abbasids. Agriculture was highly developed in those days, providing a livelihood to the inhabitants of hundreds of villages and towns. The well-known Arab geographer, al Mukaddasi, describes the Jezireh as a land veritably flowing with milk and honey, supplying the Arab Empire with choice foodstuffs, honey, butter, wheat, nuts and so forth. According to him, no other territory in the East could rival the Jezireh in the fertility of its soil or the abundance of its waters. But Jezireh's prosperity was short-lived.

* The total area of land registered for Syria and Lebanon up to December, 1933, was 1,399,464 hectares.

The freebooting Bedouin coming from the vast expanses of the neighbouring Syrian desert and the aggressiveness of the Kurds from the nearby hills on the northern borders constantly threatened the security of the farmers and traders in the cities and villages alike. With the decline of the power of the central authority in the Abbasid state, the rangers from the desert and the hills swooped down on the settled population to rob and plunder. The same fate as befell the cities and villages of Moab, Hauran, the Jordan Valley and the Plain of Jezreel also overtook the inhabitants of Jezireh. Some of them fell victim to the nomads and others, especially in the northern territory, were plundered by the Kurdish hillmen. In the fourteenth century, when the Kurds dominated the Jezireh, the famous Arab traveller Ibn Batutah found the district already waste and desolate and all its former flourishing villages and cities in ruins. The little that the Bedouins and the Kurds had left undestroyed was wiped out by Tamerlane. After the Turkish conquest, the Jezireh remained to all intents and purposes in the possession of the Kurd and the Bedouin. It never again managed to recapture the pristine glory of the days of the Hittites, the Parthians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, and of the Abbasids.

The population of the Jezireh, according to official sources, in 1934 was 209,531, of whom 144,645 were in the Euphrates district (33,800 in Deir ez Zor) and 64,886 in Jezireh district. The population of the Euphrates basin is spread among 284 villages and towns and in the Jezireh among 286 villages and towns.

Since 1934 the population of the Jezireh district has increased. This is in the main due to the growth of its towns, to progress in the settlement of the Bedouin, not all of whom were previously registered because of their well-known aversion to enumeration, and partly to the settlement of the Assyrians. The present population may be estimated at some 130,000.

The population falls into three main social categories of nomads, semi-nomads and settled communities in towns and villages. The two great nomad tribes are the Anezah and the Shammar, who live by camel and sheep breeding and do not engage in agriculture. The sheikh of the Shammar tribe, Mizar Abd el Mukhsin, owns a number of villages in the neighbourhood of Qamishli and Derbessieh, while the other sheikhs of this and the Anezah tribe hold tracts of land cultivated by fellahin tenants.

Apart from the Bedouin tribes, whose language is Arabic, there are

other nomad and semi-nomad tribes who speak Kurdish. The nomads and semi-nomads form the majority of the population and set the seal on the social and economic life of the territory. The Arabic-speaking nomads and semi-nomads, numbering some 60,000, are concentrated primarily in the Euphrates district. The Kurdish tribesmen, totalling about 40,000 souls, are found chiefly in the Jezireh region. The settled village population comprises chiefly Kurds and Christians, part of them Kurdish-speaking. The limitations imposed by the new frontiers on the former freedom and scope of tribal wanderings, the decline in the importance of camel and sheep breeding and the decay of agelong social foundations of the Bedouin's life have led to an increasing movement of the settlement of the Bedouin on the land. The semi-nomads are losing more and more of their Bedouin characteristics and taking on those of the fellahin. The only difference between the semi-nomads and the ordinary fellahin is that the former still live in tents and recognize the authority of the sheikhs, who to the outside world fulfil the rôle of *mukhtars* (village headmen) and internally embody the tribal link. The number of villages has increased considerably of late because of the settlement of semi-nomads who are now working their lands permanently. This movement is particularly noticeable in the Jezireh district and is less marked in the Euphrates district.

The towns, which are of importance not only for local trade but also for commercial exchanges with 'Iraq and Turkey, have recently shown some development. The position of Jezireh on the boundaries of three countries, the important roads which cross it and the Aleppo—Tell Kotchek (Baghdad) railway, have contributed to an increase in the urban population. The discovery of petroleum and the high hopes entertained for the early development of the Jezireh oil-fields have attracted a new and enterprising element to the country and it has concentrated in the towns.

An economically prominent section of the urban population are the artisans who supply the needs of the tribesmen and the neighbouring villages. Almost all the craftsmen, smiths, cobblers, etc., are Christians. Among the merchants Christian and Jews predominate. The most important of the cities is Deir ez Zor in the Euphrates district, the only city worthy of the name. The biggest of the cities in the Jezireh district proper are Qamishli and Hassejeh. The population of Deir ez Zor is estimated at 34,000, that of Qamishli at 20,000 and that of Hassejeh 10,000. The urban population includes Kurds, Arabs, Yezidis and Jews.

Kurds and Yezidis

From the point of view of both race and religion the population presents several interesting features. In the Jezireh district the Kurds and Kurdish-speaking elements form the predominant part of the population; in the Euphrates district the Arab-speaking communities are in the majority. In addition to small Armenian and Jewish communities,* the Jezireh district is a centre of the devil-worshipping sect of the Yezidis. Another unique element has recently been added with the arrival of the League of Nations settlements of Assyrians. Thus the population is divided into Moslems (Sunnis), Christians (Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Gregorians, Syrian Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Protestants, Jacobites, Nestorians), Yezidis and Jews. Arabic, Kurdish and lately Syriac are the three languages spoken. Apart from the Kurds, who number some 60,000 persons, Kurdish is spoken in the Jezireh district by about 16,000 Christians, 1,500 Yezidis and some 1,000 Jews. Syriac, a dialect of ancient Aramaic, the vernacular of Palestine at the beginning of the civil era, is the language of the some 9,000 Assyrians. Arabic is spoken by the Bedouin, the majority of the town-dwellers and by most of the Christian population of the Jezireh district and by practically the entire population of the Euphrates district.

The Kurds are a mixed race consisting of many tribes differing in type, appearance and customs. The Kurdish language (Kermanji) also varies and is spoken in the Jezireh in several dialects, differing among the tribesmen, the town-dwellers and the Yezidis. The Jezireh Kurds are noted for their bravery, energy and enterprise. The Kurdish tillers of the soil are superior to the Arab fellahin. Although not religious fanatics, the Kurds preserve jealously their customs and their language.

The relations between the Kurds and their Arab neighbours are not always of the friendliest. The Arabs regard the Kurds with suspicion since they do not observe many of the customs and ideas of the Arab code of tradition with regard, for instance, to such matters as tribal warfare, alliance, etc. The Kurds offer excellent material for any instigator of revolt or disturbance.

The Jezireh Kurds are not very favourably inclined towards the new national régime set up in Syria. They fought by various means against

* Jews in Jezireh number some 2,000 souls (1,500 in Qamishli and 500 in Hasceh). Some of them speak Kurdish, but the majority also speak Arabic; they are mainly engaged in commerce. After the war the community increased with immigration from Nissibin in Turkish territory.

the authorities' interference in what they regarded as their internal affairs. This was also the case in those districts of neighbouring countries where the Kurdish population is a strong element. The movement against the Damascus authorities in the Jezireh is headed by the sheikhs of the Kurdish tribes and the Aghas, the rich landowners. Effective allies were found among the Bedouin tribes, similarly unwilling to submit to the efforts of the Damascus Government to enforce the discipline of the new state. The Kurds provide an element of instability and fermentation in the Jezireh; the Kurdish problem in the province is a source of continual menace to the established authorities which may assume serious proportions in times of general unrest. The political position in the Jezireh is still not clear and the Damascus Government has not yet arrived at any *modus vivendi* with the inhabitants of the district, although the keenest efforts are being put forward with this end in view.

The Yezidis, who speak a Kurdish dialect, could be considered as a Kurdish element were it not for their religion, which distinguishes them sharply from both Kurds and Arabs. Most of the 1,500 Yezidis in Jezireh live near the Syria-Iraqi frontier in the neighbourhood of Jebel Sinjar, where they form the majority of the inhabitants. Most of them are cultivators, but there are skilled craftsmen among them. The number of nomads among the Yezidis is insignificant and is decreasing from year to year. Although the Yezidis are generally of a peaceful disposition, their unusual religious belief and fanaticism have often led to the interference of the authorities and clashes with the Moslem governors.*

According to some sources, the name Yezidi is derived from the Persian word "yazdan" meaning "god." According to another explanation, for long accepted among the Shiah, the word is connected with the name Yezid, Muawiyah's son and successor, by whose orders Hussein, the son of the Caliph Ali, was murdered. The Yezidi religion shows the influence of ancient Iranian and Assyrian beliefs and also of Manichæism and Nestorian beliefs. The Yezidis believe in the devil as the creative agent of the Supreme Power and as the reinstated angel of evil. They are forbidden to mention his name; he is referred to only as *Malik iTaus*, the king Peacock. The Yezidis are called worshippers of the devil by their Moslem neighbours and there is a deep hatred

* Thus, for instance, there was a serious flare-up leading to heavy loss of life a few years ago when the Yezidis in the 'Iraqi section of Jebel Sinjar rebelled against the Baghdad Government. Conscription tells hard on them.

between them. The headmen of the Yezidis, the Mirs, nobles of the tribe, manage all tribal affairs and are assisted by the religious teachers, the *Mullahs* and the *Qawals* (preachers).

The Christian inhabitants of the two districts of the Jezireh, who number some 75,000 souls, are divided into various sects mentioned above. Although the Latins form only a third of the Christian community in the Jezireh, they, more especially the Syrian Catholic Church, wield a major influence on their affairs. This is due to the assistance accorded to the Jezireh Catholics by the Syrian-Catholic Patriarch. A representative of the Church resides permanently in Hassejeh, which adds to the prestige of the Church in the eyes of the general population. Most of the Christians are engaged in trade and only a few of them are occupied in agriculture. The Christians are an important element in the official class because of their superior education. They represent one of the leading factors in the political life of the Jezireh district proper. There are a number of large landowners among the Christians in the cities of Hassejeh, Qamishli and Derbessieh.

The Assyrian settlement on the Khabur may have important results for the development of the district. Irrigation and drainage work has been undertaken in several localities, thus leading to an abatement of malaria from which all inhabitants of the district have hitherto greatly suffered. Agricultural instruction and medical supervision are concentrated in the hands of special officials under the auspices of the Assyrian Settlement Committee of the League of Nations. The Assyrian refugees numbered 2,100 in 1932, when they were first established on the Khabur. Their numbers were further increased to 6,100 in 1935 and, with the arrival of 2,500 refugees in 1936, the Assyrian population of the Jezireh now numbers about 9,000 souls.

Jeziroh Oilfields

This survey of the Jezireh may be fittingly concluded by reference to the most recent and the most significant development, the discovery of promising oilfields. It has been known for a long time that the Jezireh contains mineral resources of value, including sulphur deposits near Ras el Ain, gypsum deposits in the Euphrates Valley between Raqqa and Deir ez Zor, and others.* The most promising of its mineral wealth was for many years thought to be petroleum. Oil seepages have been long noted at Jebel Bishri near Deir ez Zor, and

* "Les Gisements Miniers et Mineraux des États du Levant sous mandat française," M. Aubert de la Rue, *Bulletin Économique de Syrie*, No. 17, 1932.

other oil indications have been found in various districts in Upper Jezireh, particularly in the Bec de Canard, representing the continuation of the same geological formation which has provided the rich sources of Mosul. Exploration by oil interests in recent years seems to have fully confirmed these expectations, and it may now be presumed that the Jezireh will one day prove the Mosul of Syria.

Prospecting carried out during the last few years by the 'Iraq Petroleum Company gave proof of the presence of oil, particularly in the south-west of the Bec de Canard, south of Hassejeh, in Jebel Abd el Aziz, near the junction of al Balikh River with the Euphrates and near Deir ez Zor. Oil was found in 140 wells drilled for investigation purposes and it is reported that most of them will be well worth commercial exploitation.

German interests have not been inactive, and the so-called Franco-Dutch Petroleum Company (in fact, a German concern) came into the field competing with the 'Iraq Petroleum Company in efforts to secure concession rights from the Syrian authorities. The Damascus Government not unnaturally expects the Jezireh oilfields to provide its exchequer with golden eggs in the same way as Mosul supplied 'Iraq. Protracted negotiations are still proceeding between the Government and prospective concessionaires, of whom the I.P.C. appears to be the most likely. These negotiations will probably be concluded before the Syro-French Treaty, setting up a Syrian state, is definitely ratified.

THE DIVINE MISSION OF JAPAN

By D. BOURKE BORROWES

THE possibility of the Japanese nation being imbued with the idea of a divine mission to impose on the world Japanese rule and institutions may seem, at first sight, to be fantastic. Nevertheless, a perusal of modern literature written by authors who have made a serious study of Japanese aims and ambitions all show that this idea does exist, and is actually an ever-growing force at the present time. Furthermore, there is plenty of evidence supporting this theory to be found in the statements of modern Japanese publicists.

There are three main elements contributing to the formation of this national idea. The first and basic element is to be found in the divine creation of Japan as taught in every Japanese school and presumably accepted by the vast majority of the population. According to Japanese mythology the last generation of gods consisted of a brother and sister, Iznagi and Iznami, who were united in marriage. From this alliance arose the Japanese islands and numerous other gods and goddesses. On another occasion Iznagi was bathing in a stream and from his discarded clothing arose a number of divinities, including the sun-goddess Ama-terasu, from whom it is claimed that the present Imperial Japanese family is directly descended. After a long series of events, strongly coloured with the miraculous, we come to the first Emperor or Mikado, who was awarded the name and title of Jimma Tenno fourteen centuries after his presumed decease, which is believed to have taken place 2,500 years ago. He is said to have predicted the divine mission of Japan in an Imperial Rescript in which he stated that "we shall build our capital all over the world and make the whole world our dominion." The first period, generally accepted as historical in the ordinary sense of the word, is that following the conversion of the Japanese nation to Buddhism, which occurred between the years A.D. 552-621, together with the introduction of Chinese civilization and culture. It is remarkable that, since the Restoration in 1867 and the subsequent establishment of the modern Japanese Empire, the Japanese Government, so modern in many of its ideas, should have invariably insisted on strict national orthodoxy on questions concerning the past history of Japan.

The second element contributing towards the development of this national idea is the position occupied by the Emperor of Japan and the Imperial family. It may be stated that the history of this family is extraordinary and unique in the world. Ignoring a previous period of more than one thousand years which is full of myths and legends, it is certain that this family has existed and that it has furnished occupants to the Japanese throne since the fifth or sixth centuries A.D., though not always in direct descent—that is to say, for the last 1,300 years or so. Even at that remote date the family was considered to be of immemorial antiquity. It is therefore obvious that, as far as age is concerned, there is no parallel in the genealogical history of the world. From the seventh century A.D. onwards, with one or two intermissions, the government of Japan was carried on by a series of powerful families which usurped the power, while the Emperors reigned as highly venerated puppet-monarchs. At the restoration in 1867 the rule of the last family of Shoguns or “generalissimos” came to an end and the Emperor was restored to his position as actual head of the State, although taking little or no executive part in the administration. From this time onwards the veneration of the Emperor’s person has steadily increased until it has reached the stage of deification, and the Emperor is now regarded as a kind of god charged with the duty of leading Japan on its divine mission in the world.

The remarkable spread and development of this cult amongst all classes in Japan can be clearly realised from the writings of various publicists and is especially strong in all kinds of school-books. The remark of Prince Ito in his “Commentaries on the Constitution,” which was granted in 1889, that “the sacred throne was established at the time when the heavens and the earth became separated. The Emperor is heaven-descended, divine, and sacred,” is reproduced in the standard “History for Middle Schools.” Baron Oura, a former Cabinet Minister, wrote, “The majesty of our Imperial House towers high above everything to be found in the world and it is as durable as heaven and earth.” Professor Shinkichi Uyesugi, of the Tokyo Imperial University Law Faculty, proclaims that “the standard of justice and injustice, of right and wrong, is to be fixed by the Imperial Will.” Prominent Japanese of various classes preach this doctrine, and those who do not conform to this are liable to suffer severe penalties. As early as 1892 Professor B. H. Chamberlain noted that Professor Kume was dismissed from his chair at Tokyo University “for no other offence than that of writing critically on the subject of the early

Mikados." In recent years Baron Nakashima was forced to resign his post as Minister of Commerce and Professor Minobe his membership of the House of Peers for similar reasons.

The third and last element requiring consideration is the part played by religion in propagating this national idea. There can be little doubt that the rise of Japanese Imperialism has brought about a corresponding increase of nationalism and aggression in the Shinto religion. This peculiar institution, which passed through various stages of evolution and adaptation from animism and mythology, through Buddhism, up to its establishment after the restoration as a state religion, is now playing an increasing part in the spread of the idea of Japan's divine mission in the world. The holy script of the Tenrikyo sect of Shinto, claiming several million adherents, reveals that "when Japan shall be empowered with the Holy Faith, she will pacify other peoples as seems good to her; they have hitherto been called Japan and foreign lands, hereafter they shall be naught but Japan." Shinto, formerly a strictly indigenous cult of Japan, is now changing with the times.

The divine mission of Japan is now directly based on what is known as "the Imperial Principle." A description of this latest manifestation of Japanese national aspirations has been given in the writings of Japanese military authorities. In a long article published in *Kaikōsha*, the Army Club's monthly, General Araki—at that time Minister of War—when dealing with the general situation in Eastern Asia, wrote that "the Imperial Principle of the Japanese nation, which is the aggregate of the true spirit underlying the very foundation of the State and the national ideal of the Japanese, is by its nature a thing which must be propagated over the seven seas and extended over the five continents." In another article, published in pamphlet form by the Japanese army authorities in 1935, it was stated that "Asia is the home of the Asiatics, it is the 'life-line' of the Asiatic races, but it is not a sphere of life and death importance for the European races. . . . All the peoples of the earth are brothers and they should love and assist one another. . . . To exalt this moral principle and to bring together all the races of the earth into one happy accord has been the ideal of the national aspirations of the Japanese since the very foundation of this Empire. We deem this the great mission of the Japanese race in the world." Professor Fujisawa, in his book *Japanese and Oriental Political Philosophy*, informs his readers that Japan has received a divine mission and that Japan alone can "pave the way to

final world peace and international co-operation." Unfortunately, recent Japanese actions in China, taken in conjunction with declarations made by Japanese Ministers, leave little doubt that the first stage in the fulfilment of Japan's divine mission will be to establish complete political, military, and economic domination throughout the Far East. To accomplish this, however, it will be necessary for Japan to eliminate Russia by the capture of the Russian Maritime Provinces. As long as Vladivostok stands out like a spearhead Japan's ambitions can never be fully realized.

Two functions took place not long before the outbreak of war. At the time of publication of the last number of the Journal the uncertainties of the month precluded their publication.

I.—ANNUAL DINNER

LORD LLOYD presided at the Society's Dinner, held on July 6 at Grosvenor House.

After the Loyal Toast had been honoured, the President proposed the health of the principal guest, the Rt. Hon. Malcolm MacDonald.

The PRESIDENT said: My agreeable duty to-night is to welcome on behalf of the Royal Central Asian Society our chief guest, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. We welcome him not only as an important member of the Cabinet, but more especially as one charged with responsible duties, the resolution of which affects areas vitally and perhaps permanently in which this Society is deeply and keenly interested.

It might seem to-day that the Foreign Secretary is charged with greater anxieties and a heavier load than anybody in His Majesty's Government. I should not like to say that is not so. I think that any one of us would be glad to escape from the terrible burden that lies on his very capable shoulders. The Chancellor of the Exchequer—everybody is demanding money to-day both in and out of this country—might distressfully say:

“The time is out of joint: O cursed spite,
That ever I was born to set it right!”

But the Colonial Secretary, who works sometimes more quietly, has, quite apart from Palestine and urgent affairs of that kind, responsibilities so vast that if one really dares to look at a map one's mind is absolutely bewildered at them, and one wonders what history will say of the Empire that thrust upon one man's shoulders the responsibility for so many lives and so many vast interests.

To us in this Society to-day, we feel, I think, that the moment is terribly his. Take Islam alone; Islam is undergoing enormous and vast changes, the measure of which very few people realize because of the silence with which they are being undertaken. I was speaking to another audience only the other night, a private audience, reminding them that to-day all the whole inexhaustible stores of Islamic learning

and knowledge were being recovered from obscurity, were being re-edited and brought up to date and their ancient law modernized and applied to the circumstances of to-day. In the El-Azhar University, for instance, are students from every part of the world, from China, from Malaya. Something was happening in Islam that we needed to take into very urgent account.

When the Palestine question, on the one hand, is being considered, or the great Moslem difficulties with regard to the Hindu Raj in India on the other, and when in reference to those two we consider that in ten, fifteen or twenty years' time there is going to emerge a new edition of Islam with added strength and all the power of a great religion and learning, people like our guest to-night will have to consider and plan how the British Empire, its sympathies, its attitude, is going to conform and be regarded by the new Islam.

So in considering these new questions in India and Palestine, I hope that our guest will not forget the enormous changes that are taking place and the importance of our taking stock of them in time.

But apart from all that, he knows that Colonial government as such to-day is virtually at a standstill—that is to say, a new stage in the epoch of Crown Colony government has got to be faced. If I were to use a vulgar phrase to-day I should say that Crown Colony government was only ticking over. Something of the old urge has gone out of it; the new has not come in. There is a kind of paralysis over practically the whole face of Crown Colony government, not the fault of any particular Government but the fault of the circumstances of the day and of the systems of to-day.

I have only to say this, that I think that in these great happenings we are fortunate—and I am not speaking now as the after-dinner speaker must in any case speak of his chief guest, I am speaking from personal experience when I say that I think we are very fortunate to have Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in the Colonial Office chair to-day. (Applause.) The patience with which he bears with untimely visitors who constantly go to see him on many matters; the skill he has attained in listening to people who come to him from every part of the world (and it is the greatest skill of all to listen); the courageous calm with which he is facing some of the great difficulties at the moment—all these justify me in commending him to the welcome of this great expert Society to-night, who I think have chosen well and are fortunate in having secured the presence of Mr. Malcolm MacDonald at this year's Dinner.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I give you the toast of H.M. Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald.

When the toast had been honoured, Mr. MALCOLM MACDONALD replied: I count it a very great honour to have been invited to be your guest this evening. It is also a pleasure to escape for an evening from those talks which Lord Lloyd has described and to spend it in this distinguished company. I must thank you, Lord Lloyd, for the much too kind words in which you have welcomed me here this evening.

I confess that I feel a little bit embarrassed in beginning this speech, because I have suffered so often myself from listening to a multitude of after-dinner orations, and I hold certain strict views as to the rules to which an after-dinner speech should conform. First and foremost, it should be brief, very brief. As a work of art it should be a short story rather than a novel, a sonnet and not a saga. Personally I think that its maximum span, measured by the clock, should be seven minutes, but my instructions this evening are to speak for twenty minutes.

There is another rule to which I think an after-dinner speech should conform, and that is that it should be as nearly as possible non-controversial. The orator should remember that he is speaking just after dinner. His audience—especially if they are the members and the guests of the Royal Central Asian Society at the Annual Dinner—have just had a sumptuous repast amidst the most pleasant company. It is a moment when their minds and their spirits should not feel outraged, and people who are still in the process of digesting their food should not be made to choke with rage at the remarks of the orator. Therefore, as I say, an after-dinner speech should be as nearly as possible non-controversial.

Well, I think I have got to break that golden rule this evening also, because I am ordered to speak about Palestine. It would be possible, of course, to speak for twenty minutes about Palestine and not to utter a single word with which any one of you would disagree. I could say that that unhappy country presents a difficult, and vexing, and contrary problem. I could continue by saying that we are seeking a policy which will be agreed between the Arabs and the Jews, and I could go on to add that we should leave no stone unturned and no avenue unexplored to discover that policy.

But the moment that one says anything that is not a platitude, the moment that one utters a single word that is worth while about Palestine, one plunges headlong into a raging sea of controversy.

So I am afraid that I shall break all the canons of perfect after-dinner speaking to-night.

But what I would do is to say something about one of the main principles which played a great part with me and a great part with H.M. Government in determining the policy of Palestine which we recently announced. Of course, there are a hundred and one different considerations which have to be taken into account, and each one of them given its just weight in deciding what is the wise solution for that complex and stubborn problem. I touched very briefly on some of those considerations in a speech which I made recently in the House of Commons, which lasted for one hour, and in the speeches which I made recently before the Permanent Mandates Commission which lasted for three days. To-night I am only going to refer to one aspect.

In politics we have got to hold firmly to certain fundamental principles and let them guide us through every problem and in all circumstances. Unless we do that, we become mere opportunists, who are driven hither and thither, and are ultimately lost in a maze of conflicting influences.

There is one great political principle, in which I think the British people believe almost above all others. Let me state it first negatively. Might is not right. Great changes between different peoples should not be brought about by the method of physical force. If we were to adopt that method, then it would breed only enmity, hatred and counterforce, and the affairs of mankind would become ever more deteriorated and more chaotic.

Of course, there must be changes. Human society and international society are not static; they are dynamic. But whatever great changes between peoples may be desirable should be brought about by the civilized method of an exercise of reasoning, by discussion, by negotiation, by give and take and by agreement.

What has that principle got to do with recent history in Palestine? I know that there are many people who say that the policy which we have just announced is the very negation of the principle which I referred to; that it is itself an example of surrender to physical force as wielded by the Arab terrorists in Palestine.

I do not think that is true. I think that is a very superficial judgment. I do not think that that argument can properly be maintained.

In the first place, let me draw your attention to a certain comparison. At the beginning of this year we were engaged not in one set of negotiations with Arab representatives, but in two sets of

negotiations with Arab representatives. The first was with the Chief Minister of H.H. the Emir Abdullah with regard to the future of Transjordan, and the second was with the representatives of the Palestine Arabs with regard to the future of Palestine. What was the result of those two sets of negotiations?

At the end of the negotiations about Transjordan we reached an agreement as a result of which the people of that country are carried a very considerable way along the road to independence. In the very near future, for instance, they will have a Council of Arab Ministers who will preside over every single department of State.

Why was it that the British Government felt able to reach an agreement so advantageous to Transjordan? Of course I do not pretend for a moment that the problem in Transjordan is not much simpler, infinitely simpler, than the problem in Palestine. Nevertheless, one of the reasons why we felt able to do that in the case of Transjordan was that during these difficult years the people of Transjordan have shown that they can maintain the peace. (Applause.) They have shown the regard they have for law and order. Their ruler has shown his capacity for good government, and the movement for reform in Transjordan has flowed in constitutional channels. That was one of the great reasons why the Arab negotiators in that case attained their ends.

But what happened in the case of the Palestine leaders? Many of them have adopted very different methods. They have organized a campaign of violence and terrorism, and in their negotiations in London they were not so successful. Indeed, at the end of those negotiations it was decided that the individual whom we regard as the prime mover in this campaign of physical force should be excluded indefinitely from Palestine, and those responsible for adopting the method of physical force in Palestine have not gained their ends.

But there is another aspect of this matter. What has impressed the British Government during these years has been the political force of public opinion in Palestine. There has been a steady growth amongst the Arab population, amongst Moderates as well as others, of opposition to a continuation of enforced Jewish immigration.

I tell you frankly British Governments have always hoped that that movement of opposition, which was quite natural in the beginning, would be voluntarily checked. We hoped that, as a result of the great material development of the country, which was carried out by a brilliant host of Jewish immigrants, and as a result of the material benefits

which came to Arabs and Jews alike in consequence of that, gradually this initial Arab opposition would be changed into reconciliation and approval and even welcome of their immigrating partners into Palestine.

But that has not happened. I do not need to analyze the reasons why it has not, but the fact is—and anybody who honestly faces the situation in Palestine has got to recognize the fact—that Arab opposition to imposed immigration has become a national movement. (Applause.)

We could go on facilitating Jewish immigration. The British Empire has got the power to do it. Indeed, we are going to continue doing it for five years. We have got certain obligations. But we could not continue that policy indefinitely unless we accepted the principle of rule by physical force. Quite apart from the fact that such policy would produce endless strife and damage between the two communities in Palestine, the adoption of that policy would also be absolutely contrary to that great principle of policy which I have already referred to, that vital changes between and amongst peoples should not be made by physical force but by the method of reason, discussion, negotiation and friendly agreement.

Surely that principle lies at the root of our foreign policy to-day. Its observance is absolutely essential if we are going to have a progressive civilization. We stand for that principle of change not by force but by consent and by agreement in Europe; and if we stand for that principle in Europe, how can we possibly stand for the very opposite principle in Palestine? (Applause.)

That is one of the reasons why we have decided that at the end of another five years the policy on immigration and on other important matters in Palestine must be the subject of consultation and agreement between the Arab people and the Jewish people and the British authorities in Palestine.

I have no illusions that this new policy is going to bring immediate peace in Palestine. I do not think it is likely to bring peace even in the near future. I do not believe there is any policy that we could announce that would bring a restoration of order in Palestine in the immediate future. The enmity and the bitterness of the last few years have gone far too deep for that, and there are people on both sides who believe in the method of violence and change by force. I say the British Government is not going to be influenced one bit in its policy by the actions of those people. But on both sides there are tremendous

forces of moderation and reason, and I am quite certain that when those forces are allowed to prevail again, then the logic of facts will bring an agreement between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine.

If we could achieve that in due course, then the benefits of that, the good results of that, would have their influence, as the President has said, in the world beyond Palestine. The good results would spread into parts of Central Asia itself. I am happy that, if the British authorities should ever achieve that, it will give satisfaction to the members of this Society who are so keenly and expertly interested in these affairs. You are a great company of travellers and explorers, workers and writers, who are interested in Central Asian affairs.

In your professional hours, if I may so describe them, this company has added immensely to our knowledge and our understanding of Central Asia, and therefore has added very greatly for me and for a multitude of others to the enjoyment of life on this earth, because it is one of the most fascinating of all quarters of the globe.

It is with the very greatest possible pleasure that I find myself here as your guest to-night, and that I have the privilege of proposing the toast of the Society. I am going to couple it with the name of the very distinguished Chairman, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, and I give you the toast of the Royal Central Asian Society.

Field-Marshal Sir PHILIP CHETWODE, replying for the Society and giving the toast of "The Guests," said: It is not often that this Society has the good fortune to get a Cabinet Minister to come here and disclose his innermost thoughts about the policy of the Government with reference to the great Department over which he presides, and in that I think we are very fortunate indeed.

He told you that he got orders to speak for twenty minutes, and he has fulfilled his task. I am going to be as brief as I can.

My first task is to allude very briefly to the remainder of our distinguished guests and to one of our members. We have here Mr. Harold Nicolson. (Applause.) He was born in Persia; he understands and loves that country. He took up a diplomatic career, which gave him the insight to write, as many of you know, three very brilliant books indeed, which in a sense tell us about pre-war diplomacy, the diplomacy of the Treaty year, and post-war diplomacy. He is a very brilliant man, and we confidently look to further brilliance from him and a brilliant career.

We have also Sir Richmond Palmer here, who perhaps is one of our

most brilliant colonial administrators. (Applause.) He was Governor at Gambia. He has spent five years now as Governor of Cyprus, and there is nobody who has been there lately who does not say that he has altered the whole of that island. He is not afraid, if he thinks it right, to do what may be unpopular.

Then we have as our other guest Sir Frank Brown. Sir Frank Brown, as all of us know, has been long in India and is a distinguished Press man, attached to our own *Times* and the *Times of India*. He is now the Hon. Secretary of, I will not say our rival Society, I will say our sister Society, the East India Association.

We have among us one or two private guests whom I would like to allude to. We have General Sir R. Adam, who is now Deputy-Chief of the Imperial General Staff—and I do not envy him his task. He has rather more work than most of us would imagine.

I must mention also Sir Gervase Thorpe and General Turner. Then we have a very interesting person in Sir Thomas Russell, well known as Russell Pasha, probably the most distinguished and certainly the most vigorous Chief of Police that Egypt has ever known. He will go down to history as the man who has succeeded in, if not abolishing, at any rate in grappling with, the greatest evil of modern times in Egypt—the appalling drug traffic.

Turning now to our own members here, first of all may I allude to Their Excellencies the Iraq Minister and the Sa'udi-Arabian Minister. (Applause.) They are members of our own Society. I should also like to refer to Professor Creswell, who is now engaged in completing a monumental work on Moslem architecture, which I am told will be the standard work for many years.

I should like also to refer to Mr. and Mrs. Ingram, who are still in the Hadhramaut and therefore cannot receive the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal, which has been awarded to them jointly.

We also note with pleasure the presence of Mr. Gerald Reitlinger, the author of a recent book called *South of the Clouds*. Finally, all members would wish me to offer our thanks to the staff.

Now two words about our Society. We have had a very successful year on the whole. As you know, the big thing we have done this year is to move from our old quarters into 8, Clarges Street. It has cost us a good deal of money, but a very kind person gave us a very handsome cheque towards the expenses of the move. However, like all private individuals and all societies now, we are suffering from want of money, and I do beg all members of the Society to do what they possibly can

to introduce new members during this year. We are not quite making both ends meet, and it will make a great difference if we can get a few dozen more regular members.

We are living in amazing times, and no one—certainly not myself—would like to guarantee that we shall meet here in this pleasant gathering next year, but I would like to suggest as my own opinion that we shall.

Nothing would induce me as an old soldier to prophesy what will happen if we do come to war, except that sea-power will win in the end, whoever keeps it.

When I am confronted by pessimists—as I am every day in my own household—I like to do what our soldiers are taught to do when we are up against an enemy. We are not taught to say first what we are going to do and what will happen to us. We are told to throw our minds—if we have that capacity—over to the other side and put ourselves in the mind of our enemy, and try to imagine what he is thinking about. That is what I have had to do all my life. I like to peep over Hitler's shoulder sometimes. If I had peeped over his shoulder last September, I should have seen a great amount on the credit side and not much on the debit side. If I peeped over now, I should see that week by week and month by month little bits come off his credit side and are added to the other side.

We have a wonderful advantage, that Hitler has adopted the Prussian characteristic of making enemies everywhere. We have seen to-day that he is making enemies of his unfortunate German friends who have been living in Italy. He has ordered them to leave everything and go back to Germany. I think he must have read a book I heard mentioned the other day, called *Our Dumb Friends: How to Kill, Skin and Stuff Them*.

Ladies and gentlemen, I give you the toast of "Our Guests," coupled with the names of Sir Richmond Palmer and Mr. Harold Nicolson.

The Hon. HAROLD NICOLSON replied for the guests: I feel that Sir Richmond Palmer and myself are much indebted to the Field-Marshal for the magnificent self-control with which he repressed his natural, and perhaps justifiable, suspicion of all civilians, and coupled this toast with the name of a great civilian administrator and of a renegade diplomatist.

He was so kind as to avoid—except at one moment when I was glad to see that with the utmost tact and delicacy he checked himself—

any reference to politicians, a subject which, I understand, is as a red rag to the bull.

And he was so kind, in applying to Richmond Palmer the great virtues that he possesses, as to add what is, in fact, almost the only qualification I have for responding to this toast—namely, that on November 21, 1886, my first plaint burst upon the Bactrian air, in that I was born on that day in Teheran. I must say that I regard that achievement as not only a most important event in my biography, but as something which even the achievements of the Field-Marshal can scarcely equal.

I have long indulged in the theory—which I believe to be quite incorrect, but I shall continue to indulge in that theory—that under the laws of Iran I have the privilege of being an Iranian citizen. I once exercised this privilege. Years ago in Constantinople when there was a strike of the porters, I appealed as an Iranian citizen to the Persian Ambassador, who for some odd reason maintained and exercised a mystic power upon all the lighterage and portorage of the port of Constantinople. At that moment a large van of wedding presents had arrived from London, and I was anxious to obtain the contents of this van and to put them in my house before a party which I was about to give. I went as an Iranian citizen by birth to the Persian Ambassador and put to him this delicate proposition. The Ambassador summoned the leaders of the, so to speak, trade union of the dockers, and appealed to them not to let a fellow-countryman down, with the result that that van was delivered within half an hour.

But I would not dream in such a company to advance so slender a connection between myself and the Royal Central Asian Society were it not that I have a more intimate connection with your Society, in that my father—nobly controlled by Miss Kennedy, I am sure—was for several years Chairman of this Society. (Applause.)

Nor would I dare to-night to indicate any connection, however slight, with that great continent in the presence of one who is, perhaps, the greatest Central Asian that we have ever known, in the presence of Sir Aurel Stein. (Applause.) Sir Aurel has shown us not merely that it is possible to pass into what we may call later middle age without losing the energies or the audacities of youth; he has shown us that it is possible to combine extreme scholarly precision with tremendous adventurism; and he has shown us, I think, that when you reach a certain degree of exploration, of science, of scholarship, you become not merely the member of one particular race or country, but you become

an international and a world figure. We should always welcome home here and welcome in this Society the presence of that most indomitable man. (Applause.)

The only subject on which I can, in responding for the guests, speak at all this evening is the subject of my native country, my country by birth. I think all of us who have lived in Persia, even those who have not had the privilege of being born in Persia, find a curious common phenomenon—namely, that tug at the heart which comes as an absolute homesickness for that amazing country. It is one of the most curious phenomena that I know among Central Asian travellers. I am told that you get it for China. I have not been to China. I have been to many other countries. But I know I am not alone in experiencing that strange nostalgia for Persia which assails us for ever once we have been there.

I believe that eight hundred years ago there was a fellow-countryman, a fellow-Iranian of mine, who conducted what I trust was a most successful business as a tent-maker in Nishapur. This man, who evidently did not pay very much attention to tent-making, was interested in mathematics, and, in fact, became the greatest mathematician of his day. He was one of those few scientists, one of the very few that I have ever heard of, whose interest in mathematics did not deprive him of an interest in life. Thus in the intervals of toying with the differential calculus he wrote verses which are much esteemed to this day in Cheltenham and the Hampstead Garden Suburb, but which I regret to say are derided in Iran. These poems, as you know, were translated by a curious vegetarian called Fitzgerald, but he missed out what I consider the best line that Omar Khayyám ever wrote. It occurs—don't be alarmed, I am not going to break into my native language—in one of the quatrains, and Fitzgerald never noticed it. It is thus:

“The more I know of life, the more I wonder at it,
And out of life I have learnt nothing,
Except my own amazement at it.”

I think that if Omar Khayyám could rise from his recently restored grave and could come back to his own country to-day, he would be astonished that after a silence of two thousand years that great country is bursting with renewed energy, that the sap is beginning to flow again in branches which all the world thought were dead, and that a strange vitality is arising in that country which may lead—I hope will lead—to very great things.

You referred, my Lord President, to the vast and tremendous

changes which are taking place in the East to-day. I believe that the great value of this august Society resides, of course, in many things, but above all in this: On the one hand, you keep experience up to date. You have here many experts on Central Asian affairs, who have retired possibly from active participation in the events of that continent, but who are able through contacts established by this Society, through the admirable Journal which you publish, to keep track of the new movements, the dynamic forces, the great currents which are passing over the lands which they once knew so well and in which they lived.

Nor is that all. The young men, the people who are out there to-day, can come back and can dip the red-hot iron of their excitement in the cool waters of your experience. They can learn from you that, however great the rush of this great Islamic movement to which you referred, however dynamic, however spectacular it may seem to them at the moment, they can learn when they come here that these things have happened before, that perhaps this is more energetic and vital than any previous movement, but that their enthusiasm, their excitement, must be tempered by the recollection that Central Asia is an older thing than Great Britain, and that in passage of time, in the silence of those two thousand years, similar excitements have arisen before.

I think that is the great value of your Society, that the excitement of youth comes to stimulate the experience of the aged; and the scepticism, I think we must say, of the more aged comes to temper the gullibility of youth.

Finally, there is another, perhaps lesser, but no less valuable, service which you can perform—that of a safety-valve. I do not believe that any country can be powerful, great, progressive, or expanding unless it accumulates far more steam than it needs for the actual rotation of its machine. That steam can become dangerous. This accumulated pressure of condensation, this condensation of steam, finds in a Society such as this, as it finds in Chatham House in another way, a marvellous safety-valve through which it can escape without doing any damage at all to the mechanism of the State.

It is for those reasons, my Lord President, that with great gratitude to you for this most interesting evening, and with great obedience to the instructions of my immediate chief, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, who tells us that nobody must speak for more than seven minutes, that on Sir Richmond Palmer's behalf and my own, as well as that of the other guests, I thank you most warmly for having drunk our health. (Applause.)

II.—PRESENTATION OF THE REPLICA OF THE LAWRENCE OF ARABIA MEMORIAL MEDAL TO THE ROYAL AIR FORCE COLLEGE, CRANWELL

ON July 29, when Lord Gort, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, conducted the passing-out inspection of the Cranwell Cadets, Sir Percy Sykes presented a replica of the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal to the College on behalf of the Royal Central Asian Society.

“GENERAL LORD GORT, LADIES, AIR VICE-MARSHAL BALDWIN AND CADETS OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE COLLEGE, on behalf of the Council of the Royal Central Asian Society, I have the honour to hand to you, Sir, as Commandant of the Royal Air Force College, this replica of the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal. Instituted to keep alive the memory of that truly heroic officer, who described the conquest of the air as ‘the biggest thing to do in the world to-day,’ it is awarded annually for work done in Asia that is of exceptional importance to the British Empire. The Council of the Society, I would mention, lays special stress on the risks that have been run in the accomplishment of such work. In conclusion, may I express the hope, Sir, that the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal may, in the not distant future, be awarded to a member of the Royal Air Force.” (Applause.)

The replica has been hung in the ante-room to the Senior Class of the College.

REVIEWS

La Politique Islamique d'Allemagne. By B. Vernier. Paris: Centre d'Études de Politique Étrangère. Sect. d'Information Pub. 15. 1939. Ed. Hartmann.

Those who were in any way connected with political affairs in the Middle East during the last war have good cause to remember the names and activities of Niedermayer and Wassmuss, and are no doubt wondering what plans Germany has made for the continuation of their work in the present war. The publication of this book is therefore timely. The author has, under the auspices of the Centre d'Études Islamique Asiatique Étrangère, made a careful study of the agencies through which German propaganda is being carried on in the Middle East and in North Africa and the shape which their propaganda is taking. He has little difficulty in showing that German activities throughout this area have become during the past few years much more intense and widespread than in the period prior to the outbreak of war in 1914. At that time propaganda was haphazard and lacking in co-ordination, while the number of Germans in the area was comparatively small and insufficiently equipped for their work. Since 1924, however, when Germany began once more to take an active interest in the affairs of the Middle East and the *Drang nach Osten* regained its former place in Government policy, no effort has been spared in expanding German influence by every possible means. Nazi cells have been organized wherever German colonies exist, full use has been made of archæological and other learned missions, and there is reason to believe that advantage has often been taken of some expelled from Germany, but hoping in return for services rendered to save at any rate part of their possessions from confiscation. Military missions to countries such as Turkey and Afghanistan have also played an important part. The most effective and the most widely used medium is that of economic penetration. What traveller in the Middle East during the last ten years has not been struck by the number of German business men, engineers, and chemists that he has found in every hotel he has stayed in? And there is evidence that a large proportion of them have been carefully trained in the political side of their duties before they left Germany. Societies interesting themselves in Middle Eastern affairs have multiplied rapidly during the past few years, and readily place all their information and resources at the disposal of business houses or individuals interested in those parts. Furthermore, Germany has obtained much favour by her support of the industrialization plans of many of these countries. In this connection experts have readily been placed at the disposal of governments or firms to help in the preparation of plans and specifications; ample opportunities have been afforded for the training of young technicians from these countries in Germany free of charge or at a nominal

cost. Such persons return to their own countries speaking German as their only foreign language, imbued with German ideas and methods, and able to obtain their technical information only from German textbooks. They form, therefore, valuable sources of German influences—economic, cultural, and political. In this respect England has been sadly unresponsive. Those living in the Middle East have not failed to urge upon the British Government and upon British industry the importance of making some arrangement whereby such persons might receive training in this country on terms not less favourable than those offered by Germany, but results have been negligible, and as a result German influences have been allowed to spread through these *media* from one country to another, while many valuable orders have been lost to British industry.

In spite of these efforts, however, German ideas have not been accepted without question. While it is true that the Jewish policy in Palestine has given Germans and Arabs a community of interest in that small area, it has not escaped the Arabs in general that German racial claims are in direct conflict with the Semitic origin of the Arabs, the more so as this fact has been stressed on innumerable occasions in German books and in German speeches to which the Arab world has had access. In Turkey, too, the vehemence of German propaganda and incautious speeches have on occasion produced violent reaction in the Turkish Press and in the public utterances of national leaders. This distrust of German intentions has expanded during recent months as German acts of aggression against her weaker neighbours have followed one another in rapid succession, and, as the author sums up the situation, the countries of the Islamic world are beginning more and more to realize that their interests lie rather in bringing to fruition the system of mutual collaboration sponsored by the Western democracies than in lending themselves as tools for the expansion of German influence.

Carefully compiled and containing much information not otherwise readily obtainable and many references, this book sets out clearly German methods of penetration in the Middle East and North Africa, and makes it clear that their preparations for causing trouble to the Allies in that area have been more carefully made than they were before the outbreak of the last war. As the war progresses, therefore, we may expect a number of successors of Wassmuss and Niedermayer to make their presence felt.

J. B. M.

Publication of the Institute for Spreading Information about the East. Editor, A. P. Barannikov. Academy of Science, U.S.S.R. Leningrad. 1939.

This journal is in three sections: historical, literary, linguistic. In connection with the second it is interesting to note that Soviet thought, as represented here (we are told this in the article "The Present State of Studies on Mongolian Literature Abroad," by N. Poppé), draws a sharp distinction between what they call "artistic literature" and literature proper—by which they mean anything in writing—and when the term is used throughout the

journal it usually means any sort of national document. The Institute is interested in bringing any of these to light because, we are told in the article cited above, any "literary"—in our sense and theirs—production is the property and also weapon of a given class, and, while admitting and even pointing out that Buddhism is the one cultural meeting-point for the various communities of Central Asia, "the stalk on which the literature and culture hangs," they are anxious to offset this "lamaistic, backward culture" by a truer Mongolian national spirit.

The other article in the literary section, "The Formula of Negative Comparison in Ancient Arabic Poetry" (I. Kratchkovskij), has no moral to point out or social axe to grind.

In the historical section there is interesting and hitherto unpublished material, from Russian and Chinese archives, in the account of "Biyanhou, the Chief of the Dungan Insurrection of 1862-77" (I. Dumann). Letters are given from the long and heated correspondence between the Manchurian authorities and the Russian—the latter refusing to hand over the rebel, and the former so anxious to have him, dead or alive, that they even raided his burial-ground many years later. Still in the historical section we have a picturesque "Anonymous Syrian Chronicle on the Sassanids" (N. Pigoulevskaya). "From the death of Choesroes, son of Hormuzd, to the end of the Persian Kingdom." The text was first published by Guido, and there exists a German translation by Noeldeke (1893). The translation into Russian given here reads well. As the article points out, the Syrians knew Greek and Persian and understood both worlds. The information they give is not to be found either in the Byzantine chronicles or the Arab histories.

Both in the linguistic and the historical sections there is fresh and valuable material for the study of the language of Chorasmia ("The Language of Chorasmia," A. Freimann; "New Sources for the Study of the Language of Chorasmia," S. Voline). The Institute has in its possession a manuscript, unknown to Brockelmann, who mentions the existence of only one that is older (one of 1325, now in Cairo). The manuscript is a composition expounding the ancient laws in Arabic, with an explanation attached—in the nature of a lexicon—of the words that are in the Chorasmian language in the text; these words are mostly legal terms *re* divorce, ritual cleanliness, inheritance, etc.

Other articles in the linguistic section are: "Material for the Study of the Arabic Dialects of Central Asia" (C. Tseretelli), with text and translation of a fairy story; two articles on inscriptions—"A Runic Inscription" (A. Bernstamm), "A Sogdian Inscription of Old Merv" (A. Freimann)—and a careful review of the position of the Urdu, Hindi, and Hindustani languages, their origin and development ("Problem of Hindi Prose," A. Barannikov). This article covers no new ground, draws on the work of Grierson, Grahame Bailey, Ram Babu Saksena, and Chatterji, and indignantly refutes the claim put forward by Grierson that the Hindi language was "invented" by the English, and also withdrawn by him: "It was desired to create a Hindustani for the use of Hindus, and this was recreated by taking Urdu, the only form then known, as the basis . . .," although,

the writer points out, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* the claim still stands : "The Hindi form of Hindustani was invented simultaneously with Urdu prose by the teachers of Fort William." The article ends on the injunction that the good work begun by Lalli Ji Lal of developing and preserving a literary Hindi language should continue, insisting at the same time that the introduction of Sanskrit elements into Hindi by contemporary "bourgeois" authors is to make the literature incomprehensible to the lower classes and keep it a bourgeois "preserve."

Further proof of the careful and sympathetic attention given to, and the unremitting and not altogether disinterested watch kept by Soviet experts on, things Indian is the one undisguisedly political article in the journal—from the historical section, "Echoes of the Hindu Press"—the reactions of the Hindu world to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Here we are given the difficult and ambiguous position of the British authorities—caught between the devil of Fascist aggression (the threat of Italy's "new Roman Empire") and the deep blue sea of the dangerous precedence should the "native" Abyssinians be successful (the article was written in 1936), also the various expressions of sympathy for the Abyssinian cause in the Hindu Press and in resolutions passed by different Indian bodies.

Islam in the World. By Dr. Zaki Ali. Pp. 428. Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf. 1938.

This is a concise and comprehensive survey of Islam all over the world. It is the work of an Egyptian medical man who, on coming to Europe on a medical mission and discovering how much Islam was misunderstood in the West, and how this gross misunderstanding was affecting the relations between Europe and the Islamic world, became deeply absorbed in the study of this question which, though quite outside the sphere of his medical studies, presented nevertheless a pathological case worthy of the closest study and the most careful scientific investigation. The present work represents the results of his studies and observations in that field.

As he explains in the preface, the author has two objects in view in writing this book. The first is to correct the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Islam and the Muslims current in the West. The second is to acquaint the Western people with the outstanding features and underlying principles of the present Muslim renaissance, and conclusively prove that far from constituting a menace to the West, it will be found to the advantage of both East and West alike.

In this connection, Islam's natural affinity to Christianity is clearly shown, and its great influence as a stabilizing and unifying factor in the world is emphasized. An eloquent plea is made for a closer understanding and more effective co-operation between East and West for the creation of a better order in the world. To achieve the first object, the author devotes the first part of the book to an account of Muhammad's life and a brief summary of Islamic teaching. Perhaps the most interesting chapters in

this section are those dealing with Muslim law and the Islamic civilization. Muslim law is very much misunderstood in the West, where it is not yet realized that most of the modern laws of Europe derive directly from it, while Islamic civilization is only very grudgingly acknowledged. To achieve his second object, he devotes the latter part of the book to a survey of Islam all over the world, its present reawakening and its influence on international affairs.

It is a very able survey, and deals authoritatively and objectively with the various questions which are stirring the Muslim world in its present revival. The whole book is of undoubted merit and supplies a long-felt need. Where there is so much to praise I can only find little to criticize. The following are the points to which I would like to call attention :

1. It is to be very much regretted that the language of the book was not more carefully revised. The English style leaves much to be desired, and it is to be hoped that a thorough revision will be undertaken when the question of a second edition arises. The phraseology of the book in many places acts as a positive hindrance to the full enjoyment and appreciation of an otherwise able and much-needed work.

2. The account of Muhammad's life is so brief that many important and vital details are left out. For example, it is not mentioned in connection with the Hijra that Muhammad asked his followers to emigrate from Mecca to Medina, and that he himself remained in Mecca to the last and then followed them. Also, in connection with the various battles between Muhammad and his persecutors, the Quraish, it is not made clear that these battles were waged by the Quraish on Muhammad and his followers after the latter had immigrated into Medina, and that as a consequence these battles took place around Medina.

3. Owing, no doubt, to considerations of space, quotations from the Quran, the traditions and the charters of Muhammad and the early Caliphs, were not given in the chapter dealing with the Foreign Policy of the Perfect Islamic State. This is the more regrettable as most of the English readers cannot follow that study, the book to which they are referred for further information being in the Arabic language.

4. The number of Muslims in England is given as 30,000. I do not know Dr. Zaki Ali's authority for this figure. In my own view the number of Muslims in the British Isles does not exceed 5,000. Dr. Zaki Ali does not seem to be as well-informed about Islam in England as he is about Islam elsewhere in the world. For example, there is no general mosque in London. Instead there is only a very small mosque belonging to the Qadiani sect of India, perhaps the smallest sect in Islam, and with the exception of the very small mosque in Woking, Surrey, there is no general mosque in the British Isles.

The author must be excused for taking it for granted that there is a mosque in London worthy of the capital of the British Empire, which includes more than a hundred and twenty million Muslims. The French Republic, with a much smaller number of Muslim subjects, has long had a large and beautiful mosque in Paris. He cannot, however, be blamed for

not knowing that the long dreamt of mosque in London has not yet been built. Let us hope the time is not far away when London can boast of a mosque worthy of the capital of the British Empire, and illustrative of its care for the 120,000,000 Muslims within it. This does not, however, invalidate Dr. Zaki Ali's estimate of the number of Muslims in other parts of the world. He seems, indeed, to have taken the greatest trouble to check his facts and collate the different estimates made by other authorities, a task which is by no means easy in the absence in many cases of official statistics.

5. Dr. Zaki Ali has evidently believed certain incorrect reports about the existence of a broadcasting station in Mecca, which appeared in the European press some time ago. While there are many wireless-telegraph stations in Saudi Arabia, there is no broadcasting station in Mecca or anywhere else in Arabia.

6. The author has also fallen into the error into which some Western writers have fallen before him by supposing that the Wahhabis do not drink coffee, or that the drinking of coffee is prohibited or even frowned upon by them. As a matter of fact, coffee is their national drink.

It will be seen that the foregoing are all minor mistakes, and do not, therefore, detract from the general merit of the book.

MAHMOOD R. ZADA.

Survey of the Import Trade of India for the Fiscal Year, April 1, 1938, to March 31, 1939. H.M. Stationery Office.

This survey, prepared by His Majesty's Senior Trade Commissioner in India, covers the fiscal year April 1, 1938, to March 31, 1939.

Imports of merchandise into India at 152 crores decreased by 12 per cent. as compared with the corresponding period of 1938, while exports at 169 crores showed a reduction of 11 per cent. Adding to this exports of treasure, which were 3 crores less than in the previous year, the total visible balance of trade in favour of India was roughly 29½ crores, or just 1 crore less than in 1938.

She exported substantially less raw cotton, raw jute and yarn, ores, hides, and skins, but markedly increased her export of cotton yarns and manufactures.

Against this she imported less raw cotton, oil, textile yarns, cutlery, hardware, metals, vehicles, dyes, and stationery. And instead of maintaining a favourable balance under grain pulse and flour, she actually became an importer.

She took more machinery, mostly locomotives, boilers, and electrical, but reduced her takings of sugar and cotton textile machinery, of which she had been a heavy purchaser in the two preceding years.

The United Kingdom and Italy show small increases as suppliers. Japan, doubtless due to her preoccupation with the war, shows the heaviest decline, mainly in artificial silk yarns and piecegoods. Imports from Germany are down in hardware, dyes, wrought copper, and motor-cars, but are up in machinery, mainly electrical and cotton textile, as also in wires and cables.

The reduced trade with the U.S.A. is largely accounted for by the greatly reduced imports of motor omnibuses, vans, and lorries, of which she was the principal exporter. All countries save Canada suffered in this respect, the total imports falling from 15,077 vehicles to 7,808. Fewer motor-cars were also imported, the number falling from 15,697 to 11,058. It is interesting to note that the United Kingdom still heads the list as motor-car exporters, the number being 5,117 for the year. India used to be a heavy exporter of cotton yarns to China, but in the year under review China herself became an exporter and markedly increased her export of yarns to India from Rs. 3 lacs to Rs. 64.7 lacs. Czecho-Slovakia figures as the largest exporter of boots and shoes, but even here the trade declined, only 835,000 pairs being imported as against 1,183,000 in the previous year. Of minor imports, soap continued to decline owing to the progress of the local industry; provisions and oilman stores, wines and spirits also declined, while ale and beer were stationary.

Five months of the current fiscal year had run when war was declared. Already we know of large orders placed in India, and it is certain that her export trade will be greatly stimulated. It will be interesting to see from the next survey in what manner this is reflected in her import trade.

T. S.

India's North-West Frontier. By Sir William Barton. John Murray. 10s. 6d.

This fresh and informative study of what a distinguished officer has called the "perennially fascinating and apparently insoluble problem" of the Frontier will be generally welcomed. That problem may be divided into the three factors of Afghanistan, the Tribal Area on the Indian side of the Durand Line, and the comparatively settled North-West Frontier Province. The author indicates the legacy of evil left by the first and second Afghan wars. With equal truth he shows the results of the weak and nerveless policy of the Government of India in 1919, when peace should have been made at Kabul and the opportunity taken to correct the more obvious defects of the frontier line. His view that Afghanistan should be strong and independent will be generally accepted. That country has, however, sufficient legitimate grievances against British policy without suggesting others. The average reader would gather from this book that it was the British that deprived the Afghans of their dominions in India. Sind and other areas are spoken of as "ravished provinces." Yet it was the Sikhs who took large portions of the Panjab, as well as Kashmir, from the feeble hold of the Afghans. As regards Sind, its subservience to Afghanistan had become nominal long before the British entered that province. It is true that the latter, in order to provide funds for Shah Shuja, renewed the claim, previously renounced by him, for tribute from Sind. But that claim was extinguished by the payment then made. Again, it is stated that in 1876 the British "appropriated" the maritime province of Baluchistan, which the author describes as being "in Southern Afghanistan," by inducing the Khan of Kelat to transfer his allegiance from Kabul. It is, of course, true that

Ahmad Shah Durani in 1758 exacted from the Khan the obligation of a feudal supply of men, though not of tribute. It is also true that in the treaty of 1841 with Kelat the British made mention of "His Majesty Shah Shuja." But no mention was made of Afghanistan in the definitive treaty of 1854 with Kelat, and the intimate dealings of the Sind Frontier authorities, long before the days of Sandeman, prove that no Afghan suzerainty existed. The point is of importance, as Sir William regards with evident sympathy the request of Afghanistan for a port on the Mekran coast, which coast, it may be noted, no Afghan ever approached in the palmiest days of the Duranis. Such a port could only be constructed with foreign capital, and several countries could be named which would be delighted to supply funds for a fortified harbour which would be so convenient a base for attacks upon India and on British commerce.

In dealing with the Independent Tribal Territory, Sir William indicates the numerous mistakes that have been made, especially by following an inconsistent policy. An instance of the latter is the use made of the Air Force. Soldiers generally describe the methods used as being "fantastically soft-hearted," which does not prevent the foreign Press from calling them barbarous. We gather that Sir William is in favour of the policy of peaceful penetration, in spite of the errors committed in its name.

The whole problem has, however, been enormously complicated by the unforeseen success of the Congress Party in the North-Western Frontier Province. This, as Sir William shows, was largely due to the weakness of the Government of India in 1930 and again in dealing with the Red Shirts. Whatever view may be held as to the advisability of popular control throughout India, it is regarded on the Frontier as a triumph for Gandhi. Government is further hampered by the view, in many cases honestly held by the Hindu politician, that the Frontier trouble is prolonged so that the control of the Indian Army may remain in British hands. The very difficulty of the problem makes some solution inevitable. The Hindu population in general has an inborn fear of the Pathan. The Hindu politician knows the danger of a union of the Moslem provinces called Pakistan. The call of his religion would be more powerful for the tribesman than any Congress slogan. The Pathans, on the other hand, whatever their natural inclination towards Kabul, recognize that their economic prosperity can only be developed by connection with India. The solution to be worked for is a friendly Afghanistan and an India able to hold its own borders and to assimilate the trans-Frontier elements within them. As Sir William Barton points out in his admirable study, this can only be effected by British co-operation.

P. R. C.

The Naked Nagas. By Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. Pp. ix + 243. 24 plates and map. Methuen. 1939. 15s.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf's book is an account—admittedly an informal one, devoid of "the more technical anthropological problems"—of a year spent in the Naga Hills, mostly in the Konyak village of Wakching. One

wishes that he had included more anthropological detail, for all that he does give is vividly told; there are descriptions of every kind of ceremony from small everyday observances to the great head-hunting dances, in one of which he himself took part, and a wealth of other information is scattered all through the chapters on Wakching and the neighbouring villages.

Perhaps the most interesting part is that on the Pangsha expedition, which the author accompanied. He tells the story of the start from Moko-chung, of the endless file of coolies and their thirst for head-hunting under Government auspices; of the progress through trans-frontier villages, known and unknown, friendly and suspicious; of the burning of Pangsha, and the counter-attack in which most of the party nearly lost their heads (there were a good few narrow escapes in and about Pangsha); and, finally, his return with the four heads taken from the enemy head-tree—he carried them on his back in a basket all through the hectic race to safety at Pangsha, a conspicuous devotion to anthropology which few would have shown in the circumstances. With these heads his Konyak friends were able to perform their head-taking ceremony and he to note and photograph rituals and dances which may never be seen again.

Throughout the book Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf writes with a real sympathy and love for the Naga people; but even he cannot explain what quality produces that very genuine affection in everybody who gets to know them. His photographs are excellent. They are perfectly unself-conscious pictures of a people extremely difficult to photograph, and his action-photos can only rouse admiration and envy in those who have tried similar subjects themselves. Particularly fine is the photograph of Chingmak, with the head-hunter's tattoo standing out dark and clear-cut on his chest; the line of statuesque Chang scouts; Shankok's youngest brother, the essence of Naga small boy; and, finest of all, that of Mauwang, the Chief of Longkhai, which shows the man and the Naga more clearly than any words could possibly do. The Konyaks are very fortunate in their friend and chronicler.

U. G. B.

Peaks and Lamas. By Marco Pallis. 9½" × 3½". Pp. xx + 423. 95 photogravure illustrations and 3 maps. London: Cassell. 18s.

Mr. Pallis' chosen title, *Peaks and Lamas*, aptly describes both his physical and spiritual adventures. For it was in the course of an expedition to the snow peaks of Garhwal and Bashahr that he made his first friendships with Lamas, and inspired by their devotion, tolerance and serenity, he made up his mind to enter on a thorough study of Tibetan Buddhism and to acquire a necessary proficiency in the Tibetan language. He then found himself impelled to set out again, three years later, determined to gain fuller knowledge in a Tibetan monastic atmosphere. Eventually, in Ladakh, he found the Lama teacher who led him along the Path of Tradition and up to the peaks of the spirit. Although the book consists for the most part of a valuable exposition of Tibetan Buddhism there are vivid accounts of some

interesting mountaineering. The ascents, in 1933, of the Central Satopant'h, 22,210 feet, in Garhwal, and of Riwo Pargyal, 22,260 feet, in Bashahr, were fine achievements. And in Sikkim, in 1936, a gallant attempt on Simvu, 22,360 feet, was defeated by foul weather and unexpected technical difficulties.

After this the expedition resolved itself, according to plan, into two parties. Mr. F. Spencer Chapman and Mr. J. K. Cooke went north into Lhonak to do some more climbing. Thence the former went off to join Mr. Gould's mission to Lhasa. His impressions* there may with advantage be compared with those of Mr. Pallis in Ladakh. The latter, with Mr. R. Nicholson and Dr. Roaf, left the Zemu glacier intending to pursue their religious studies at Hlobrak, a noted monastery in Tibet, near the Bhutan border. Unfortunately the Lhasa authorities had been upset by a frontier incident in which other "foreigners" had been involved, and permission for Mr. Pallis and his companions to enter Tibet proper was withheld. However, they were able to establish friendly relations with the hermit abbot of Lachhen, an impressive though portly figure. He had come up to Thangu, in north Sikkim, for a consecration ceremony, on his way to Tashilhunpo. The three companions spent some days at a little Gompa, on bleak uplands, close to the Tibetan border, and there had intimate converse with the abbot. They had cherished hopes of remaining under his tuition, but as this, as well as Tibet proper, was out of the question, other plans had to be made.

They decided on Ladakh, where there were monasteries of size and standing to suit their purposes. There, clothed and living as Tibetans, they found nearly everywhere warm welcome, a marked degree of tolerance and goodwill. Seeking guidance at the great monasteries of Likhir, of Spituk and of Himi, they gained varying impressions. Himi, the largest and best known, was found to be decadent and disheartening. Likhir, "a magnificent architectural pile," comparable without disadvantage to the Potala and set in superb surroundings, gave them their most cherished memory. A frontispiece showing Likhir is one of numerous excellent photogravures.

At Spituk they became intimate friends and pupils of the bursar, Lama Dawa, the most remarkable of all the unusual men they had met. He, "both in theory and practice, realized the highest ideals of the religious life. He was not only a well-informed exponent of the Doctrine, but he was the very thing itself." It was at Spituk and the lesser monastery of P'hiyang, hard by, that the hope was realized on which Mr. Pallis' plans had been based from the outset. At these two places they spent some weeks, steeped in the atmosphere of Buddhism. The effect left on the author is obviously profound, and he has described it all with clarity and conviction. Some of those who have visited the country will say that Mr. Pallis has painted the background of the sturdy Ladaki peasant in too roseate a hue. Referring to their solidly built farms, he remarks: "Nowhere have I seen houses to compare, on the average, with those of Ladakh." He is inclined

* *Lhasa: The Holy City*. By F. Spencer Chapman.

to ignore the dirt and appalling odours which so forcibly strike the European traveller throughout both Ladakh and Tibet.

A clear and interesting description is included of the "Wheel of Life," or as the author prefers to translate it, "The Round of Existence." Other chapters deal with Tibetan religious art which Mr. Pallis also studied at P'hiyang, under a noted Tibetan painter. It is a pity that he was not able to pursue his quest into Tibet proper. Nevertheless, he was able to acquire a clear understanding of doctrine and customs. And it seems probable, in view of the tolerance shown in Lhasa to the members of the Gould mission, that Mr. Pallis, who lived as a Tibetan, would have been just as welcome at either the yellow cap monasteries of Drepung and Sera or at the red cap monastery of Dikhung, to which his teacher, the Lama Dawa of Spituk, had commended him. To the latter and to his three other teachers this book has been gracefully and "reverently dedicated."

H. W. TOBIN.

John Nicholson—The Hero of Delhi. By Hesketh Pearson. Collins.

Captain Trotter's *Life of John Nicholson* (Murray, 1898) gave an admirable account, based on the material then available, of perhaps the greatest figure in our Indian Empire in the past century—a man not inferior to Clive or Hastings. But we must welcome Mr. Pearson's book, which completes the picture by drawing on the fuller materials now available, and reveals the man and his times, and those with whom he worked and served, from new and sometimes different angles.

Mr. Pearson has handled the subject with great literary skill; he has shown rare insight into Nicholson's character and achievements. His comments on the many outstanding figures with whom Nicholson came directly or indirectly into contact are often original and always fearless; and though many will differ from his judgments of Lord Gough, Lord Dalhousie, John Lawrence, and others, his general survey of Indian affairs, from Nicholson's arrival in India in 1839 till his fall at Delhi in the hour of victory, is both vivid and accurate. He is, like his hero, often unduly harsh in his criticism of those in authority, soldiers and civilians, but his main conclusions are, as a rule, indisputable.

As an instance, the chapter (ix.) on the causes of the Indian Mutiny is a masterpiece of terseness and lucidity. The facts, however, hardly justify his sweeping statement that "if Henry Lawrence had been able to influence the Government of India the Mutiny would never have broken out," though we may certainly agree with him that if "John Nicholson had been in command at Meerut when the Mutiny did break out it would have been nipped in the bud."

Throughout those critical months, from the Meerut outbreak to the fall of Delhi, the initiative in Northern India almost invariably came from Nicholson. The decision to raise the movable column and the Pathan and Panjab Levies, and to disarm the suspected Purbia battalion at Peshawar; the annihilation of the mutinous regiments at Nowshera and Mardan and

of the Sialkot and Jhelam mutineers on their way to Delhi at Trimmu Ghát on the Ravi; the disarming of the two tainted Jullundur regiments at Phillaur on the Sutlej before they could raise the standard of mutiny; each of these was by itself a memorable exploit worthy of a great commander; combined they broke the mutiny in the Panjab, rallied that province, and especially the gallant Sikhs, against whom Nicholson had proved his mettle in the Sikh wars a few years before, to the cause which had so inspiring a leader and enabled him with his movable column to bring the much-needed reinforcements to the sorely tried besiegers of Delhi and in a few weeks storm and carry by assault the heart and centre of the rebellion.

Without Nicholson's inspiring example and dominating personality, which compelled the hesitating General Wilson reluctantly to sanction the attack, Delhi would not have fallen for months, if at all, and meantime the tide of meeting would have continued to rise till it engulfed the exiguous and scattered British forces.

After Nicholson the main credit, as he would have been the first to admit, was due to his colleagues, civil and military, in the Panjab, Edwardes, Cotton, and Chamberlain, who at Peshawar organized the scheme for the movable column and the Levies and secured Lawrence's approval, Montgomery at Lahore and Lawrence himself throughout the Panjab. It was Nicholson and Edwardes who stoutly opposed Lawrence's suggestion—the only instance when he showed signs of wavering—to hand over Peshawar to the Amir rather than risk having to raise the siege of Delhi. Fortunately, Lord Canning decided to hold on to Peshawar, and Nicholson's genius for war reconquered Delhi.

John Lawrence had implicit trust in Nicholson, put up with his imperious ways and frequent disregard of orders, and endeavoured to meet his every demand for men, even to the extent of dangerously denuding the Panjab of its small remaining British force. But Nicholson, while acknowledging John's invaluable support, never forgave him for having, as he thought, supplanted his brother Henry, the *preux chevalier* and idol of all who served with him, as ruler of the Panjab. The author, in his admiration for his hero, seems to have inherited his prejudice against John, comparing him unfavourably with Henry. Contrasting their respective policies in the Panjab, he quotes with approval the saying: "Henry would have a contented people and an empty treasury, John a full revenue and a mutinous people." That may be true of Henry, but is most unfair to John.

Henry had many great qualities—high military capacity, a genius for selecting the right man for the task in hand, an innate generosity of nature and sympathy with the fallen, a power of inspiring the affection of all who worked with him, and a comprehension of the Eastern mind and its aspirations. This led him to oppose first Dalhousie's annexation of the Panjab and later of Oudh, thereby incurring the disfavour of the masterful and imperious Dalhousie.

But those of us who have worked in the Panjab since those days and studied its history must admit, however much we are attracted by Henry's noble qualities, that in selecting John to rule the province Dalhousie exer-

cised wise judgment. Both by temperament and from lack of the necessary training Henry was unfitted for the overwhelming burden of administration involved in establishing order, security, and comparative prosperity in place of chaos, poverty, and strife. In the words of the author, he was "touchy and hot-tempered, sometimes inconsiderate and rather intolerant of opinion which conflicted with his own." John, both by training and character, was splendidly equipped for this work of rescuing a province from anarchy and revelled in it. It was the great work carried out between 1852 and 1857, under his direction, by a band of competent and enthusiastic officers that laid the foundations of the Panjab of to-day, established the cultivators as the owners of the soil and thus created the splendid body of Panjab peasant proprietors—Muslim, Sikh, and Hindu—who helped to turn the scale in our favour in the Mutiny, who ever since have been the backbone of the Indian Army, and who to-day, as in the Great War, can justly claim to be the sword-arm and the shield of India. That is what one owes to John Lawrence; one doubts if Henry would have accomplished it. The author has partially realized this, for he writes: "If Henry was born to prevent mutiny, John was born to quell it." This is true, but it does not bring out that it was John's wise administration that *prevented* rebellion in the Panjab, even among the recently conquered Sikhs, whom his policy enlisted on our side in the crisis, in spite of the fact that he had, as many think, gone too far in cutting down the estates and emoluments of the Sikh chiefs and other territorial magnates.

Both Henry and John understood their difficult subordinate, known on the Frontier by his brother officers as "the Autocrat of all the Russias," and both combined to give him the same friendly advice. Henry thus urged him: "Curb your temper and bear and forbear with natives and Europeans, and you will be as distinguished as a civilian as you are as a soldier."

When, during the march on Delhi, Nicholson, in defiance of the orders of Lawrence and ignoring his military superiors, swept into his column a battery and the gunners from the important Phillaur fort, the long-suffering John wrote to him: "I fear you are incorrigible. So I must leave you to your fate. But depend on it you would get on equally well and much more smoothly if you worked *with* men rather than by ignoring them." That, however, was not Nicholson's way. He made men work for him or, rather, for his cause, and as a rule they obeyed him because they realized that he was free from selfishness or personal ambition.

Nicholson's father, a Dublin doctor, died when the boy was ten; he was devoted to his mother, "a Spartan woman with a stately carriage, a dignified manner, and a resolute countenance"—a Hogg by birth, who came of that sturdy, God-fearing, Puritanical Ulster stock that gave so many great soldiers and administrators to the Empire. Her example helped considerably to form her son's austere, reserved, self-reliant, and dominating character.

Writing to her after he had won distinction in the Sikh wars and as a fearless administrator in the North Panjab, he says: "I fully agree in all you say about earthly distinctions. Believe me, I estimate them at their proper value." As the author writes: "His *ambition* was to win high place

and fame in the world, but he condemned it as vain and sinful, and cloaked it with duty and service. One side of his nature really did despise ambition, and duty was his watchword. He believed in the British Empire, in England's right to rule the heathen for their own good. Thus his duty as a Briton served his desire for distinction as a human being, though he did not see it in that light." An admirable analysis, for it was Nicholson's selflessness combined with his fearlessness and genius for war that made all, whether the bandit tribesmen of the Frontier or the sturdy yeomen of the Panjab, or the British soldier, equally ready to face death behind him.

The two men who were best fitted to judge Nicholson's work and character were Herbert Edwardes, his devoted friend and colleague at Peshawar, and John Lawrence, his chief. A few weeks before the Mutiny, Edwardes said to Dalhousie at Calcutta, "If your Lordship should have anything of real difficulty to be done in India, I give you my word John Nicholson is the man to do it." The prophecy was soon to be realized, and when Nicholson left Peshawar to take command of the movable column, Edwardes wrote: "A nobler soldier never went forth to fight his country's battles." Later Edwardes wrote this inscription on Nicholson's memorial tablet in the church at Bannu: "Gifted in mind and body, he was as brilliant in government as in arms. The snows of Ghazni attest his marked fortitude, the songs of the Panjab his manly deeds, the peace of this frontier his strong rule. The enemies of his country know how terrible he was in battle, and we his friends know how gentle and generous and true he was."

Lawrence's appreciation of his unruly but brilliant subordinate is taken from Trotter's *Life* (p. 308):

"Nicholson was combined ardent energy, lofty inspiration, indomitable will, unswerving perseverance, unflagging zeal, unflinching coolness; and to these moral qualities he added the advantage of enduring strength. But he had an imperious temper, and was hardly tolerant of even reasonable and necessary control."

There is little more to be said except that when Nicholson broke away, as he so often did, from official control, the results justified his insubordination, which in the emergencies he had to face was a virtue rather than a defect.

If ever a man deserved the title of hero it was John Nicholson, and the author is entitled to our gratitude for having given us this brilliant and vivid picture of a doer of great deeds.

M. F. O'DWYER.

Syria As It Is. By Helen Cameron Gordon (Lady Russell). 9½" × 5½". Pp. 197. 24 gravure plates, 3 maps, glossary, bibliography, and index. London: Methuen. 1939. 10s. 6d.

This entertaining sketch of the life of present-day Syria—it is no more than a sketch, despite the addition of bibliography and index—might well whet the appetite of the hardened traveller for an unusual and varied scene. It would be hard to find a country that shows more diversity within a

comparatively small geographical area than Syria, whether it be in its geological formation—desert, limestone mountain chains, sand dunes, and salt flats, in its flora—than which there can be few richer—or its peoples with their extraordinarily diverse religions, customs, and traditions.

The history of Syria, influenced by the passage to and fro of countless peoples in this natural corridor between Europe and Asia on the one hand and Africa on the other, has never lacked the spice of change. This book, however, is not designed to teach the history of the country, and the bibliography accordingly comprises few books of serious import among those of the travel *genre*.

There are good maps on the front and back inside covers, but the spelling of Arabic and Syrian names is somewhat haphazard, as is also the punctuation. The book, in fact, bears the impress of hasty writing that is well-nigh inevitable in one of topical and up-to-the-moment interest: there are confused sentences, such as: "In point of fact, there are in Greater Lebanon and Syria seventeen ecclesiastical dignitaries, who are known as patriarchs, only four of whom do not recognize Papal authority, and of these the Maronites, numbering 450,000 souls, are the most independent." And the authoress seems uncertain of the meaning of the word "fortuitous" (*vide* pages 35 and 48).

None the less, with its unusually well-produced photographic illustrations, this is an attractive and pleasing book.

D. M. M.

Minaret and Pipeline. By Margaret Baneri. Translated from the German by L. M. Sieveking. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6". Pp. 422. Oxford: University Press.

The main title is unfortunate and misleading. In fact, the author roams at large over the Near East, both in time and in space, devoting her first fifty pages to pre-Islamic times, and later being at some pains to outline the Christian Churches and sects before and after the split of 1045. Later she proceeds to justify her sub-title, "Yesterday and To-day in the Near East," by a study of post-war developments resulting from and affected by indigenous movements and European political trends.

This study is seriously handicapped by inadequate knowledge and personal experience, for which sufficient compensation is hardly offered by a knack of collecting opinions and impressions. The knack is there, however, and the book is a pleasantly written story of some importance which deserves more general study in the country of origin than it is likely to receive.

After quoting the instruction given to Arab Communists by the Comintern in 1935, the author says: "Fascism is the opponent of the Comintern. It is watchful and makes use of every opportunity. Alongside Fascism, National Socialism has made its appearance, and in the short period of its foreign activity has already won a prominent position for itself."

Again: "If the various differences [between the Great Powers] should one day be the cause of a general war, Asia Minor would no longer be the scene of impromptu guerilla warfare, but a part of the world in which the Great Powers have prepared their positions by hard work over a number of years."

In the introduction, written in the summer of 1939, the main problem facing the Near Eastern States is put fairly and succinctly: "They feel that a decision is being forced upon them with ever-increasing urgency. Shall they take sides with the authoritarian Powers or with the Western democracies? The answer to this question may depend partly upon the trend of Near Eastern politics. If Turkey takes one side, perhaps Iraq may find it expedient to take the other. The most important consideration, however, in the eyes of all these States is the answer to the question, Which of these two combinations will prove the stronger? Throughout the summer and autumn of 1938 the scales fell in favour of the democracies and, above all, in that of England. The events of the spring of 1939 may have tended to alter the balance."

By now the decision has been made, and both Turkey and Iraq have declared in no uncertain tone their opinion of the authoritarian policies which resulted in the attack on Abyssinia, the rape of Albania, and the ruthless colonization of Libya. These acts of calculated aggression are given none of their importance by the author.

Though excellently translated into most readable language, there are many slips which appear glaring errors to the English eye. General SIDKY BEKR, FAHDAD Bey, Sir Charles L. Woolley, and Sir Thomas Bertram greet the astonished reader, while the Rector of Al-Azhar is named Sheikh el MAHRAB. Regrettably the book opens with "A Layman's Glossary," the value of which may be assessed from the following extract:

"*Su* means 'water.' In the Near East, rain, floods, and rivers are called simply *su*, water. In Turkey, rivers are also sometimes called *chai*—that is, tea."

C. H. G.

Wanderings in Arabia. By Charles M. Doughty. An abridgment of *Travels in Arabia Deserta* made with the author's sanction by Edward Garnett. (Sixth reprint.) 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Pp. 607 + xviii. Frontispiece, glossary and map. London: Duckworth. 1939. 8s. 6d.

To whatever lengths the rationing of other forms of food may be carried, the mental fare provided by *Arabia Deserta* is not to be grudged us during this "war of nerves," for here is Messrs. Duckworth's sixth and cheapest reprint of Doughty's *Wanderings*. More than thirty years have passed since the late Mr. Edward Garnett secured the author's consent to this presentation of one-half of the contents of his book, and the interval has seen not only their earlier reprints, but Messrs. Cape's editions of the whole and of one-quarter. For long, therefore, it has been possible to choose with some nicety how much "Khalil" one would buy; and the present issue suggests that the demand for half of him has been firm.

How welcome, in these days of stress, is this far journeying of the mind in Doughty's company! It is to be hoped that a great host of new readers will join in these wanderings, to sit with Doughty in the *ķella*, to sojourn with the Fukara, to ride at the stranger's side on the burning flanks of the Harra, to share his friendship with Uncle Mohammed at Kheybar, to taste with him the vicissitudes of Hayil and El Kasim; till at last they forge through those final perils of Ayn-ez-Zeyma and Es-Seyl to the firm security of Tayif. For if to some of us this armchair adventuring brings but a vicarious half-fulfilment, whetting the desire or direct personal experience of what we read, it has, none the less, a peculiar merit of distraction, very apt for easing the mind of to-day's uncertainties and pain.

E. D.

Ataturk, and the True Nature of Modern Turkey. By Gerard Tongas. Translated from the French by Major F. F. Rynd.

This short treatise, written for Frenchmen, and having, it would seem, as its primary object that of drawing attention to the almost complete cleavage of ties both cultural and economic which bound France and Turkey closely together for several centuries and to the opportunity which conditions in modern Turkey offer for their renewal, is too superficial to be of any very great value to English readers. The fundamental basis on which the republican régime has been erected is set out succinctly and clearly, but it is when the author endeavours to show how the ideals of the Government are being put into practice that the book becomes sketchy and lacking in balance. It is, perhaps, understandable that in dealing with foreign policy considerable space should be devoted to the question of the Hatay, but the formation, largely as a result of Turkey's efforts, of the Balkan and the Eastern *ententes* has been dismissed in a few words, although this represents probably the most valuable contribution that Turkey has made in international affairs. The chapters on the development of agriculture and industry suffer from their making no reference to anything which has happened since the middle of 1935, and it is just during the four years since that date that development in these directions has been most intensive and striking. The book is marred by a number of mistakes that should have been corrected when the proofs were read, and by two more important mistakes for which the translator is probably responsible. The new paper factory is stated to be under erection at Smyrna (in Turkish Izmir), whereas it is actually at Izmit. Elsewhere we read that the "region of Ereğli Zonguldak will be able to supply enough oil for the whole Mediterranean basin." This, of course, refers to coal and not to oil.

J. M. B.

China Fights for the World. By J. Gunnar Andersson. Translated from the Swedish by Arthur G. Chater. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd. 12s. 6d.

It may be said at once that this book is not, as might have been anti-

pated from its title, a piece of special pleading or propaganda for China's cause in her struggle with Japan. A good case could no doubt be made out for China as being the first country to resist the aggressor by force of arms and so having an even stronger claim on the sympathy of the civilized world than even Finland, let alone Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the rest of the growing list of victims: and while this book could provide good material for the drawing up of such a case, its character is widely different from that.

The author served as mining adviser to the Government of China from 1914 to 1927, leaving it, as he says, at the lowest ebb of political decay when Soviet influence seemed on the verge of being everywhere triumphant, and returning again towards the end of 1936 for the last few months of the period when the efforts of Chiang Kai-shek to unite and reconstruct the country appeared to be on the verge of success. The author also saw something of the course of the war and its deplorable effects on the country, but he had not the first-hand knowledge of the later periods that he was able to acquire during his permanent residence in the earlier years and so does not write with the same assurance. In his description of the rise and achievements of Chiang Kai-shek, for instance, or of the course of present hostilities, he has to rely on the reports of others rather than his own observation, and his judgment and estimates of the future are often at fault in consequence. While Chiang's "Anti-North Expedition" of 1926-8 was eventually justified by results, it was in origin and character little different from its several predecessors (and successors!), and there can be no question that its success was due almost wholly to the liberal assistance it received from the Soviet in money, munitions (especially aeroplanes) and propaganda. Chiang, however, deserves more credit than he has received for his determination, always apparent, to get rid of his Soviet helpers as soon as they had served his purpose, and it is in his account of this struggle that Dr. Andersson has done his hero less than justice owing to his ignorance of the true course of events. The breach came early in 1927 when Chiang, after defeating Wu Pei-fu and Sun Ch'uan-fang, felt that the anti-British campaign in Hankow and Kiukiang had gone far enough: his policy was then to move down river and take Shanghai so as to be freed of the necessity of looking to the Soviet for funds, and Borodin and the Chinese "reds" were just as anxious for him to continue his journey to the North towards the political rather than the commercial capital of China. After the outrageous attacks on foreigners at Nanking had failed to embroil him with the Powers, Chiang was able to continue with his own policy, so that he eliminated the Reds and eventually won over the North without any serious fighting.

His views as to the future are contained in the last chapter and especially two postscripts, and are coloured by the fact that they were written under the rather depressing influence of the Munich Agreement and the reading of Ishimaru's book *Japan must fight Britain*. So much has happened elsewhere in the world since this book was finished and so little progress has been made by the Japanese in their campaign since the fall of Hankow and Canton that the whole situation has been altered and his estimation of future possibilities loses much of its value.

The real value of the book, however—its objective account of certain periods and phases of life in China—remains, and it may be recommended both to those who have, and have not, an intimate knowledge of the country.

A few errors have crept into an otherwise very accurate work. Though, presumably, it is true that an exhibition of flying was given in Peking as early as 1910 (p. 36), it was surely not until a decade later that "great generals provided themselves with machines." Again, Kiukiang did not (p. 57) "voluntarily open its gates to the Kuomintang troops": it was the advanced headquarters of Sun Ch'uan-fang, and was only taken after a sharp, if short, battle (and the defection of that arch-traitor Chao Fing-ch'i). Then, surely, the chief credit for the financial rehabilitation of China is due to T. V. Soong rather than H. H. Kung (p. 70), and it will be news to most residents of China that Chang Tso-lin in 1927-8 "managed to persuade" the Japanese to send an army to Tsinan! Finally, "Chung Shan" was not an honorific title posthumously bestowed on Sun Yat Sen but the name of his birthplace, by which he is often known, in accordance with an old Chinese custom.

These are, however, only minor blemishes, and it remains only to add that the translation is excellent and the plates and map equally so.

A. G. N. O.

The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages. By A. S. Attiya. With 2 coloured and 8 monotone plates and 4 maps. Methuen and Co. 30s.

This important book deals with the later Crusades, those which our history books at school forebore to mention possibly because so few British knights took part in them, or perhaps because it was imagined the average scholar would become bored with the subject after learning the details of the eight that are officially recognized and most of which failed. The expeditions—one hesitates to call some of them Crusades—described in the book are those that took place between A.D. 1344 and A.D. 1396, and they are: the capture of Smyrna from the Turks and the naval battle of Imbros, the Crusade of Pierre I. de Lusignan of Cyprus to Asia Minor, the capture and sacking of Alexandria, the taking of Gallipoli by Amedeo of Savoy, the unsuccessful siege of Al Mahdiya in Tunis, and the disaster at Nicopolis against the Turks.

The compilation of this volume represents an enormous amount of study and research, for the author has examined every book and document that deals with the subject, and the fact that Arabic is his mother tongue (there is nothing whatsoever in the writing of the book that suggests this) has enabled him to explore manuscripts in that language, which have never been analyzed previously, for the light they throw on the relations between Islam and Christianity six hundred years ago.

The author treats with the changing world in the late Middle Ages, and the orientation of old ideas with new and irrefutable facts such as the necessity for both imports and exports, and, what is more difficult, the balancing of the two. It shows how the old Crusading spirit still existed in

the minds of Christian monarchs and the knighthood of Europe, and how this spirit was fostered by propagandists, some of whom were inspired by their devotion to the faith, whilst others were seeking for trade expansion and the opening up of new markets for their country's merchandise. A proof that history always repeats itself.

One fact that seems to stand out is that during these later Crusades the leaders had to depend almost entirely on the Venetians and Genoese for their transport and for all naval operations, and these communities of merchant seamen were not at all concerned with the success of the undertaking as a whole, but solely with the results to be obtained for the furtherance of their own trade. In all operations against Egypt it was not in their interests to cripple that country and destroy its commerce. Therefore in the Crusades, where their services were enlisted, they ran with the hare and hunted with the hounds, making secret treaties with the enemy when the time was ripe, and calling off their fleets when their own private objectives had been obtained.

The blockade played as important a part in war in those times as it does to-day, and there was in force a system of economic warfare which provided for the examination of neutral shipping. Here again the merchants of Genoa and Venice, though openly allied with the Crusaders and at war with Egypt, continued to carry all munitions of war to that country, including white slaves to be trained as mamelukes and used against them. Another charge of insincerity, bordering on an "act likely to assist the enemy," concerns the issue of Calabrian wine, which they contracted to supply to the French and which proved to be far too strong for heads accustomed to *vin ordinaire* of France, causing the troops to be lethargic in the attack, sluggish in defence, and quarrelsome in cantonments.

The book is well illustrated, contains a full bibliography, and, in the case of some of the Crusades dealt with, a nominal roll of the knights engaged. With a work of this description references in the text cannot be avoided, but the magnitude of the footnotes is such that the average reader is apt to become confused and bewildered. One wonders if possibly some better system could not be evolved such as a reference number against the point in question, and the note and authority quoted in a special addenda at the end of the book.

For solid information about a period and a state of affairs of which the ordinary man is woefully ignorant the book is to be recommended, as, among other things, it throws light on the dawn of the struggle for world trade, which started in the fourteenth century and has been a burden on us ever since.

C. S. J.

Buried Empires: The Earliest Civilisations of the Middle East.

By Patrick Carleton. 9" x 6". Pp. 290. 13 plates, 2 maps. London: Edward Arnold and Co. 10s. 6d.

Of the many diverse faculties necessary to the mental make-up of the archaeologist, possibly the most valuable—this point may, however, be dis-

puted—is the power to make dry bones live. This power Mr. Carleton possesses in a marked degree. Throughout my reading of his book—and I found it as engrossing as any novel—it has been borne in on me how triumphantly he has risen above the heavy handicap imposed on him by the names of the people of whom he writes. With a vivid pen and an unerring choice from among the great masses of extant inscriptions on statues, stelæ, clay cylinders and tablets, he has made an Aannipadda, an Eannatum, Lugalzaggisi, Urukagina—even an Ishbi-Irra—live.

One Utu-Hegal, King of Uruk (Erech of the Bible), stands clear before our eyes: "*Gutium, the viper of the hills,*" one of his inscriptions runs, "*he who was the enemy of the gods, who had taken away with him the kingship of Sumer to the mountain; had filled Sumer with hostility; had rapt away with him both husband and wife. . . . [The god] Enlil, king of the countries, laid a charge upon Utu-Hegal, the mighty man, King of Uruk, King of the Four Quarters, the king in whose words there is no vacillation, to blot out his name!*" Whereon, we read, Utu-Hegal repaired to the great temple of Inanna, there to pray: "*My lady, lioness of battle, rampant among the mountains, Enlil has laid it upon me to restore the kingship of Sumer into its own hand. Be thou my help!*" "*To his fellow-citizens he cried: 'Enlil has given Gutium over to me! My lady Inanna is my help! . . . He caused joy of heart to the people of Uruk. . . . His city followed after him as one man.'*" And in due course, the writer records, Utu-Hegal, "in true Oriental fashion, set his foot on his [Tirigan of Gutium's] neck, and thus restored the kingship of Sumer into its own hand."

There is also a vigorous terseness of expression in the author's accounts of the functions of the Sumerian temple, for example, and of the letters of Hammurabi, which is very pleasing.

Yet, for all the author's preoccupation with the vivid portrayal of the characters and institutions of the age, his book remains well balanced. Through the well-nigh baffling interplay of the city-states of Sumer and Akkad, and the surrounding peoples of Elam, the mountains of the North and beyond the western desert, each in turn rising above the general welter to a temporary overlordship, Mr. Carleton keeps the clean, sure thread of his narrative unentangled.

The period covered by this book the author names the Primitive Age, which he shows in fact to have been an age of astonishing progress in all aspects of life. The Age of Consolidation that followed, he claims, began when the ways of life became settled and Hammurabi codified the law. In an epilogue this Age of Consolidation is rapidly surveyed, and with the rise of the Assyrian Empire the reader is left at the dawn of the Imperial Age, in which we still are.

Apart from the fact, which the author mentions, that important new discoveries had been made even between the writing and the publication of his book, there are a few points that call for revision. For instance, Kish and Lagash might well appear on Map 1, and Chanhu-daro is shown at least five times its real distance from the Indus. Mohenjo-daro is stated to

be near "Narkana," instead of Larkana, and 140 miles, instead of quite 200, from Karachi. The discovery of Jemdet-Nasr and the finding of the Indian seal at Kish are wrongly ascribed to the late Professor Langdon. Nor is any mention made of the late Monsieur Watelin's long years of devoted work at the latter site.

A second edition of this most useful book, brought up to date and with the addition of a bibliography, would make of it an outstanding and valuable piece of work. It would also serve to round off a period; for, unhappily, field archæology as a thoughtful and scientific study has fallen to low estate in the face of rampant nationalism. When one day it comes into its own again, we may perchance find ourselves standing eager at the threshold of a fourth and more satisfactory period of man's history—a period which Mr. Carleton might perhaps like to designate the Age of Federation.

D. M. M.

The Cull Chinese Bronzes. By W. Perceval Yetts, Professor of Chinese Art and Archæology in the University of London. Pp. x + 197. 35 plates, 44 figs. London: Courtauld Institute of Art. 1939. £2 2s.

The study of Chinese bronzes is as yet little known to the Western world. There are few books on the subject, and most of these lack the authority which comes of original research and accurate knowledge.

And yet for many centuries these bronzes have been collected in the Far East and their beauty and technique studied and appreciated by Chinese and Japanese archæologists. They have been copied by later Chinese craftsmen, with a view, not necessarily to impose on the prospective buyer, but to perpetuate the traditions of the past; and many specimens of both originals and copies have found their way during the past few decades into museums and private collections in all parts of the world.

The originals were buried, sometimes so long ago as 3,500 years, in the tombs of the great, mostly in Central China, and have been placed upon the market as the result of the activity of grave-robbers who have evolved methods of an ingenuity which is peculiar to the Chinese worker in any sphere of industry.

On the subject of bronzes and their inscriptions many books exist in Chinese written during the past ten centuries, but such books are not as yet generally available to Western students, and they lack the precision of scientific treatment which characterizes the best work of modern Europe on kindred subjects.

It is only, indeed, in the past decade that the systematic excavation for, and the organized study of, these masterpieces of ancient skill and industry have been undertaken by Chinese equipped with archæological knowledge. Owing to the present political chaos in China, this long-delayed research has necessarily been abandoned, and the publication of official reports has been postponed, until the return of more favourable conditions.

With these considerations in view, one welcomes the present important book by Professor Yetts, whose previous work in two volumes on the

bronzes in the Eumorfopoulos Collection, published in 1929 and 1930, is well known. The author has in preparation a larger work dealing comprehensively with "The Ritual Bronzes of Ancient China." The book under review does not profess to be a textbook on the subject; it is, as the title indicates, primarily a catalogue of a private collection. It deals with only thirty-one objects, but with some of them more fully than would be feasible in a general survey of the bronzes. These studies, containing much original research, will be found of the utmost value to every student of the subject.

Of the thirty-one objects described, fifteen are ritual vessels, seven are mirrors, and nine are miscellaneous objects, some being fittings or ornaments for larger things. Though small, this collection, belonging to Mr. A. E. K. Cull and Mr. James K. Cull, is of a uniformly high standard as well as being diversified.

For the archaic bronzes Professor Yetts follows a classification into Three Phases, as defined by him in the *Burlington Magazine* of January, 1936. He was the first Western scholar to publish such a system of chronological and stylistic sequence, thus simplifying many difficult points. His plan of the First, Second, and Third Phases is simpler and more scientific than divisions called after the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the Warring States periods, such as were adopted at the International Exhibition of Chinese Art in London. It is better, too, than the using of a place-name, such as the Huai Valley, for a style which was not confined to one locality, though "Huai" is certainly an improvement on the once-popular but erroneous designation "Ch'in."

Space does not permit any detailed indication of the mine of information and the diversity of the subjects comprised in this book, but a brief mention of a few of the articles may be made here. Each one of the pair of wine vessels (No. 12) belongs to the *hu* class, and is a flask-shaped container 19 inches in height, dated at about B.C. 482. It is almost covered with complicated and beautiful decoration and surmounted by a cirlet with eight petal-like projections. Below this cirlet is an inscription which, comprising equally spaced characters cast around the rim, affords, with characteristic Chinese love of obscurity, no obvious clue as to where it begins. The signification of the decoration is indicated, the use and purport of the cirlet is set forth at length, and descriptions of analogous vessels in other collections are added to support the author's opinion and dating of the piece. The inscription is dealt with in great detail, and the author's handling of this subject should be of great service to students who aspire to the deciphering of similar records.

In several other pieces, notably in No. 3 (a *yu* wine vessel) and No. 21, described as "a support for an unknown object," the various forms in ancient script of specific characters are depicted and discussed in detail. Perhaps next to No. 12 the most interesting piece is a mirror, No. 28, described as "a sun-dial and cosmic mirror," and dating from about the beginning of the Christian era. To this nearly a quarter of the whole book is devoted, and students will find in it a wealth of information on ideas current during the Han period which are not available elsewhere.

Ancient Chinese mirrors, we learn, were not fashioned solely as toilet accessories, but as magic talismans, intended to bring to the owner such material benefits as "protection from harm for himself and his parents, progeny, wealth, honour, and long life"; in fact, just those things which the Chinese still hope to obtain by repeating so often the ideograms for these boons on utensils and ornaments of daily use.

Since such matters are obviously within the power of ancestors and of the cosmic forces to bestow, the decoration on these magic mirrors naturally included symbols representing the workings of the universe, astronomical and otherwise, in an age when astronomy was much more a matter of common knowledge than it is in Western countries at the present day. "On the principle that like produces like, the mirror is thus endowed with miraculous powers, partaking of and transmitting vitalizing influences from the mainsprings of life. When placed in the coffin, it is able to bring vigour and comfort to the occupant, so that he be inclined to bestow benefits upon his descendants. . . . These are reasons why so many are found in tombs."

The strictly utilitarian and individualistic nature of Chinese religion is thus well exemplified, and Professor Yetts' detailed explanations in regard to No. 28 may be studied as an introduction to Chinese astronomy, and are typical of the care with which he has prepared the whole book and the extent of the knowledge which he has brought to bear on his subject.

This mirror has an inscription describing its excellence and the auspicious purpose of its being; and in connection with this inscription many points of interest are discussed—*e.g.*, the antiquity of the characters *Yin* and *Yang* as cosmic symbols, the origin of the dragon myth, and the red ball which is commonly depicted in front of a dragon's jaws.

Apart from the subject-matter of the book, the manner in which it is produced could hardly be improved upon. The decorative cover and endpapers, drawn by the author, are original and attractive; the paper and printing are of the highest quality; the index is complete; and there is a very full and valuable bibliography. The student is greatly helped by the very careful drawings of the decorations on the objects described, and of the various forms of the pictograms. The thirty-five plates are beautiful reproductions.

Professor Yetts is greatly to be congratulated upon a very notable achievement.

E. BUTTS HOWELL.

Last Lectures. By Roger Fry. Introduction by Sir Kenneth Clark. 10" x 8". Pp. xxix + 370. Illustrations. Cambridge University Press. 21s.

Professor Fry has, in these Last Lectures, given us a brief survey of art in the earlier civilizations of the Old and New Worlds up to and including the Golden Age of Greece.

To accomplish this considerable task in a compact form, he has chosen two essential qualities of art—vitality and sensibility—and made their presence or absence the basis of his criticism.

Sensibility he defines as "the feeling expressed by the artist in executing his design . . . the texture of a work of art."

Vitality is difficult to define, and, in fact, Professor Fry arrives at the nearest definition by suggesting that "through the unconscious freedom of rhythm of a work of art the artist achieves the representation of a 'state' as opposed to a mere description of living images."

Using these two qualities as pegs on which to hang his criticism, Professor Fry now takes us on a world-wide journey, starting from Egypt. Here we find a highly conceptualized art, the artist being chiefly preoccupied by representing objects rather than appearances; in fact, becoming a skilled craftsman and allowing his love of symmetry, precision, and craftsmanship to polish away all vital rhythm and plastic sensibility. This tendency was reinforced by the use of art as an instrument of propaganda in and outside the Egyptian State.

A brief period during the reign of Akhenaten produced a few works of art of surprising vitality and imagination.

Negro art is preoccupied by the effort to represent spirits, and is therefore limited in its subject-matter. According to Professor Fry, "it aims at expressing one thing only—the vital essence of man," and he finds his two qualities developing to a high degree in Negro art and also in early American art, especially that of Mexico.

He traces the history of Chinese art from the early civilization B.C. up to the T'ang era, and shows the effect of Scythian art on Chinese tradition.

For Indian art Professor Fry has little sympathy; he finds a marked lack of both his qualities, though a remarkable capacity for pliancy and swaying movement.

The lectures on Archaic Greek art are most provocative. The Greek approach is one of the intellect; they saw objects in terms of concepts, and had a preference for generalized forms and a desire for perfection and organization of design. This, Professor Fry states, results in suppression of sensibility and lack of vitality. The artists were preoccupied with description of a perfect type and failed to represent the appearance of the object. He suggests that the Early Greek artist learnt from Egypt where the mathematical ideal was prevalent. The Greek already had an intellectual attitude to life and objects, and the result was an art poor in vitality and sensibility. In the Golden Age changes occurred in the direction of increased freedom of rhythm and imagination.

The general conclusion that art in a highly organized and stable state tends to lose vitality, especially when used as a means of propaganda and for the production of luxury objects, is one which can be tested in Europe to-day.

The suggestion that the artist's desire for organization and perfection of craftsmanship is continually at war with his intuitive and unconscious desire for freedom of rhythm and vitality opens up new fields of thought.

These lectures should provide a stimulus to the lay reader to take an interest in art, and give him a key to criticism of the many treasures in our museums and galleries.

KATHERINE AINGER.

Berichte des Asien Arbeitskreises. Siebenberg-Verlag, Wien and Peking. No. 1, February, 1939; No. 2, June, 1939.

In the Journal for October appeared a summary of an article on Sin-Kiang which forms part of the contents of No. 1 of the above-mentioned pamphlets; but now that a second number has reached us, it seems desirable to deal with both together as the commencement of a series of publications. The contents of both numbers are miscellaneous. Since Japan, Russia, and Great Britain are concerned with what happens in Asia, it is only to be expected that recent events should influence the wording, and perhaps the thought, of the articles: academic institutions are bound to show symptoms of influence by current events, the more so inasmuch as it is their business to be receptive to ideas. Unfortunately it usually happens—and that as much so in our own country as in all others—that in times of political stress their receptivity becomes more striking than their ideas. We must not grumble, therefore, if, in these two pamphlets, much is worded in a way, as to Russia and Japan, which may undergo some change in subsequent issues, and if Great Britain remains, so to speak, at the bottom of the class. We are only concerned here to take the information supplied on its merits and to let our readers know what may be of use to them therein.

First, it may be said that although summaries in English are appended to several contributions, these summaries are in most cases (not in all) too brief and obscure to put the contents at the disposal of those who are not familiar with German.

Otherwise the series, if it is to be a series, must be entirely welcome. The writers are fully qualified persons, and they have as much to say that is new and true as can be expected when events are moving as rapidly as they do nowadays. It may be said roughly that what they speak of is what was in evidence in 1937, could be written in 1938, and be printed and reach us in 1939. The two remaining articles in the first number, besides, that is, the one already summarized in our October issue, deal with the geographical factors underlying the course of events, past and to come, in China, and, thirdly, Mongolia as a factor in Asiatic affairs generally. Both articles need to be taken into account by those interested in such subjects here, only, of course, in connection with information printed here during the past two years and not available to the German contributors.

The second number supplements the first with an article dealing with the decline of British influence in Sin-Kiang, but bringing details up to the present year, partly with the help, however, of quotations from *The Times*. Something like the conditions of the Wars of the Roses would seem to be in progress, as between the Soviet and the English, without any particular end being in sight. The Spratley islands come in for a share of attention: but the major part of No. 2 is taken up with research-work, accompanied by a map, locating the animals-in-bronze which have attracted so much attention of recent years. More and more is coming to light as to where they had been produced, and this recent discovery-work harmonizes with what is a new idea in course of being applied in many diverse directions—namely, that in the farthest-off ages, of which we can acquire knowledge, China

was the influenced, rather than the influencing, country. Dr. Robert Bleichsteiner, who is responsible for contributions on this subject, is, therefore, a fellow-worker with others in France and in Britain (and probably a considerable help to them) in working towards conclusions which seem likely to provide much more accurate knowledge of what went on in times gone by, not only in artistic achievements, but also as to those means of communication which then existed, have been destroyed in the interval, and are now in course of being restored and profited by.

The following extracts are translated from *Univers*, August-September-October, 1939 (Lille: 11, rue der Frères-Vaillant):

A GERMANO-AFGHAN AGREEMENT

The economic Nazi paper *Suedostecho* of August 25, 1939, writes as follows:

Almost at the same moment Germany concluded an economic agreement of great scope with Russia, whereby the Reich has achieved another economic success in the Near East.

On August 3 a commercial and credit agreement was concluded at Kabul between the German Reich and Afghanistan. Although the economic capacity of that country may be small, this agreement has particular importance. As the result of this agreement the market of Afghanistan will be thrown open to the trade of the Reich in such a way as to leave little for other Powers.

Even before this agreement was concluded the Reich occupied already in Afghan national economy a more important place than Great Britain and the United States. Several German business houses opened branches in Afghanistan and sent their representatives. The most significant feature in the development of Germano-Afghan trade was the opening in Berlin of a branch of the National Bank of Afghanistan. This establishment has the work of buying all material necessary for the industrialization of the country. It possesses, more or less, the monopoly of Afghan external commerce. Eighty per cent. of the materials bought for the Afghan State are furnished by the Reich.

The *Suedostecho* declares that considerable facilities for trade in the Afghan market are offered to German business people, because the new agreement affords unlimited possibilities of export and import. Germany has granted to the Afghan Government a credit, the amount of which is kept secret, but which must be of great importance in view of the economic capacity of the country. Afghanistan will repay all advances in the course of a ten-year period by furnishing Germany with cotton. (*Czecho-Slovak News*, September 1, 1939, p. 5.)

ACTIVITY OF THE "ORIENTVEREIN"

Side by side with the Oriental German Association, a Nazi organization which, by an aggressive propaganda, seeks to realize the immediate pro-

gramme of the *Drang nach Osten*, there exists another Nazi group called the "Deutsche Orientverein," which is equally important, but more discreet in its methods. This organization does not call together great meetings, nor does it display any open activity like the sister association bearing an almost identical name, but it pursues, in an unobtrusive manner, a very bold imperialist policy. The fact that Herr von Papen, at present German Ambassador at Ankara, is one of its leaders, adds greatly to the importance of the *Orientverein*. Amongst other leaders of the *Orientverein* are to be found industrial magnates, men high in the confidence of great industrial organizations, etc.

The *Orientverein* on January 1, 1939, possessed 477 local sections, situated throughout Germany, with a total membership of 14,389. In spite of these modest numbers, it employed no less than 825 paid officials. In addition to those working in Germany, it employs abroad 183 secretaries. These secretaries travel in nearly all Asiatic and African countries under the designation of "economic specialists." The *Orientverein* supports, also, a large number of students who are engaged in travelling in Oriental countries after completing their studies. These are mainly engineers and chemists.

In 1938 the *Orientverein* despatched 22,565 letters abroad. It maintains, amongst other activities, an active correspondence with British India. In the registers at headquarters are to be found the names of 862 Indians with whom permanent contact is maintained. Nearly all these have spent some time in Germany.

But the Association also registers the names of hundreds of Iranians, Arabs, and Turks upon whom it is believed that reliance can be placed in time of need. The *Orientverein* tried, by means of various artifices, to convert every Turkish student in Germany into a travelling agent charged with spreading Nazi doctrines in Turkey. The despatch of Turkish students to Germany gave such bad results that recently the Government of Ankara decided to abandon entirely this cultural exchange.

By means of four liaison agents—all of them former diplomats—the *Orientverein* maintains relations with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Reich. (*Czecho-Slovak News*, May 23, 1939.)

The paper also gives translations of the attacks made in Soviet papers in Arabic on British India, and notes that the most virulent appeared on April 22, 1939, on the same day that the British and Soviet Governments made an exchange of views which were "equally intensive and friendly" on the subject of a security pact "which had for so long been imminent."

There are also notes on the Soviet comments on Muslim religious customs, such as circumcision, etc., which are called "national," while all Christian customs are dubbed pro-imperial and reactionary. No word is given of the Soviet broadcasts; loud-speakers are well placed in every village, and it is from these and mainly from this source that Central Asia gets its news.

The Annual of the East, 1939-40. Published by the Syndicate of the *Annual of the East*, 160, Shaftesbury Avenue, London. Pp. 148. Price 3s.

This is the first time that I have had the pleasure of reading the *Annual of the East*, which now reaches its fifth year of publication, but I sincerely hope that it will not be the last. It is a pleasure to read such an interesting, well-informed, and well-produced publication.

The main object of this interesting production seems to be the promotion of enlightened travel throughout Asia. It contains forty-eight original articles written by experts and comprises practically every country in Asia as far north as Tibet and as far south as the Dutch East Indies, with the notable exception of Indo-China, which is only represented at the end of the volume by a fine coloured photograph of the Emperor of Annam seated on his golden throne. It is a pity that this country has been omitted as it forms almost an ideal region for travel of every description. It contains a most remarkable variety of scenery, population, and productions; its ruined cities are among the most spectacular in the whole world, and it affords some of the best shooting ground for Asiatic big game.

The illustrations throughout the volume are excellent and include a number of fine coloured plates.

It is difficult to deal with such a wide range of subjects, but it may be stated generally that the volume caters for every kind of taste. In addition to general descriptions of the countries concerned and information regarding methods of travel and routes to be followed, the information provided ranges from archæology, art, and anthropology, to such modern subjects as exchange, trade, industry, and aviation. Various branches of Asiatic sport are also included. There is also an informative article contributed by Captain V. C. Steer-Webster on an important but somewhat neglected subject—the preservation of Empire wild life.

The bulk of this volume—more than one-third—is rightly devoted to India and Burma. To many readers the most fascinating contributions may be those devoted to regions rarely visited by ordinary travellers, of which there is a considerable selection. Mr. H. St. John Philby, now one of Mecca's leading citizens, furnishes a remarkable study of the holy city and its religious ceremonies, together with sidelights on the daily life of the Arab monarch in the palace, while the contributions on Tibet by Sir Frederick O'Connor, on Nepal by Marguerite Milward, on Gilgit by Lieut.-Colonel Lorimer, and "The Home and Habits of the Giant Panda" by A. de C. Sowerby, all express to a high degree the lure and charm of travel and exploration in little-known lands. Interest in topical events is maintained by Mr. Leach's article on the new Burma-China road which has figured prominently in the press as the one and only "back-door" left open in China, divested and ruined by Japanese aggression. It is possible to regret that a fuller and more general account of Iran was not provided with special reference to recent archæological exploration in that country as well as to various recent developments. Somewhat similar remarks might be applied

in the cases of China and Japan which, excluding the special article on the Panda, are only represented by three articles.

The reputation of the authors contributing to this Annual ensures a high level of literary expression and also of general accuracy. In passing, however, it may be mentioned that in Mr. Archer Cust's article, "Palestine Today," an erroneous impression is created that the entire citrus industry in the coastal belt of Palestine is in Jewish hands, whereas, in actual fact, 60 per cent. is now controlled by Jews and 40 per cent. by Arabs. Furthermore, in the special article on the Ceylon tea industry, it is surely a serious omission not to mention the newly imposed export duty on tea from Ceylon which, together with rising costs of production, in the opinion of many authorities, threatens the future prosperity of this great and valuable industry.

D. B-B.

Who's Who, 1940. Published by Messrs. A. and C. Black.

We welcome this year's edition of *Who's Who*, which seems to be even more valuable than its predecessors. Future historians and biographers will bless it as do the writers and, above all, the secretaries of to-day. It remains to add that the completeness and the accuracy of this publication reflect immense credit on that historical Scottish publishing firm Messrs. A. and C. Black.

LIBRARY

THE Society is deeply indebted to Major-General Sir William Beynon for a number of interesting books on India and to Mr. F. B. Pendarves Lory for a first edition of Palgrave's *Central and Eastern Arabia*.

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(Copies of the Library List are available on loan.)

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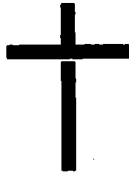
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In Memoriam

SIR MICHAEL FRANCIS O'DWYER,
G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PUNJAB

During the last Great War half a million recruits were raised, thanks to his enthusiasm, and, in 1919, by his marked ability and his courage he saved the Punjab.

He was assassinated at Caxton Hall
on March 13, 1940.

Requiescat in Pace

NOTICES

ALTHOUGH in the first weeks of the war it was difficult to see what contribution the Society could make to the general welfare, the lectures and the luncheon meetings have been very well attended through the winter, and, although it is not considered advisable to give some of them in the Journal, it may be possible to do so at a later date.

* * * * *

The Society has suffered grievously by the deaths of some of its oldest members, and the country has lost a man of great promise in Sir Trenchard Fowle. Colonel H. Wood and Mrs. de Kat were well known to many Central Asian members. The tragedy of March 13, when that great member of the Indian Civil Service, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was assassinated has been described at length. Sir Michael had just given a speech in which he had spoken with vigour and humour, and had been given a great ovation. He was killed instantaneously. Every member of the Society would wish to extend the deepest sympathy to Lady O'Dwyer and his family.

* * * * *

The Council would ask those members serving abroad to send in the names of new members and also of lecturers. It is only by this means that the health of the Society can be assured.

* * * * *

Will members please send in their changes of address and notify the office if they do not receive their lecture cards and journals.

* * * * *

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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 :

AFGHANISTAN: THE PRESENT POSITION

By BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR PERCY SYKES,
K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

Lecture given at a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association on March 13, 1940. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the Chair.

In opening the meeting the Chairman said: We are to have a lecture on the present position in Afghanistan and there is perhaps no one amongst living men who is better qualified to speak upon such a subject than our lecturer this afternoon, Sir Percy Sykes. (Applause.)

I think it would be true to say that it must be very nearly half a century since Sir Percy first went to Central Asia. It was actually, I think, in 1892, and very shortly thereafter he was attracted more particularly by Persia. It so happened that I myself spent the Christmas of the year 1900 at a distant spot where Iran, Afghanistan, and Baluchistan meet—namely, Sistan—and it was when I was in Sistan that I first heard of the activities of Sir Percy Sykes.

In those days, as many of you will remember, there was acute rivalry—shall we say, commercial rivalry and to some extent political rivalry—between Great Britain and Russia in that part of the world, and Sir Percy Sykes, realizing the importance of establishing British interests in Southern Iran, by sheer force of character and determination compelled—I do not think I am saying too much in using that word—the Government of India to establish a consulate at Kerman in South-Eastern Persia, and the obvious person to become consul was naturally Sir Percy Sykes himself.

His interest in Iran was only briefly interrupted during a period of leave, I think in 1902, when he went in command of a body of Yeomanry to South Africa, was wounded, and needless to say was mentioned in despatches.

But, as soon as might be, he returned to his first love and was soon in Persia once more. He became Consul-General in Khurasan, with his headquarters at Meshed, and during the Great War he raised the South Persia Rifles and commanded the forces in the southern parts of that country. In addition to that, he has also served His Majesty as his representative in Chinese Turkestan.

He possesses what I should think is a quite unusual number of gold medals—the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, the gold medal of the Royal Empire Society and a special MacGregor gold medal for explorations of military value.

Finally, at a time when you would have thought that he might look for some leisure after a life of strenuous labour, he has been devoting his energies and his interests to the writing of a history of Afghanistan. It is no doubt the cream of this work, which will in due course be published as the History of Afghanistan, that he is going to lay before us this afternoon.

I have pleasure in calling upon him to do so.

THE advance of Russia towards Afghanistan, the kernel of the problem of Central Asia, may be considered to have commenced in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, at which period she was separated from the British possessions in India by

a zone that was some fourteen hundred miles in width. By 1867 she had taken Samarkand and Tashkent, while Bukhara had become a subsidiary ally, and a few years later all the Khanates had been annexed, Khiva being occupied in 1873.

During this period the British had advanced northwards to the borders of Afghanistan, of which country they claimed to be the virtual protectors. This position was recognized by Russia, whose attitude towards her rival was not unfriendly at this period, and in 1873 an Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed which delimited the northern boundary of Afghanistan as being formed by tributary rivers flowing into the Oxus, and finally by the Oxus itself as far as its great bend to the north. Further west the boundary was only laid down approximately.

Not long after the signing of this treaty the intervention of Great Britain on the side of Turkey in her war with Russia in 1877-78 caused the despatch of a Russian mission to Kabul, which, together with the refusal of the Amir Shir Ali Khan to receive a British mission, precipitated the Second Afghan War. The conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin in July, 1878, however, prevented the advance of a Russian army into Afghanistan, with its inevitable consequences of an Anglo-Russian war.

During this period Russia had established herself at Krasnovodsk on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, and General Lomakin, who had advanced into the interior in 1879, was defeated by the Tekke Turkoman at Geok Tepe. This disaster was avenged by General Skobeloff, who in 1881, after the explosion of mines, stormed the fortress of Geok Tepe* and killed the Tekke Turkoman by thousands. The tribe finally submitted, and Merv was occupied in 1884.

The Second Afghan War

Meanwhile the British had invaded Afghanistan through the Khaibar Pass by a second column which marched on Kandahar, while General Roberts, leading a third column up the Kurram Valley, won a notable victory at the Peiwar Kotal, accompanying in person the force that made a successful attack on the Afghan left flank.

Shir Ali, upon hearing of the victory of Roberts, fled northwards to Balkh, intending to seek the Tsar's protection, but was prevented

* Some fifty years ago I examined this ruined fort, which was little better than a strongly built caravanserai.

from doing so by his treacherous Russian allies. Sir Alfred Lyall puts the following lines into the mouth of the Amir Abdur Rahman :

“ And yet when I think of Shir Ali as he lies in his sepulchre low,
How he died betrayed, heart-broken 'twixt infidel friend and foe,
Driven from his throne by the English, and scorned by the Russian, his guest,
I am well content with the vengeance, and I see God works for the best.”

Shir Ali was succeeded by his son Yakub, who made a treaty with the British at Gandamak in May, 1879. This led to the establishment of a British Mission at Kabul under Sir Louis Cavagnari, who, with the members of his staff and his escort, were massacred by mutinous Afghan soldiers and the Kabul populace in the following July.

Once again three columns invaded Afghanistan. Roberts, who commanded his old force, which was much strengthened, crossed the Peiwar Kotal and marched on the capital. Yakub Khan surrendered, but Roberts found the Afghans occupying a strong position under the Amir's uncle at Charasia, where he won a second notable victory. He then entered Kabul and accepted the abdication of Yakub Khan. During the winter Roberts' force was attacked in the Sherpur Cantonment, which he had occupied, but he beat off the fanatically brave Afghans, inflicting severe losses upon them.

The situation now remained obscure from the political point of view, but the solution to this difficult problem was the reappearance of Sirdar Abdur Rahman in Afghan Turkestan. This truly great chief, after a remarkable career, in the course of which he had been driven out of the country by Shir Ali, was finally placed on the throne of Afghanistan by the British in 1880. He then set to work and gradually reunited all its provinces under an iron despotism.

The continued advance of Russia towards the frontiers of Afghanistan naturally caused the Amir intense anxiety, and in 1882 he strongly urged on the Viceroy (who at this time was Lord Ripon) the necessity for help to defend his frontiers against an attack by Russia.

Mr. (later Sir Mortimer) Durand, the Foreign Secretary, was strongly in favour of an understanding with Russia by which the boundaries of Afghanistan would be defined. Finally, in 1884, after the occupation of Merv, it was decided by the two Powers to appoint Commissioners, who would seek to lay down a line satisfactory to both parties. The British Commissioner, upon reaching the scene in the autumn, was informed that, owing to the alleged ill-health of the

Russian Commissioner, the negotiations would have to be postponed until the spring.

Russia took advantage of this delay to march up the Murghab river to the vicinity of the oasis of Panjdeh, and in the spring of 1885, by attacking the Afghan garrison, created the famous Panjdeh crisis, which nearly precipitated an Anglo-Russian conflict. The speech of Mr. Gladstone, who demanded a war vote of £11,000,000—an enormous sum at that period—is not yet forgotten. Fortunately, however, negotiations were not broken off, and a Boundary Commission finally settled this very difficult question.

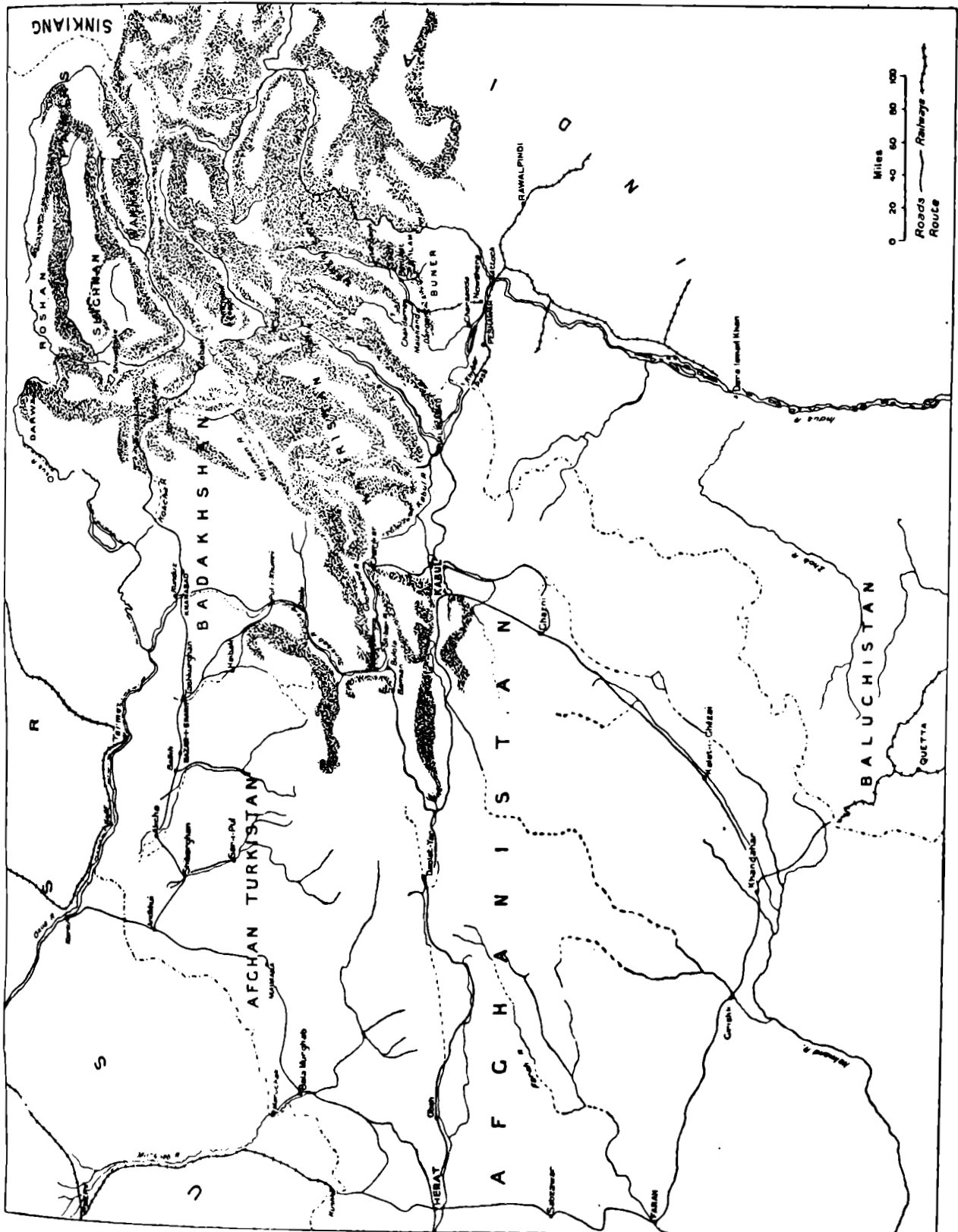
Before quitting this subject it is desirable to point out that these negotiations coincided with the failure of the British expedition to relieve General Gordon at Khartum, while Bismarck, who had concluded a secret treaty with Russia outside the Triple Alliance, approved of a system of persistent annoyance against Great Britain.

The Anglo-Russian Negotiations

The Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 may be described as a most important landmark in the relations between Great Britain and Russia. It dealt with Afghanistan, with Persia, and with Tibet. Here I only deal with it as affecting Anglo-Afghan relations. In 1900 Russian officials attempted to open up direct communication with the Amir Habibulla Khan. Lord Lansdowne objected, but Count Lamsdorff sought to justify such action, which in 1903 caused serious friction between the two Powers.

In 1902 Great Britain, renouncing definitely her policy of isolation, negotiated a treaty with Japan, by the terms of which, in the event of either party becoming involved in war with a third Power, the other Power was to remain neutral unless any other Power or Powers should join in hostilities against that ally, when the contracting party should come to its assistance. Three years later a further treaty of alliance was concluded, which bound the contracting parties to come to each other's assistance in case of unprovoked attack on the part of any other Power; this treaty was renewed in 1911.

In 1905 the present Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, as British Ambassador, discussed the treaty mentioned with Count Lamsdorff. The Russian Foreign Minister declared that it had created a most unfavourable impression, whereupon Hardinge pointed out that Russia at great cost had constructed a series of strategical railways to the frontiers of Afghanistan and, indeed, to the gates of Herat, although she had



frequently declared that that country lay outside the Russian sphere of influence. He added that their apparent object was to create a perpetual menace to India and thereby to exert pressure on Great Britain. Following this discussion pacific assurances were exchanged between the two Powers.

In July, 1905, the Russo-German Treaty of Bjorko, by which the weak Tsar Nicolas was persuaded by the intriguing Kaiser to enter the orbit of German diplomacy, was signed. The triumphant Kaiser thereupon wrote to the Tsar that it was directed against England and that France would be obliged to join it, thus converting it into a Pan-European alliance against Great Britain and Japan. Actually this treaty was not ratified by Russia, but it was clear to Great Britain that continued friction with that country would only play into the hands of the powerful pro-German party at the Russian Court.

The Russo-Japanese war was ended by the peace treaty that was signed in August, 1905. The defeat of Russia produced a genuine readiness on her side to effect a general settlement with Great Britain in Asia, the underlying idea being to remove all possible causes of friction in the present and also, as far as possible, in the future.

The Anglo-Russian Convention

To turn to Afghanistan. Early in 1907 Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, informed Lord Minto, the Viceroy, that negotiations for an Anglo-Russian convention were taking place, and sent him an outline. Minto strongly pressed for permission to keep King Habibulla informed confidentially, but Morley tactlessly laid down that the Amir "should not be consulted, but be merely advised of its terms after signature." Minto, when the treaty had been signed, informed the Amir that, for the first time in a formal document, the Russian Government recognized that Afghanistan lay outside their sphere of influence, and that all their political relations with Afghanistan should be conducted through the intermediary of the British Government; that Great Britain conceded to Russia her permission for Russian and Afghan local officials to settle purely local questions; and, finally, the principle of equal treatment for British and Russian trade was laid down.

In his reply the Amir forwarded the views of his Council of State, of which Sirdar Nasrulla Khan, the Amir's brother, who was fanatically anti-British, was the chief member. Their finding was that the Convention destroyed the independence of Afghanistan and possessed no advantage. It also, in their opinion, gave the right to both Powers to

construct railways in Afghanistan. Minto reported that the Amir himself was favourable to the convention, but could not overcome the opposition of the anti-British party. It had been stipulated that the Treaty would not be valid without the signature of the Amir, but in the autumn of 1908 Iswolsky fortunately declared the convention would, whether the Amir gave his formal adhesion or not, be considered to be a valid instrument. A proof of its importance will be found in the Kaiser's minute on the despatch which informed him of its conclusion. It ran: "Yes, when taken all round, it is aimed at us."

Early in 1907 King Habibulla had visited India, where royal honours were paid him. He also received many tokens of genuine friendship, so much so that he left India determined to base the policy of Afghanistan on friendship with Great Britain. Consequently, although he never signed the convention, King Habibulla, as we shall see, remained firm as a rock to this policy despite the severe strain that was shortly to test him.

The Four Years' War

Upon the outbreak of the Great War the Amir declared the neutrality of Afghanistan. In January, 1916, he stated to the British Agent that he would keep his pledges loyally, but was anxious about Turkey, whose influence on the minds of his subjects was considerable.

Of outstanding importance to the Amir was the despatch from Berlin of a Turko-German Mission to Afghanistan. Germans, in the rôle of explorers, archæologists, and scientists, travelled extensively in Persia during 1913. Among others, Captain Oskar Niedermayer, the future leader of the mission, fell ill at Meshed and was my guest for several weeks in that year, while Zugmayer, a scientist, had received permission to travel in British Baluchistan during the same period.

Upon the outbreak of war, under Enver Pasha's influence, *jihad*, or "holy war," was declared by the Sultan, who was also the Caliph, at Constantinople, and at other Muslim centres. Strengthened by it, the Turko-German Mission, which included Turks and Indian seditionists, started off with instructions to cross Persia to Afghanistan, preaching *jihad* as they passed. To support this mission, various parties, officered by Germans who had travelled in Persia, aided by the Swedish officers of the Persian gendarmerie, were organized to drive out British and Russian colonies from Central and Southern Persia and to seize the treasuries of the Russian and British banks. These parties would act as supports to the Afghan Mission. Nor was this all, since it was

intended to strengthen them by German instructors, who would enlist and train troops for the invasion of India. It was the scheme of Napoleon revived under considerably more favourable conditions.*

To return to the Afghan Mission. Kazim Beg, who accompanied it with a staff of Turkish officers, was especially imbued with the idea of the union of Islam, as were his officers, and their incorporation in it was apparently nominal. The mission crossed Persia in midsummer, and, upon reaching Herat, was placed under guard in a garden outside the city. Similarly, upon reaching Kabul towards the end of September, it was again housed in a garden under guard. In both cases explanations were given that the guard was to serve as a protection to the visitors.

Niedermayer was not received by the Amir until about a month after his arrival at Kabul, when, to quote his letter to the German Minister at Tehran, "the Amir's explanations did not give us much hope." Another epistle, which, as in the case of the above letter, was seized and sent to the Amir, was written by Roehr, and contained the following sentence: "Perhaps we shall find it necessary to begin by organizing a *coup d'état*." In the summer of 1916 the mission was strengthened by the arrival of the supporting body under Von Hentig.

King Habibulla's Policy

The position of the Amir was one of extreme difficulty. The declaration of *jihad* by the Caliph excited the mullas and the people generally, who, however, were aware that it was not binding in Afghanistan unless it was also proclaimed by their own ruler. What actually saved the situation was the fact that Great Britain and Russia were now allies and that the declaration of *jihad* might involve attack by both countries and the ruin of Afghanistan.

King Habibulla played his hand with consummate skill. In view of the strong pressure on him of the pro-Turkish party under Nasrulla Khan and his own eldest son Inayatulla Khan, he delayed matters by convening an Assembly and by engaging in interminable consultations with his advisers. To quote Niedermayer: "One day the Amir says he is for us and the next against us." Finally, Niedermayer realized that, without the arrival in Afghanistan of a powerful Turkish force, there was no hope of winning over the astute Amir.

The capture of Erzerum by the Russians in March, 1916, com-

* For Napoleon's designs *vide* Sykes' *History of Persia*, third edition, pp. 303-305. For German war activities, *vide op. cit.*, ii., pp. 542-545.

pleted the failure of the German Mission. Leaving Kabul in May, owing to the seizure in South Persia of most of the supporting parties of Germans by my force, Niedermayer was fortunate to escape capture, but other members of his staff were taken by the British.

The Indians who had accompanied the mission remained at Kabul and, being joined by some students from the Punjab, wove a conspiracy which had its chief centres at Medina and Kabul. It was designed to unite all Muslim States in a combined effort to overthrow the British Raj. A Provisional Government and an Army of Allah were to be created, with Maulvi Obaydulla, the moving spirit, as Foreign Secretary. If the Amir, who was cognizant of the aims of the conspirators, agreed to join them he would be proclaimed King of India. Sirdar Nasrulla Khan was heart and soul with the conspirators.

In July, 1916, Obaydulla gave the leader of the Indian students three silk handkerchiefs, which contained a full written account of the conspiracy, with instructions to hand them over to a trusted shaykh in Sind, who would forward them to Medina. In due course Abdul Hak, the messenger, who evidently felt some misgivings, and who had been in charge of two sons of a distinguished old Muslim officer at Multan, paid his respects to his employer. Upon the Khan Bahadur asking why he had returned without his young masters, the reply of Abdul Hak was so unsatisfactory that he was soundly beaten, and thereupon confessed and gave up the letters. The silk handkerchiefs proved to be of the utmost importance as revealing the plot with its wide ramifications, which by their seizure was nipped in the bud.

The Third Afghan War

Some two months after the armistice King Habibulla, who had guided the policy of his country with such skill, was assassinated near Jalalabad. The soldiers quite unjustly considered that Ahmad Shah Khan, who was in command of the Amir's bodyguard, was responsible. They consequently arrested him, together with other members of the Musahiban family.*

Nasrulla Khan, the brother of the murdered monarch, was favoured by the army and the mullas, and was proclaimed Amir at Jalalabad.

* This family, which now occupies the throne of Afghanistan, belongs to the Muhammadzai branch of the Durrani, and Nadir Khan, who became King, through his mother was also descended from the Sadozai family. He thus united both branches of the Durrani. The family had acquired the name of Musahiban-i-Khas, or "Personal Equerries."

Meanwhile Amanulla, the third son of the deceased Amir, who, as Governor of Kabul, had possession of the fort, the arsenal, and the treasury, won over the army by promising the soldiers higher pay than that agreed upon by his uncle. This promise, combined with the influence of the Ulya Hazrat, Amanulla's mother, who was the late Amir's chief wife, was decisive. Amanulla, aged twenty-nine, was acclaimed as Amir by the army, and Nasrulla was sent a prisoner to Kabul, where he was declared to be guilty of instigating the assassination of his brother; he shortly afterwards died in prison.

The action of Amanulla in condemning his uncle, and his reinstatement of the suspected Musahiban family into favour, alienated both the mullas and the army. Discontent spread rapidly, and on April 25 the Khutba* was not read in his name at Kandahar. Realizing the seriousness of his position, the impetuous young monarch decided to unite the nation by the proclamation of *jihad*. Thus, throwing to the winds the friendship with the British Government on which his grandfather and father had based their policy, he forced an entirely unjustifiable war on the British. This was termed "the Third Afghan War."

Coming at a time when many war-trained units were serving abroad, when demobilization was proceeding, and when large numbers of officers and men had proceeded on leave, this conflict constituted a great strain on the British army in India. On the other hand, that army possessed the advantages of aeroplanes (albeit they were few in number and of an inferior class) and also mechanical transport.

The first clash took place in the area of the historical Khaibar Pass, where the small garrison at Landi Kotal, which merely consisted of two companies of Indian infantry and five hundred men of the Khyber Rifles, whose loyalty in the face of the declaration of *jihad* could not be depended upon.† The Afghan commander had crossed the frontier on May 3 and had occupied the heights above Landi Kotal with a force consisting of three battalions of infantry and two guns. Had he attacked immediately and overpowered this weak force, the neighbouring tribes would undoubtedly have risen. However, he allowed this golden opportunity to pass, and before long the Afghans were driven from the field by a British column, while Dakka was bombed and subsequently occupied. Later the Afghan position at the Khurd Khaibar was carried, and Jalalabad was also bombed, causing a stampede among the Afghan troops. Again, on May 24 a notable feat was

* The Khutba is the "prayer for the reigning Amir."

† They were disbanded shortly afterwards.

performed by the bombing of Kabul. These operations upset the morale of the Amir, who on May 31 made a formal request for an armistice.

The central front, with its salient of the Kurram Valley supported by Thal, was at this period threatened by Nadir Khan (the future King), who commanded a strong Afghan force in neighbouring Khost. In a position to have attacked Thal, Bannu, or Idak on the Tochi, he decided to attack Thal, and on May 26 he arrived before it with a force of 3,000 infantry and nine Krupp guns. He was also supported by a large body of tribesmen. Fortunately, he attempted no serious attack and contented himself with artillery fire, his Krupp howitzers completely outranging the British artillery.

On June 1 General Dyer, despite intense heat, arrived on the scene and, in the first place, dispersed some 4,000 Khostwal and Wazir tribesmen who were holding a deep *nala* to the south of Thal. He then joined hands with the British. On the following day he attacked and captured the Afghan position, pursuing the retreating Afghans with aeroplanes and armoured cars, while the tired infantry were rested. Once again the Afghans had missed a golden opportunity.

On the southern front the situation was simplified by the fact that from the Gumal Pass southwards, with the exception of the Zhob Valley, there was no unadministered territory to be considered. The boundary cantonment was New Chaman, and five miles within Afghan territory was the fort of Spin-Baldak. The British and Afghan forces were numerically equal, although our strength in modern guns and machine-guns was far greater. It was decided to attack the Spin-Baldak fort, and in pursuance of this plan on May 29 it was surrounded and breached in several places and stormed. The Afghans, who displayed great bravery, fought to the death.

To conclude this brief outline of the Third Afghan War: In spite of the extreme heat and the difficulties of the situation, within eight days of the opening of hostilities the Afghan army in the Khaibar area had been defeated and broken up at a distance of some fifty miles from railhead, while on the central and southern fronts the Afghans were also definitely defeated. Coming so soon after the titanic conflict of the World War, this relatively insignificant campaign passed almost unnoticed in Great Britain, but yet, taking all the circumstances into account, it represented no mean achievement.

Armistice and Treaty

On May 28 a letter was received from the Amir, who, while complaining of the air bombardment of Kabul and Jalalabad, was nevertheless "prepared to be magnanimous." The Viceroy in his reply laid down the terms on which an armistice would be granted. It was decided that the treaty for the restoration of peace should be followed by a probationary period of six months, during which the Amir should show signs of friendship, and upon the fulfilment of these conditions a "treaty of friendship" was to be concluded.

The Afghan delegates duly appeared at Rawalpindi, but their attitude was so truculent and their claims so preposterous that it was decided that the treaty should be presented to them as an ultimatum. Its terms included the confiscation of the arrears of subsidy due to the late Amir, and laid down that no subsidy would be granted to Amanulla. After interminable discussions it appeared that the delegates, permeated with the spirit of nationalism, were prepared to sign the treaty if the independence of Afghanistan and the freedom of her foreign relations were secured, and, on these terms, the Treaty of Peace was concluded on August 8, 1919.

This treaty was severely criticized by the army, whose leaders held that these peace terms should have been dictated at Kabul, after the capture of that city. Taking, however, into account our experience of events after the Second Afghan War, such a course might well have meant anarchy for a long period. As we know, in 1880 this was only saved by the providential reappearance on the scene of Abdur Rahman Khan. Again, it was clearly impossible to continue the old arrangement without giving some form of guarantee to Afghanistan against foreign aggression. As was to be expected, the result was regarded as a triumph by Amanulla, who declared that he had drawn the sword to vindicate the claim of Afghanistan to independence, and had won it.

Post-War Events

Before dealing with the next stage in these negotiations, it seems desirable to mention events occurring in other countries which materially influenced Indo-Afghan relations.

To take the case of Turkey. In June, 1919, military action by the Greeks in Anatolia, which ultimately failed entirely, was sanctioned. This policy was denounced throughout the Muslim world. In India

the Khalifat movement, in the following year, developed into *hijrat*,* or emigration, some 18,000 Indians leaving their land and homes and emigrating to Afghanistan. The first comers were welcomed, but admission was perforce finally refused. Disillusioned, the emigrants returned to their villages, where their property was restored to them. To continue this survey: In 1919 the Whites were steadily advancing in Russia, but were defeated by the Bolsheviks in the following year. In Persia the Anglo-Persian Agreement signed in 1919 was finally rejected by the Persian Parliament in 1921, while in Iraq there was the Arab revolt in 1920. Added to this list there were troubles in Ireland.

To turn to frontier affairs, the Afridis had surrendered Government arms and property and had paid a fine, but the Khyber Rifles were not reconstituted. In Waziristan the decision to occupy Razmak and to construct a circular road produced good results.

In the spring of 1920 the Mussoorie Conference, as it was termed, took place, but, owing to Afghan claims that the frontier tribes should be handed over to them and also on account of various Afghan outrages, merely an *aide-mémoire* containing a summary of the intentions and wishes of the British was given to the delegates.

Later in the year the expulsion by the Bolsheviks of the Amir of Bukhara, who took refuge in Afghanistan, produced a revulsion of feeling and a readiness to negotiate an alliance with the British. Accordingly, in response to the Amir's invitation, Sir Henry Dobbs, who had represented Great Britain at the Mussoorie Conference, reached Kabul in January, 1921. There the position was made difficult by the signature of a Russo-Afghan treaty in February of that year. By its terms Russian consulates were allowed to be established in Afghanistan, while the Russians promised a yearly subsidy of one million gold roubles, together with a supply of munitions.

During this same period an Afghan Mission toured Europe signing various agreements. It reached England, where the leader, who had specific instructions to ignore the India Office, was curtly informed by Lord Curzon at the Foreign Office that he had nothing to do with Afghan matters. It was most inopportune that this mission was despatched before the conclusion of the treaty at Kabul. Naturally, relations became strained at that city, but finally, after the mission had decided to withdraw, the Amir, apparently acting under a sudden impulse, signed the treaty.

* *Hijrat* in this sense signifies quitting a country ruled by a ruler who cannot be accepted by Muslims.

Of considerable importance at this period was the signature in March, 1921, of a Turko-Afghan treaty. Russo-Turkish, Russo-Persian, and Turko-Persian treaties were also signed at Moscow, thus proving that Russia's policy was to build up a strong entente with these Muslim States and to unite them with one another. Probably a hostile feeling to Great Britain constituted the underlying motive of the contracting Powers.

In March, 1922, the British Legation at Kabul was founded by Sir Francis Humphrys, a distinguished frontier officer who was thoroughly conversant with Afghan mentality. At that time Russia, paying, as she did, a handsome subsidy in money and munitions, occupied a strong position at Kabul, albeit the Amir must have realized that any Russian threat to India could only be made good at the expense of Afghanistan. As regards the tribes of the North-West Frontier, Amanulla fished continually in these troubled waters. He also particularly disliked the construction of the Khaibar railway. The Soviet Minister thus found numerous agents to conduct his sinister intrigues with the turbulent Wazirs, Mahsuds, and other tribes. There were frequent murders of British officers and their wives, and other outrages. The Afghan Government, at first, failed to keep its promises to seize the guilty, but was finally induced to comply with the reasonable demands of the British Government, in spite of the fear of "thinning the prickly hedge," to use the Afghan expression.

In 1922 and the following years France, Germany, Italy, and Turkey founded legations or other establishments at Kabul. The French colony included distinguished archæologists, who commenced their successful excavations at Bamian. The German colony, which was at first represented by a *chargé d'affaires*, and consisted of engineers, doctors, and teachers, rapidly increased, an Afghan-German treaty being signed in 1926. Later Germany played a leading rôle in commercial matters. Finally, Turkey was represented by Fakhri Pasha, a fanatical Anglophobe. He was accompanied by a staff of instructors, whose services were not, however, utilized by the Afghan Government—much to his annoyance. At this period the abolition of the Caliphate by Turkey dumbfounded the leaders of the Khalifat movement in India and improved the British position in that country.

King Amanulla's Reforms

To turn to Afghan home affairs. The Amir attempted to push through reforms, some of which were excellent, far too rapidly. Especially obnoxious was the new Administrative Code, drafted by a

Turkish adviser, which the mullas declared to be unlawful. In 1924 a serious rebellion broke out in Khost, and an Afghan force was cut to pieces by the rebels. However, tribesmen were enlisted by a lavish expenditure of money, and in January, 1925, the rebellion was crushed. Apparently its main cause was opposition to a section in the Code which deprived the husband and the father of his power to treat his wives and daughters as mere chattels!

The cost of the rebellion was very heavy, and, had the army been properly paid and well led, it could never have lasted for nearly a year. Actually the soldiers could barely live on the miserable pittance they received, while their equipment was very bad. The staff and senior regimental officers were recruited from young Afghans who had received a smattering of military education in Europe or at Kabul. They superseded the older and more experienced officers, who bitterly resented the change. Amanulla, except at a crisis, most unwisely grudged money to the army.

In 1928 King Amanulla and Queen Souriya visited Europe. They were welcomed in Egypt by King Fuad, by the King and Pope in Italy, by the President in France, and by President Hindenburg in Berlin. In England they were welcomed at Victoria Station by King George, Queen Mary, and the Prime Minister. After the usual functions in London the royal visitors spent busy days in inspecting various branches of the navy, the army, and the air force. They also inspected factories. Nor were sporting events neglected. Generally speaking, the cordiality of their reception, the conferring upon Amanulla the Collar of the Royal Victorian Order, and the friendly attitude of all classes, created the deepest impression upon our Afghan visitors.

In somewhat bleak contrast was the subsequent visit paid to Russia, which was distinctly summed up by the suite, if not by the King himself, as anticlimax. In Muslim Turkey the reception was genuinely warm, as also in Persia, although the successful progress in modernization in these two countries possibly led to the ruin of Amanulla. He celebrated his return to Kabul by a speech which lasted five days, during which he referred with pride to the treaties he had negotiated and the friendships he had made.

The 1928-29 Rebellion

During the long absence of their King the mullas had excited the people, more especially against the appearance of the Queen unveiled while in Europe, as proved by the Press photographs, and fuel was

added to the fire when, after her return to Kabul, she appeared unveiled at a banquet. Amanulla, heedless of the rising storm, increased the length of compulsory service in the army, while a month's pay was taken from every official to cover the purchase of armaments. He next ordered that any Government servant who took a second wife would be called on to resign his appointment. Perhaps his most foolish order was to insist on all Afghans wearing complete European dress, including hats, in Kabul. The result of this truly preposterous edict was the creation of a body of men who set up booths on each highway and hired out clothes for the day to villagers bound for the market!

The storm broke, and that quickly. In the district of Kuhistan a successful brigand, Habibulla by name, but generally known as *Bacha-i-Sakau*, or "Child of the Water-Carrier," organized a rebellion. He began by closing the roads to Kabul and by constant sniping. He soon found out that the army was with him, while merchants and shopkeepers, realizing the serious situation, shut their doors and hid their property. Hapless Amanulla thereupon abdicated in favour of Inayatulla, and fled to Kandahar by car. Inayatulla, who was in an impossible position, opened up negotiations with Habibulla, who requested Humphrys to evacuate him by air, which was done.

The situation at the British Legation was serious. Occupying an area of twenty acres to the west of Kabul, it was merely protected by a wall of sun-dried bricks. Habibulla's men wished to take possession of it as being an advantageous military position, but although Humphrys, by his knowledge of *pashtu* and by his personality, was able to avert this danger, the buildings suffered alike from shell and rifle fire throughout this period. The British women were in hourly danger of their lives, but they bravely carried on. Finally, it was decided to evacuate the British women and children without delay, and subsequently members of the foreign community. It is to the usurper's credit that he guarded the aerodrome when necessary.

Habibulla had entered the citadel shortly after the departure of Inayatulla in January, 1929, and proclaimed his assumption of sovereignty under the title of Amir Habibulla, Ghazi. He then issued a proclamation, by the terms of which he abolished the unpopular reforms and also conscription. His treasury was, however, empty, and he set to work to "squeeze" wealthy merchants to obtain money. His position was always insecure. He was of mean birth and merely a peasant, and therefore despised by every Afghan tribesman. Equally the powerful body of Afghan merchants at Peshawar, realizing that they would be

ruined under this régime, were bitterly hostile to the usurper and on the lookout for a new Amir.

At this juncture Amanulla, supported by the Durrani tribesmen at Kandahar, again proclaimed himself King. Had he possessed the courage of his ancestors, he might have regained his throne early in 1929, when his troops had defeated the Ghilzais and were entering Ghazni. However, fearing treachery, he fled to India and later to Europe. Thus passed off the scene King Amanulla, who stands condemned at the bar of history for inflicting on Afghanistan the scourge of "the Son of the Water-Carrier." Yet in his defence it may be pleaded that many of his reforms were sound. Had he treated his army liberally, as it deserved to be treated, and moved slowly, he might still be ruling Afghanistan. But he exemplified the Persian proverb, which runs: "Haste is from the Devil."

In February, 1929, since conditions in Afghanistan had become chaotic, it was decided to evacuate the Legation. Last to leave was Humphrys, who bore with him the British flag, which he had kept flying with such courage. The King congratulated Humphrys, as also the Royal Air Force, which in eighty-two flights, carried out over snow-clad ranges in a country practically devoid of landing-grounds, had evacuated 580 passengers of many nationalities without incurring a single casualty. It was indeed a great feat.

King Nadir Shah

Nadir Khan was recovering from an illness at Nice when he heard of the capture of Kabul by the brigand *Bacha-i-Sakau*. Carried on board the P. and O. steamer on a stretcher, he reached Peshawar on February 28, 1929. He decided to proceed to Khost, where, as we have seen, he had commanded the troops during the Third Afghan War, but, owing to tribal jealousies, his reception was most disappointing. Although the general feeling was anger that a mere peasant should usurp the throne, the tribesmen revelled in looting and reviving ancient feuds, and were not keen on the re-establishment of law and order.

Nadir Khan, with the men he could muster, attacked the Kabul forces at Baraki, but was defeated by the treachery of Ghaus-ud-Din, a Ghilzai chief, who fell on his rear. Again and again the gallant Afghan leader had no luck and was driven back. Finally, however, his appeals, published in a weekly paper aptly termed *Islah*, or "Peace," won over sections of the Wazirs and Mohmands, who joined

him in force. Although a Kabul army at this period defeated Hashim Khan, the brother of Nadir, who was driven to take refuge in British territory, Nadir himself, supported by the Wazirs, reached the historical battlefield of Charasia. There, by a feigned retreat, the usurper's troops were drawn out of their entrenchments and decisively beaten. Nadir Khan thereupon entered Kabul and was proclaimed King. Habibulla, who had fled, surrendered and was shot, each tribesman firing a bullet into his corpse so as to be able to boast: "I helped kill the *Bacha-i-Sakau*."

The position of King Nadir Shah was one of very great difficulty. There was no money in the treasury; there were risings of the Shinwaris and of the followers of the late usurper; these were promptly suppressed. More difficult was the rebellion in the northern provinces, which was only broken after much hard fighting. Finally, however, peace was restored to bloodstained Afghanistan, and in 1930 the British Legation was reopened by Mr. (now Sir Richard) Maconachie.

The declared policy of Nadir Shah was the gradual introduction of law and order, of education, and the development of commerce; but the foundation was to be built on the tenets of Islam. He realized that "hasten slowly" was the best policy in conservative Afghanistan.

The North-West Frontier Province

At this point some reference to the sinister activities of some Muslim inhabitants of the North-West Frontier Province, who are termed Red Shirts, is desirable. Its moving spirits are Abdul Ghaffar and his brother Khan Sahib, sons of a landowner on the Peshawar border. Both brothers were educated at the Church Missionary Society school at Peshawar, and Khan Sahib later took a medical degree at Edinburgh. Their sister married the Haji of Turangzai, a notable firebrand.

Abdul Ghaffar in 1919 started a violent agitation against the Rowlatt Act, and, but for the defeat of the Afghans in the Khaibar Pass, the trouble would have been more serious.

Later the brothers joined the Congress party and organized an unscrupulous campaign of hatred and vituperation against the British Raj. The result was a serious attack on Peshawar by tribal *lashkars* in 1930.

Winning the votes of the unsophisticated tribesmen by the promise of free land without taxation, Khan Sahib defeated the Ministry of the late Sir Abdul Qaiyum in September, 1937, by a narrow majority, and was Chief Minister until the Congress Government resigned towards

the close of 1939 under orders of the Congress Working Committee. The difficulties of the British officials who were called upon to cooperate with men who had been avowed enemies of Great Britain in India merit our deep sympathy. It is obvious that the disturbances caused by the mischievous activities of the Red Shirts must have reacted unfavourably on our position in Afghanistan. It is, however, satisfactory to know that the Afghan Government discouraged the movement, while the Afghans, generally speaking, disapproved of the alliance between Muslim Red Shirts and "the idolators," as they termed the Hindus.

Assassination of King Nadir Shah

The new order in Afghanistan was not destined to be established without three tragedies. The first was the murder at Berlin in July, 1933, of Aziz Khan, an elder brother of the King, who was Afghan Minister. The assassin was a member of a body of Afghan students who were drug addicts. Upon his arrest he declared that his action constituted a protest against the British being permitted to take control of the tribes of the North-West Frontier. In the same year another member of the same body, after failing to reach the British Minister, murdered the Mir Munshi and an English chauffeur.

The culminating tragedy occurred on November 8, 1933, when Nadir Shah, who had summarily executed a certain Gholam Nabi Khan for high treason, was assassinated by one of his retainers. Thus fell King Nadir Shah, who ranks among the greatest of Afghan rulers. Without money or following, and suffering from permanent bad health, by sheer valour and force of personality he had rescued his country from a cruel usurper and had probably saved it from a long period of anarchy.

Thanks to the stability of the Government and the affection felt for the murdered monarch, his son was immediately proclaimed as King Zahir Shah. The youthful monarch, who ascended the throne under such tragical circumstances, was born in 1914, and at the age of ten accompanied his father to France, where he studied for some six years. He married a cousin in 1931 and is the father of two sons. He takes a keen interest in his army, and more especially in the air force.

The Present Régime

The Government of Afghanistan is now a constitutional monarchy. The Premier is Sirdar Hashim Khan, a brother of Nadir Shah, and there are the usual Departments for War, Foreign Affairs, and so forth.

The questions of finance and trade have been extremely difficult, since Nadir Shah was faced with an empty treasury and impoverished subjects. Consequently the Afghani rupee (worth about one-quarter of the Indian rupee), which had been supported for many years by the British subsidies to the Amirs, began to fall sharply, and it became a vital matter to correct the adverse balance of trade which existed. To effect this, in 1933 a National Bank was founded to deal with exchange, of which it was granted a monopoly, while commerce was handled by the formation of the Ashami (or Joint-Stock) Company. To it monopolies were granted which covered (*a*) the import of sugar and petroleum products, (*b*) purchases and sales on behalf of Government, and (*c*) exploitation of mines, establishment of factories, etc.

Afghanistan is a poor country, and its chief export is that of Karakuli lambskins, averaging, perhaps, one million sterling per annum. The second important export, which is valued at one-half of the former, is the fruit crop. The fact that the chief export is distinctly a luxury commodity, depending alike on prosperity and fashion, constitutes a distinct economic weakness.

The sound policy has been followed by reducing imports by growing cotton and sugar beet. Factories for cloth and sugar were also established by the Ashami Company, but are now being sold to private capitalists. To conclude this brief outline: The existence of oil was proved in the Herat province, but the field was not of sufficient importance to justify the very heavy cost of constructing a pipe-line to the Arabian Sea. No other minerals of any commercial value have been found, and a German prospecting company, from lack of results, surrendered its concession.

To turn to the position on the North-West Frontier. For the first time the Afghan Government has ceased to encourage the warlike, fanatical tribesmen to give trouble to the British. On our side, British policy, which includes roads, hospitals, and schools, is slowly creating a new and a better feeling; it also improves the economic position of the tribesmen, who were extremely poor, but who now have access to markets. In view of the fact that Kabul has become a centre of law and order and of civilizing influences, is it not reasonable to hope that the tribesmen, who are now living between two areas of civilization, may gradually give up their passion for feuds and raiding and become law-abiding citizens?

The Four-Power Treaty

Afghanistan did not join the League of Nations upon its foundation in 1920, but held aloof, as also did Turkey and Russia. Persia had joined the League before negotiating her treaty with Russia in 1921; Turkey followed in the same year; while Russia and Afghanistan both became members in 1934. Of much greater importance is the treaty of the four Muslim Powers—Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan, and Iraq. To give some account of its formation in 1934, there was a dispute between Iraq and Persia as to the rights of each Power on the Shatt-al-Arab, which came before the League Council in January, 1935, without any result. However, in that year the two Powers agreed to come to terms. Furthermore, on the initiative of Persia, with the strong support of Turkey, negotiations were undertaken for the formation of a Middle Eastern Pact, in which Afghanistan would be included. As a preliminary, on July 4, 1937, an Iranian-Iraq Agreement, which settled on reasonable terms the Shatt-al-Arab dispute, was signed, and a few days later the Treaty of Sa'adabad was also signed at Tehran. This pact may be described as one of friendship, non-aggression, and consultation with one another.

Russia and India

Before concluding this lecture it seems desirable to make a few remarks on the strategical situation of Afghanistan. The Afghan army is recruited by a mixture of compulsory service for two years and voluntary service for life. Officers are recruited for life. The peace strength of the army is 60,000, but its armed tribesmen, who may be half a million strong, constitute a formidable second line. Mechanized transport has been introduced to some extent, and a small air force has been established. It is clear that Russia alone is her potential enemy, and will be treated as such. Kabul, the capital, is protected from invasion by the U.S.S.R. owing to the lofty and rugged double range of the Hindu Kush. But Badakhshan and her other district in the Oxus Valley could not be effectually held against large Russian forces that the railway could transport to Termez, more especially as no reinforcements could be sent from Kabul during the winter months. Again, Russia, from the Trans-Caspian Railway (which runs from that sea to the main northern line), constructed a strategical branch line from Merv to New Kushk, which is situated only some eighty miles from Herat, with no intervening physical barrier, and Herat could offer little resistance to Russian heavy artillery. From Herat to

Kandahar is some 200 miles by the caravan route via Sabzawar and Farah. The country to be crossed presents few physical difficulties and is suitable for tanks, whippets, and lorries. If Persia were allied to Afghanistan, she might be able to attack the Russian lines of communication to some small extent.

We now take the other side of the situation. From the days of the Moghul Empire, Kabul and Kandahar have been held to be the Keys of India, and I should not envy the position of a Russian army which could only be supplied by a single-track railway from an immense distance, whether we reckon from Moscow via Orenburg and Bukhara or via the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea; the distance in both cases is about 2,200 miles. I have travelled along both these routes on more than one occasion, and was struck by the lack of towns of any importance and of commercial activity throughout. The recently constructed town of Magnitogorsk in the Ural Mountains, with its rich iron mines, will, however, have improved the Russians' position to some extent. There is also the recent but badly constructed Turk-Sib railway, which runs from the Trans-Siberian railway at Novo-Sibirsk to a junction between Pishpok (Frunze) and the Sir Daria, not far from Tashkent. But the whole province of Russian Turkestan is now devoted to growing cotton, and food supplies for a large force would be unobtainable.

It would, then, seem to be unwise for Russia to attempt to invade India across Afghanistan, as she would presumably be met on the Kabul-Kandahar line by Afghan troops, strongly supported by British troops holding a strong position. Moreover, her lines of communication would be repeatedly attacked by the tribes on her flanks. On the other hand, Russia might be tempted to occupy Afghan-Turkestan in the Oxus Valley or even the Herat province. Yet to hold these conquests would need large forces, which it would be difficult to keep in the field. Stalin, however, might conceivably undertake a venture in which he would be doomed to failure.

In conclusion, Dr. Johnson laid down that the greatest of virtues was courage, since without it there is no security for any other. I know no race braver than the Afghans, and I sincerely wish them the prosperous future that they surely merit.

The CHAIRMAN: Not even in the Mother of Parliaments, where in the course of a fairly long experience I have sometimes suffered from the necessity of listening to long speeches, would our most vocal legis-

lators venture, I think, into competition with the ex-Amir Amanulla, who, we have been told this afternoon, on one historic occasion made a speech lasting for five days. I am certainly not going to enter into any such competition, but since it is customary at these meetings to hold some discussion at the end of the lecture, I may perhaps be permitted to occupy not five days but some five minutes in making one or two observations on the subject matter of the really most valuable and informative lecture to which we have listened this afternoon.

Our lecturer has told us of the attraction which Western inventions and Western customs had for the ex-Amir Amanulla. I remember being present at an interesting and somewhat amusing display of this characteristic on the part of Amanulla. We were at Hatfield, Lord Salisbury's famous house and garden, where a reception had been organized in honour of our distinguished guest. I shall never forget the delight which spread over Amanulla's face when he insisted upon one of his staff entering the famous maze there without a guide, and found his unfortunate official quite incapable of finding his way out of the maze. He declared that this was a thing which he must institute at Kabul, since it would provide a more merciful means than was sometimes customary in that country of getting rid of an inconvenient rival!

Then I feel that I must say a word in favour of Dr. Khan Sahib, who has been painted in somewhat dark colours by our distinguished lecturer. I have only been brought into contact with Dr. Khan Sahib in very recent times. He was at one time the medical officer of that famous frontier regiment the Guides, but more recently he has been the Prime Minister of the North-West Frontier Province, and I do not think that the Governor of that province would dissent if I were to say that Dr. Khan Sahib proved to be a most charming man to work with. He provides us, indeed, with a very striking illustration of the almost universal experience of mankind: that when a man is once charged with real responsibility, his outlook upon the affairs of men is apt to undergo a very marked change.

In the course of his lecture Sir Percy Sykes has given us a very graphic picture of the vicissitudes which have accompanied the evolution of Afghanistan since it became a sovereign independent State at the end of the Third Afghan War in 1919. A strong, stable and friendly Afghan administration has always been a British interest, and never more so perhaps than it is to-day, and if in the past we sought to secure our interests by a measure of control over and by granting sub-

sidies to the Government of that country, we have now recognized the advantages of securing them through the agency of a stable, friendly and independent kingdom; for we are satisfied that the friendship of an independent sovereign State is a surer foundation on which to rest our common interests than a State subject to an uneasy subserviency, irksome to the freedom-loving spirit of the Afghan people. That there is a powerful bond of common interest between India and Afghanistan must be apparent to anyone who considers the geographical, the political, and the economic circumstances of the two countries.

Hence the satisfaction and the sympathy with which we have watched the internal progress of the country during the past ten years under the wise policy of orderly development inaugurated by Nadir Shah and continued under the present King with the powerful aid of his uncles, Muhammad Hashim, the Prime Minister, Shah Mahmud, the Defence Minister, who visited us here in London in 1937 and 1936 respectively, and Shah Wali, who was King Nadir's first representative at the Court of St. James. Neither has our sympathy lacked practical expression, for we have been able to render the present Afghan Government assistance from time to time in various ways, as, for example, by the provision of facilities for them in India to train the cadets of their young but growing air force. The two countries have likewise a common interest in the maintenance of peace in the tribal areas which lie between their respective boundaries, and when, as unhappily sometimes occurs, we are driven by the lawlessness of the tribes to embark upon military action against them, we always bear closely in mind the possible repercussions of any action which we may have in mind upon the tribes upon the Afghan side of the border and upon the interests, consequently, of the Afghan régime.

But there is to-day, when whole nations are ranged up against one another in battle array, a bond of sympathy between us which derives from more general circumstances. Not to mention the powerful Turkish State, with which we have recently contracted an agreement indicative of our friendship and of our common interests, it is not too much to say, I think, that in this war the sympathies of the whole world of Islam are ranged on the side of the Western Allies. Egypt and Iraq are in alliance with us. With the ruler of Sa'udi-Arabia our relations could not be more friendly than in fact they are. In India the Muslims of that country, through the mouthpiece of the Muslim Prime Minister of the Punjab, have offered unconditionally their support to the Allies in this great contest.

This solidarity has been brought about partly by a common fear of the aggressive megalomania of the Dictators of Munich and Moscow, and partly by abhorrence of the contemptuous treatment meted out by them to the religious beliefs of other peoples, for in large parts of Asia religion is still the *summum bonum* of existence for which men are prepared cheerfully to lay down their lives. (Applause.)

I have occupied more than my five minutes. Let me therefore now ask Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who requires no introduction to an audience of this kind, whether he would make some contribution to the discussion which I have inaugurated.

Sir MICHAEL O'DWYER: I am sure I am expressing the feelings of this great audience when I say how indebted we are to our lecturer. He has with wonderful skill, clearness and impartiality unravelled the tangled skein of Afghan relations with Great Britain and other parts of the world. We are glad to hear from our Chairman that the history of Afghanistan is about to appear from the pen of a man who combines distinction as an historian with unique local knowledge of Central Asia.

We here are chiefly interested in Afghanistan from the point of view of its relations with India, and those relations are determined by three factors—geography, race and religion. In Afghanistan we find warlike races, often fiercely fanatical and living in arid surroundings. From their mountain areas they look down on the rich cities and the well-watered plains of India, inhabited by what they used to consider a soft, unwarlike race, and a race chiefly of non-believers. What would be the feelings of an Afghan of the old type, and one of a comparatively recent type, when he surveyed that position? They are crystallized in four lines:

The mountain sheep is sweeter,
But the valley sheep is fatter.
We therefore think it meeter
To carry off the latter.

That is what the Afghans had been doing for hundreds of years, from the eleventh century.

Later on, when another Afghan invader carried off the Koh-i-noor, it found its way back to the British Crown: and in the middle of the eighteenth century, when Nadir Shah looted Delhi and carried away the Peacock Throne, twenty years later he was followed by another great Afghan conqueror who extended the boundaries of Afghanistan over practically all the Punjab and Kashmir, and in his time his fol-

lowers established principalities in British India—Cawnpore, Bhopal and others. You see, therefore, what a large part the Afghans played in Northern India.

It is a trite fact that these invasions came to a halt at the end of the eighteenth century. Why? The British power arrived on the scene. Up till then no invader from Afghanistan into India ever failed. After the rise of British power, no invasion from Afghanistan ever succeeded. One only was attempted, and that was the mad enterprise of the King Amanulla, to which our lecturer referred.

I was in the Punjab at the time of that invasion, and I would like to supplement what the lecturer said by a few words. In March, 1918, a great agitation, fomented by wicked propaganda, was carried on against the Government. It was headed by Mr. Gandhi, who led the civil disobedience movement. That agitation gave rise to serious outrages in Northern India. At the end of March there were serious collisions between the police and the revolutionaries at Delhi. A week later we in the Punjab found a storm had broken over us. By April 10 the tribes were in a state of open revolution, and the revolutionaries had sent emissaries to Amanulla, asking him to come as their deliverer. He was only too ready to proclaim a *jihād*, and at once began to mass his armies against the Indian frontier.

We in the Punjab knew what was coming. We knew that if, as was intended, the Afghan invasion synchronized with our troubles in the Punjab, the trouble would be more serious. We had to act promptly and drastically. By April 25 we had the rebellion under control, and fortunately the invasion did not materialize on our frontier till a week later. Amanulla had been told that he would be welcomed in India as the liberator; instead of that he found 20,000 men barring his approach. The Afghan armies were overwhelmed in a few weeks and driven back, and we carried war into the enemy's territory. The Amir sued for peace and the result was the Treaty of Rawalpindi. Many people thought, and perhaps with some justice, that though we had won the war, we had lost the peace. Anyhow, Amanulla was able to claim the victory, and to erect a war memorial in which he showed a British soldier at the feet of a triumphant Afghan soldier. That triumph enabled Amanulla, in spite of his foolish and mad policy, to carry on with his mad rule for seven or eight years longer, until his own people got tired of his follies and turned him out.

After a short interregnum Nadir Shah came to the throne. After his murder he was succeeded by his son, King Zahir Shah, and to-day our

relations with Afghanistan are most friendly and cordial. It is most important that this should be so. I do not think we realize how essential it is to have a friendly Afghanistan. We had two great crises in the last century in India, one in the Mutiny and one in the Great War. In both these crises the Afghans, in spite of many temptations to take advantage of our difficulties, were invaluable to us, and I am sure that will last under the present régime. Of course, the tribal follies will still go on. The tribal leaders will still sing the old song,

The mountain sheep is sweeter,
But the valley sheep is fatter,

but we will be able to deal with those.

As regards the future, in this war—as our Chairman has told us—we are in a much stronger position in India than we were in the last war. Then we had a hostile Turkey, and Iran and the Arab races in a state of flux. To-day we have a friendly Turkey. Every Muslim country from Istanbul to Peshawar is for us or is a friendly neutral. They all know that our cause is a right one, and they are all equally determined, as we are, to resist the godless forces of aggression.

We have been told to-day that we have much in common with the Afghans. We have. They are delightful people to make friends with. They have a great sense of humour. Here is one instance. When the Amir was returning to Afghanistan in 1907 the Chief Commissioner gave a dinner party to him and his party. I happened to be at the party and was sitting beside the King. The Afghans love the pipes, and to do him honour we asked the pipes of the Black Watch to come and play during the dinner. They came in full strength, sixteen of them, headed by a magnificent drum-major. They circled round the table, almost bursting their diaphragms and raising the roof. Finally, when the royal toasts were going to be proposed, they massed up behind the Amir's chair. Then to our intense relief they gradually filed out. We said, "We hope Your Majesty enjoyed the pipes. We are very proud of them." He replied, "Yes, they were splendid"; and then with a twinkle in his eye he went on, "One would have been sufficient." (Laughter.) It took the Black Watch a long time to get over that. (Applause.)

Mrs. EDWARD MALAN (formerly Miss Audrey Harris): In his very interesting observations in connection with the possible invasion of Afghanistan by Russia across the Oxus, our speaker made reference to the wonderful natural protection that Kabul has in the Hindu Kush

range. I cannot help just wondering whether there is not a certain amount of natural protection in the northern plain, in the great sand dunes and marshes that follow the river. It seemed to me that they would be quite impossible for any heavy transport. Of course, aircraft could fly over them, but for any big campaign it would be really impossible for wheeled traffic to pass.

We rode across about twelve miles of these sand dunes, and the horses were sinking into the soft sand at every step. I was told that the only wheeled traffic that had ever crossed the plain was a Baby Austin. The wonderful tracks that seemed to run between these extraordinary sand dunes were continually being obliterated by blowing sand. Even my military escort entirely lost the road, and we rode in the opposite direction for about three hours. Then we got on to marshy land, in which it was impossible for the horses to go more than a few feet. In the dark even the local military officer and his soldier could not find a single little track that crossed this marsh. After two or three hours we discovered a shepherd, who knew it well enough to find it in the dark. It was a single-track pathway. According to the map this sand dune seems to stretch right along the river to the westward of the Afghan frontier.

Then from the Turkestan side, I do not know what facilities there are for bringing across great military necessities now. I was there at the end of 1936 and they were attempting to build a very small quay, but then there was no landing stage and only about three ferry steamers, paddle boats. The river there is full of sand shallows.

I could not help thinking, when we heard these encouraging remarks of the very friendly relations between Afghanistan and the British, that it is a pity we allow the Germans to have practically the entire monopoly of supplying the Afghans with machinery and technical experts as advisers in all their new modern concerns, concerns which they are developing with great activity. An Afghan friend said to me, "We should like to buy our machinery from England and to have British experts here to help us, but Afghanistan is a very poor country and we simply cannot afford it." The Germans can meet them because they have their Government subsidy. In the cotton mills they were getting quotations and good samples from Germany at 12s. 6d., similar samples from the British cost £3. They wanted to have British managers for the cotton mills they were starting. He said, "I can get very good men from Germany for £30, whereas I should have to pay an Englishman £80."

It seems a pity not to cement these very happy relationships with Afghanistan in the way of mutual trading backwards and forwards.

Sir LOUIS DANE: I suppose the reason for my being asked to speak is that I was responsible for making the treaty with Amir Habibulla on March 21, 1905. It is a much-disputed treaty, and it was only very painfully acquired. I was in Afghanistan from December till March, and at times we rejoiced in a temperature of 52 degrees of frost with a howling blizzard through the gorges of the western hills. It was almost colder than anything we have had in Europe this winter. The Amir was overcome by the cold and gout, and took to his bed. Several of our meetings were held round his bed, and it was very uncertain that he would survive. The question was, What would happen to the Mission if he did not survive? Some suggestions were made that we should depart with a suitable excuse, but I had vividly in mind the *débâcle* of 1842, when the people retired from Kabul in the winter, and I decided to remain where I was because we could not get down to India and we were far too valuable as hostages not to be well looked after whatever happened to the Amir. Eventually the treaty was signed.

The Government of India and Lord Curzon desired that it should be a purely military treaty to arrange for the co-operation of Afghanistan and India in military matters. Lord Curzon desired that the Amir should come down to India and make a treaty there with him personally, which would be a sign to all the world of the relations between Afghanistan and the British Government. H.M. Government thought it would be quite sufficient if we renewed the arrangements we had made with Amanulla, his father. Habibulla himself said that Japan had cut off the legs of Russia, and now I was being sent by His Majesty the King to cut off the head of Russia. So altogether I think you will agree that the lot of the unfortunate envoy was not a happy one. Whatever he did, he was bound to irritate somebody. I am not sure that I did not succeed in irritating all of them.

It was quite possible I could have broken off the arrangements, or even forced Habibulla to go down to India; but if I had, the very first time there was any trouble he would have gone against us. And so it happened.

Habibulla about that time married a lady who was a very charming person, and had been educated in Dehra Dun. All went well. The father and uncle were in high favour and pressed the Indian alliance on Habibulla, and Habibulla said he would like to go down

and see Lord Minto, but there was to be no business talked. If that lady had only produced an heir, the whole history of Afghanistan might have been changed, but unfortunately she only had a daughter.

The fourth wife of the Amir was not of royal family. She was a very clever woman. She had a son. I am afraid I am a male Cassandra. I can always prophesy evil with the greatest success. I expressed the opinion that, if Habibulla lived for another ten or twelve years, an attempt would certainly be made by this lady to have her son put upon the throne in preference to the others.

One of the three men who were present just about the time that Habibulla was murdered in 1919 gave me a most graphic account of the whole proceedings. Amanulla and his mother were in Kabul, and Amanulla became Amir, and that really led to all the troubles that we have had ever since. He had to justify his position, and he did that by declaring a *jihad*.

The only thing I feel is that for nearly a hundred and fifty years we have always regarded the advance of Russia to India with feelings of considerable apprehension. It has led us to more than one war, and certainly Russia has made the most extraordinary and gigantic strides. There is no question about it, and with the railways from the Caspian to Kushk, and with two broad-gauge lines from the centre of Russia and Siberia, Russia is in a very much more promising position to attack India, if she wanted to do so, than she ever has been before.

It is true she is slow to move and her troops are not of the highest quality, but she has the most extraordinary capacity for persistence. You have just seen what has happened in Finland. She has waited her time. She has got back the whole of Poland that she had, and the Baltic States that she had, and I can only say I hope Sir Percy Sykes is right, but at the same time we shall do well to follow Cromwell's advice and, while trusting in Providence, keep our powder dry.

It is quite true that at present we have this Islamic *bloc* of Turkey, Iran, Iraq and certain support from Arabia. As long as we can retain that, we shall do well; but unfortunately sometimes—quite recently, in fact—there was a tendency to decry the Muslims and find comfort, in India at any rate, with the more numerous bodies of other religions. Some time ago I ventured to suggest that, if we could only assure the Oslo *bloc* of Scandinavian Powers and the Balkan *bloc*, if they would form a definite, strong offensive and defensive alliance, we would be prepared to support them; but that if they would not do so, we were not going to pull other people's chestnuts out of the fire for them. I

think something ought to be done for the Islamic *bloc*. They ought to have a definite assurance that if they would co-operate we would support them, and then I believe we would be perfectly safe against Russia.

LORD LAMINGTON: The Secretary of State for India has mentioned various distinctions which have been gained by our lecturer. He did not mention one—that Sir Percy Sykes has filled this hall to-day as I have never seen it filled so full before.

Our lecturer gave us a very interesting recent account of the history of Afghanistan. He said Kabul was a centre of trade. Also he said it was rather comforting that the security of Afghanistan is fairly assured, however desirous Russia may be to acquire control over that country.

Altogether we have had a very interesting afternoon, and we are very grateful to Sir Percy Sykes and also to Lord Zetland for having done so much to give us information on that very remarkable country. I now ask you to show by acclamation your appreciation of what these two gentlemen have done for us. (Applause.)

THE WAR IN CHINA AND THE EUROPEAN WAR

By E. M. GULL

The first members' luncheon meeting was on December 29, 1939: Mr. E. M. Gull gave an informal address on the war in China as affected by the European war. Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., was in the Chair.

AS you have just heard, this is a luncheon talk; it is not a lecture, though the presence of these two rather formidable-looking maps may give you that impression. But it is a talk primarily about a military subject. Military subjects do involve geography, and while there are several people here who are thoroughly familiar with the map of China, who have only to hear a name to know where the place is, there are others who are less familiar with the map. So it was decided to have one. In fact, there are two.

I want first briefly to explain what the military position in China is. It seems to me that we have to be clear about that before we can assess the possible effects of the European war upon the conflict in China.

As you know, the Japanese control the whole of the coast and most of the railways, though by no means all of them. But the Chinese are fighting on the principle that the Chinese front is the Japanese rear, and they are being extraordinarily clever in keeping to the rear of the Japanese so far as their guerrilla warfare is concerned. Apart from that altogether there are four big areas which the Japanese have all through the past year been trying to get control of, and it is with those four areas that I am going to deal as briefly as I can.

The first one is Shansi, which has an area of about 66,000 square miles, small though it looks. Why is that particular Province important? Partly for strategical reasons. These comprise important railways. Across the north there is what is known as the Suiyuan railway; just below the southern boundary of the Province is the western half of the Lunghai railway. On the eastern flank is the Peihan line, and running westward to Taiyuanfu is the Chingtai line. Moreover, Shansi is a big plateau, from 3,000 to 6,000 feet above sea level, and it commands the plain of Hopei.

Furthermore, the Province is economically important to the Japanese because it is a centre of cotton production and coal. For all these

reasons the Japanese are extremely anxious to get control of it. They are not in that position yet. Indeed, they have completely failed, as far as one can see, to do any of the things which they have been trying to do all this past year. They have been trying to get control of the quadrilateral area between the Chengtai railway, the Lunghai railway, the Peihan and Taoching lines and the Yellow River. This area is bisected by a line running from Tatung in the north to Puchow in the south-west—in the elbow of the Yellow River. It is also bisected by roads, of which the chief runs south by east from Paikwei to Poai, while another runs east and west, from the Tatung-Puchow line to the road I have just mentioned at Tsincheng. The Japanese have been trying to get control of these roads, and they have also been trying to turn the Chinese out of a range of hills, the Chungtiao, lying in the Yellow River's elbow, and guarding the approach to it from the north. All the information we have had during the past year shows that they have failed to do this. How many men they have employed it is very difficult to say. The only figure I have seen quoted is that of some 144,000 men.

The next area I want to deal with lies in the north of the Province of Hupei. Early in May a Reuter telegram said that that week would settle whether the Japanese were going to be successful in getting control of the Han River valley as far as Siangyang and the Yangtze valley as far as Ichang. They failed. I have been through all the telegrams very carefully and I cannot see that they are any nearer success in this area to-day than they were last May. Fighting is still going on round places which were mentioned seven or eight months ago.

Then we come further south to Hunan. That has an area of 83,000 square miles. This Province is important, because, as many people in this room know, through it runs the Canton-Hankow railway. Moreover, from the Canton-Hankow railway run now two lines, one partially completed, which is going to run down to Kueiyang; one which has been completed and runs right down Liuchow in Kuangsi Province. It is immensely important for the Japanese to get control of these lines.

As you will all remember, they made a great attempt to get control of the capital of the Province, Changsha. On September 25 *The Times* correspondent telegraphed that there was developing here one of the major conflicts of the war. By October 8 it was clear that the Japanese had failed. A few days later we were told that the Chinese were regaining ground in the next-door Province, Kiangsi. Just on the border between the two Provinces is a place called Suishui, a very crucial spot.

The Japanese captured it, but the Chinese retook it. Again, as far as my information goes, the Japanese are still where they were months ago.

Now we come down to the last area, the two Provinces of Kuangtung and Kuangsi, which total together about 171,000 square miles.

The fighting in Kuangtung is of special interest to us because of the position of Hongkong. Hongkong has been a port of great importance to the Chinese, both as a port of entry and as a port of exit. As far as the imports are concerned, large quantities of oil have been entering China through Hongkong. For the first nine months of this year exports from Hongkong constituted 21.36 per cent. of China's total exports. On October 15 the Japanese determined to cut Hongkong off from the mainland. In this they were successful for a time, though how completely they have interposed themselves between the Leased Territory and the rest of the Province it is difficult to ascertain. In the districts lying south-west of Canton they appear, to a large extent, to have withdrawn. Then on October 15 the whole centre of interest shifted to the port of Pakhoi. The Japanese did not land actually at Pakhoi, but quite close to it, and in a surprisingly short time they were on the outskirts of Nanning. This is a very important town, first because it is relatively close to Liuchow, which, as I said earlier, is in railway communication with Changsha; secondly, because it is in railway communication with Indo-China and with the line that runs up from Hanoi to Yunnan, Kunming as it is now called. The last information was that the Japanese were 25 miles north of Nanning. Are they going to retain the town? It is too early perhaps to say either yes or no. But it will be bad for China's access to Indo-China if they do.

Now, Nanning apart, taking the four areas I have dealt with as a whole, I think one has to arrive at the general conclusion that the Japanese have had the worst of it. There is a huge barrier of territory running from north to south China of which the Japanese must yet get control if they are to carry out their conquest of China to the point at which they can establish their "new order" effectively.

What is the comment in the Far East upon this military situation? Two rather interesting comments I have received lately. One is private, the other has been published. The first reads: "There seems to be good evidence that at Changsha the Japanese had some three divisions entirely destroyed. They took a similar knock from the Russians just before they made a truce. We are also told that some of the foreign military attachés consider that the Chinese will be strong enough to

take the offensive in the early summer of next year and begin to drive the Japanese out, but this sounds to us somewhat optimistic." I may say that that letter comes from people who take a great deal of trouble to follow things and whose prosperity in China is dependent upon their guessing rightly.

Here is another opinion, in this respect similar to the one I have just quoted in that it is the opinion of a man who is also dependent upon the accuracy of his judgment for the retention of his post. He is one of the most reliable American newspaper correspondents. In a message sent from Shansi on December 18 he said: "The major advantage of China is her enormous superiority in man power. Ever since the outbreak of war China has been drawing on her male population to build an army capable of defeating the Japanese. The programme is intensive recruiting and drilling, and it has now produced a force of fully trained regulars totalling 3,500,000 men." He goes on to say that the army leaders confidently state that the supply of arms and ammunition, of course on a relatively modest scale, is ample for the coming year. Chinese arsenals now turn out practically all the light arms and ammunition needed. He adds that, according to reliable sources, Chinese air strength is now more than 500 pursuit planes, and believes that 1940 will see a still greater total.

Obviously what is going to happen in China does not depend, by any manner of means, entirely on military factors. There are political and economic factors, some of them arising in China and Japan, others comprised in the repercussions of the European war. To take, first of all, the political factors arising in China. First there is the Wang factor. Who is Wang Ching-wei? Why does he cut any ice, and how much does he cut? He is round about forty, a pleasant fellow, and he owes his importance to the fact that he was one of three persons who were very closely in touch with Sun Yat Sen. The other was Hu Han-ming, and the third was Chiang Kai-shek. That is one reason why he cuts or did cut a good deal of ice in China. Since he declared himself in opposition to Chiang Kai-shek he is quite genuinely, and practically universally, regarded in China as a traitor. You will remember that, round about October 30, a Japanese Foreign Office spokesman said that after there had been a meeting between Wang Ching-wei and Wang Keh-min, the head of the Japanese-controlled Peking Government, a new Central Government was going to be announced which would amalgamate the Government in the north with the other puppet Government in Nanking. Well, this amalgama-

tion has not yet come off. When one asks why, one reason is that so far Wang Ching-wei has not been joined by any Chinese of any consequence. Another is that the Japanese themselves are divided about the proposed amalgamation. One school wants to concentrate on Peking and North China. They are not keen on this idea of a single administration, with Wang Ching-wei bossing it, which is to include Central China as well. The other school realizes that, having got Wang Ching-wei, it is useless to make him play either the part of second fiddle or to put him on a footing of equality with Wang Keh-min. He has to be the big man who is running the whole show. It is not that one school is more moderate than the other. Both schools want to get as much as they can. It is a question of method. One is in favour of making Peking the fulcrum of the position and working from there; the other is in favour of a bolder policy; of gathering in at once all that may be gathered.

There is a third reason why the thing is hanging fire, and that is represented by Wang's own ideas. An extraordinarily interesting article appeared in Wang's own paper a little while ago. I am not going to read more than a few sentences from it. He said, referring to his own organization as the Central Government, "Whether the Central Government may induce members of the Chiang Kai-shek Government to join it entirely depends on the efficiency of the new administration. The Chiang Kai-shek Government has been reduced to a local régime because of its reliance and dependance on Soviet Russia, Britain and the United States. Therefore the relations of the new Government with Japan must be independent and self-determining." If that correctly represents Wang Ching-wei's view it is an obvious reason why the Japanese should hesitate.*

There is another factor that I want just to touch on before passing to the repercussions of the European War—*i.e.*, the relations between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists. There have been all sorts of reports for some time past about their relations becoming strained. On October 21 a Japanese Agency put out a statement, which was quoted by Reuter, to the effect that the Russians were making great demands upon China. On October 29 a denial of its accuracy appeared in *The Times* from the paper's diplomatic correspondent, based upon statements made to him at the Chinese Embassy. Further, on

* The publication in January of the terms alleged to have been agreed upon by Wang with the Japanese on December 31 almost certainly makes the above quotation valueless, except for record purposes.—E. M. G.

November 2 there appeared a denial of bad relations in the official organ of the Communists. I do not think we can take the denial *au pied de la lettre*. An illuminating and, I think, reliable article appeared in the September issue of an American publication called *Amerasia*, which, quoting from two Communist papers, gives chapter and verse for conflicts of a most savage description between Chinese Communist troops and Chinese Government troops. The article is headed, "Are Chinese Fighting Chinese?" and it does look as though there had been such encounters. However, that happened last year, and during the first six months of this year and since then there have been indications that the Communists are still on reasonably good terms with Chiang Kai-shek. At all events, as far as the fighting is concerned, they are fighting on the side of the Government troops, and only the other day staged quite a brilliant little affair in Shansi.

"Well," you may say, "that may be; but what if Russia does a deal with Japan just as Germany has done a deal with Russia?" That, of course, brings us into the thick of the effects upon the Far East of the European War.

In October, you will remember, Molotof, in talking about trade relations with Japan, said: "For our part we look with favour on Japanese overtures at this time, and we approach them from the viewpoint of our fundamental political position and our concern with the interests of peace." What is Russia's fundamental political position? Is the attack on Finland part of Russia's fundamental political position? Is that a precursor of similar attacks to be made elsewhere? Has Russia become Middle Eastern-minded? Is she going further than that? Perhaps somebody here can answer these questions. I do not pretend to be able to do so. I note, in passing, that an affirmative answer would assume that the Russians are extraordinarily efficient and able to tackle big problems, and in view of what is happening in Finland one cannot but put a question mark against that. But if Russia has these schemes, then an understanding with Japan, a non-aggression pact with Japan, would suit her down to the ground.

Yet, confining oneself to the Far East, what possible advantage would Russia get out of a pact with Japan? I assume that, if Japan were to make a pact of that kind, it would be for the purpose of having a freer hand for the establishment of her new order. Well, what does the new order imply? Not only the elimination of Communism, but control of Inner Mongolia and ability to outflank Russia's Far Eastern Siberian position. Can one think of anything that Japan can offer

Russia in respect of the Far East that would compensate her for those disadvantages? Personally I cannot.

Then look at the matter from the point of view of Japan. From Japan's point of view, of course, a pact with Russia would be most useful. She would be no longer threatened from Vladivostock. She would be able to withdraw troops from the Manchurian borders, and would be all the more capable of establishing her "new order."

But where is that going to lead her in respect of ourselves and the United States? The United States have just recently denounced their Treaty with Japan. The American Ambassador has enquired whether there is anything in this talk about a pact with Russia, and has been told no. That was on December 7. One can conceive of the thing going further, but if it does, where is Japan going to stand *vis-à-vis* ourselves and the United States? Bear in mind that the United States market, largely as the result of the war, has become of even greater importance to Japan than it was.

Yet if there is not going to be a pact between Russia and Japan, if it is the United States and ourselves that Japan has in mind, if her relations with America and ourselves are going to be her dominating considerations, then what of the "new order"?

At that point I am going to break off and leave you to discuss. I think there are several people here who can help to furnish an answer. (Applause.)

IRAQ

By E. GASCOIGNE HOGG, C.M.G.

At a crowded luncheon meeting on January 17, Mr. Hogg gave a paper on Iraq as it was when he left it in 1939, General H. Rowan Robinson, C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair. A note on the conditions on and after the outbreak of war has been added.

WHEN I was first asked to read a paper on Iraq to this learned Society, I was appalled to find, on a hasty stock-taking, how great was my ignorance—at any rate, outside my own special sphere—of the country I have been serving for the last seven and a half years. I went there in 1931 and left in 1939.

I had practically no experience of Iraq under the Mandate. Although on my arrival in the autumn of 1931 the Mandate had not been officially terminated, my status was from the first that of a purely Iraq official, and I was not given the letter which it had been the custom to hand to Advisers on appointment, laying down their duties both to the Minister and to the High Commissioner.

King Faisal was alive and very much in the saddle. He took a keen and daily interest in the administration, and, having Advisers, he proposed to get all that was to be got out of them. So it was no unusual thing for one's telephone to ring suddenly, and on taking up the receiver hear, "This is the Palace speaking. His Majesty would like to see you." And round one would go to sit without ceremony and discuss this or that problem of administration: so unceremonious indeed were these talks and so well did he put you at your ease, that I fear I was frequently guilty of interrupting him, at which he would say with a twinkle, "Let me finish what I have to say, you shall have your turn in a moment." His position and great prestige enabled him to discuss thus freely with British officials in his service—even more freely than Ministers, for in those days it was an easy jeer for a political opponent to say of a Minister that he did whatever the British told him.

Those talks at the Palace are among my pleasantest memories of Iraq.

I would not, however, for a moment let it be thought that my relations with the various Ministers under whom I served—and the list was

a long one—were anything but most pleasant: I never found difficulties of personal intercourse, whether I agreed with them or whether I disagreed, only by their position they were naturally more sensitive to possible political criticism. But my experience both in Egypt and in Iraq has always been that the stronger the Minister felt himself the more ready he was to ask advice of British officials, whether Advisers or Heads of Departments. And I think the same applies to the political relations between Great Britain and these countries.

My first contact with Iraq was made from Egypt via the Nairn bus from Damascus. It is not an impressive approach: after the thrill of that signpost outside Damascus, which says baldly:

BAGHDAD	546 miles.
TEHRAN	1028 miles.

the fabled romance of the desert is not apparent.

When Ramadi was passed and the passengers had got out to allow the bus to cross the somewhat rickety bridge of boats which then spanned the Euphrates at Fallujah, I thought as I took my seat again, "Now for the land of the two rivers and some decent crops." But almost immediately we were crossing a long stretch of high stony desert, and though, as we drew nearer Baghdad and came within the Tigris Pump area cultivation was less intermittent, the scene did not fill an eye nourished on memories of seven years in Upper Egypt. And when finally we halted at the Maude Bridge and the modern city of Baghdad came into view, I am afraid the exclamation which came to my lips was, "Good God, Dessouq!" for the City of the Caliphs—on a first appearance—looked to me, coming from Egypt, like a second-rate local provincial town.

I say the City of the Caliphs—which Baghdad is not—to mark my essential ignorance of the country to which I had come; for the Baghdad of Haroun el Rashid has disappeared, and the modern capital dates from the Turkish Conquest, some three or four hundred years back, and is still more a Turkish, Jewish and Armenian than an Arab town. Turkish is still currently spoken in the houses of the well-to-do, so that I have often been told that life in such families is bilingual—the parents using Turkish and the children learning Arabic at school.

Baghdad, however, like other Eastern towns, is steadily expanding and improving its streets and buildings. The main reason, I think, is that as the old patriarchal type of family life passes away, the younger generation wants its own house; and then the old family home in the

city becomes *démodé* and is rebuilt somewhere on the outskirts. Those who knew Baghdad only five years ago would find remarkable changes, and a great outgrowth of new buildings both to the north and to the south of the old town. One new large modern street has been driven through the eastern side, and shortly there will be two cross avenues connecting it with the two new bridges over the Tigris, one opened last summer, while the second, replacing the Maude Bridge, will be opened shortly. This process of rebuilding has been going on uninterruptedly in Cairo for the last forty years, and I do not doubt that it will go on in Baghdad. The next development will probably be large blocks of air-conditioned flats.

Baghdad, then, only in part Arabic speaking, is not typical of Iraq, or even of Central Iraq. It was no part of Turkish policy under the Empire to associate the Arab with the government of the country; and it is perhaps a matter for regret that Ministers and high officials have not in too many cases seen with their own eyes more of the very varying local conditions with which they have to deal. I have carried away from Iraq a lively feeling of my ignorance, but at least I have travelled by car in it from Zakho and Tel Kochak in the north, to the Kuwait border in the south, and from Sulaimaniyah and Khanaqin in the east to Nejaf and Shethathah and Ukhaidhir in the west: I have visited Amadiyah and seen on its citadel the small brothers of the Serpents on the citadel at Aleppo: I have been through the Shamiyah and to Amarah and to Tehran and back. I have therefore seen something of the three Iraqs: that of the hill dwellers in the north, of the plainsmen in the centre, and of the marsh men in the south.

And though such contacts are superficial in the extreme, they are, I still think, desirable in a country where administration is apt to be over-centralized, where every man is armed, and where administrative blunders may bring the tribesman out rifle in hand.

The local administration is the affair of the Ministry of the Interior, and I lack the intimate personal knowledge of its problems which would enable me to discuss it with confidence. But at least I may say this: that Iraq is in a stage of transition where, on the one hand, you might overhear repeated the bargain between Abraham and Ephron, which those who are interested will find in the course of re-reading the Book of Genesis, and at the other, and often strangely intermingled with it, the modern world of the tractor plough, the centrifugal pump, and young graduates with degrees in Political Economy, who ask what economic function of value is performed by the accumulation of estates

in the hands of the more powerful shaikhs or by the existence of *Sirkals*.

The tribal system covers with varying degrees of intensity and livingness all the Arab-speaking parts of Iraq, being strongest, I suppose, on the lower middle Euphrates. East of the Tigris between Kirkuk and Mosul you have something more like a manorial system, till among the mountains of the north and east you have the highland tribes of the Kurds; but of that even my ignorance is daunted from speaking. Over this groundwork of local custom had been spread the network of the Turkish administrative system, the Governor or *Mutasarrif* of the *Liwa* or Province, and under him the Qaimmaqam in the *Qadha* and the *Mudir* in the *Nahiya*, the smallest administrative unit, but not in our sense a village; for in fact there are singularly few villages in the greater part of Iraq, and each *Nahiya*, which may be two or three hundred square miles in size, contains numerous hamlets. The reason why the population is so scattered is the scarcity of drinking water away from the Tigris or the Euphrates. Driving to Mosul in heavy rain, I have seen the women gleefully scraping up water from the puddles in the road into old kerosine tins. This lack of water and the consequent dispersal of the population is a serious difficulty in the way of rural education.

The tribal system is on the wane: whether we regret it or not and whatever administrative difficulties—and they are not small—follow on the decline of the power of the great Shaikhs the system will pass as it has passed elsewhere. The carrying out of a steady system of recording titles to land throughout the country—perhaps the greatest administrative task to which the Government has set its hand—has fallen in that period of transition: it is at the same time revealing the picture and altering it by its impact. But the wiser among the Shaikhs themselves know that it is passing: the flocks of Ajil al Yawar still wander from Aleppo to Amadiyah, but Ajil's chief concern is to see his tribesmen settled on the land; and once the tribesman is really tied to the land the tribal system will break up.

Economically, this will be to the advantage of Iraq: its main revenues—apart from oil, of which I will speak in a moment—are derived from customs. Customs revenue depends on the consumption of necessities, and any heightening of the very low standard of living prevalent in Iraq will also mean more revenue for the Government. Closer settlement of the land and more intensive cultivation will increase production.

It would not be true to say that Iraq is by nature an agricultural

country. The north is agricultural; the old Kingdom of Assyria was built on meat and wheat, and when the Lower Zab has been crossed, you can see that the peasant knows how to plough; but fly from Baghdad to Babylon and the straight furrows that mark the Latifiyah estates stand out like an oasis in the wilderness. Central and southern Iraq are pastoral, and I believe that stock and sheep have a considerable future here. Already in a good year Iraq exports a million pounds' worth of wool; and with the markets of Syria and Palestine at her door, it horrified me to read in the *Economist* that Jugoslavia was preaching that her economic future depended on the successful export of cattle and meat to these very markets.

I have said that in a good year Iraq exports a million pounds' worth of wool: the figure is a very small one and serves to remind us that in spite of its geographical extent Iraq is still a small country.

One of the troubles in Iraq is a lack of essential statistics: we do not know accurately the population, human or animal, nor the area under crop, let alone the area under different crops, nor the total production. Consequently we have little idea whether the yield is rising or falling. The customs and railway statistics are good, but in my experience customs figures require checking from other sources.

I think that in recent years the grain-eating population—some districts are rice-eating—have turned over from barley or mixed grain to wheat and that the internal consumption of dates has gone down, and a concise picture would give a country of between four and five million population, with an exportable surplus in good years of some 250,000 tons of grain, 3,000 tons of hides, 7,000 tons of wool and hair, 170,000 tons of dates, 250,000 lbs. of intestines, and 650,000 lbs. of cotton; in addition there is an export of about 4,000,000 tons of oil. The revenue is something over £5,000,000, the Budget is balanced, and this figure of £5,000,000 is exclusive of about £2,000,000 of oil revenues, which are very properly treated as capital resources. These figures exclude also the revenue and expenditure of the railways (roughly £750,000) and of the Port of Basrah and the cost of dredging the Rooka Channel through the Shatt al Arab Bar, which together come to about £500,000 more.

The debt, all external, is under £5,000,000; there is one loan quoted on the Stock Exchange for a nominal amount of £1,000,000, and an agreement has recently been reached under which a substantial credit will be made by Great Britain for purchases in the United Kingdom. These debts should be redeemed within twenty years by annual payments out of oil revenues of under £500,000.

As the oil revenues amount to about £2,000,000 a year and are likely to be an expanding figure, there is still plenty of money left for capital development.

The currency is on a sterling exchange basis and there are no restrictions on the movement of funds nor upon imports, except for a regulation which requires that countries which sell their goods to Iraq must take Iraqi produce in exchange up to a reasonable proportion, normally about 25 per cent. of the value of their imports into Iraq.

Here then is a country, still small in population—but population can grow very rapidly in the East—dependent for its prosperity mainly on the price of primary products, but with abundant supplies of oil; needing communications, but with money to develop them; with its own internal problems, but with no indication that they are growing more acute; with powerful neighbours to the north and the east, but strong in its alliance with Great Britain.

Of manufacture, despite the existence of cheap fuel, there is as yet little.

There are one or two weaving factories, of which the largest produces woollens; there is silk weaving in Mosul and at Zakho; there is a tannery, and there are some dozen or so cigarette factories which use locally grown tobacco and have made good profits.

I think I am right in saying that none of the above are public companies.

Just before I left Baghdad a public company for the production of cement was founded, the subscription list was opened and the capital required—if my memory serves me rightly, £100,000—was subscribed.

There are two cotton ginning factories, one wholly Iraqi, and a third is now in course of erection under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank. The capital of the Agricultural Bank has been advanced by the Government; the bank is participating in the capital of the ginnery, the balance being found by public subscription. But the Government is not participating in any other industrial venture.

There is considerable public interest and discussion of the question of developing industry in Iraq; and clearly a country which imports practically the whole of its articles of consumption and has a fairly wide range of natural products should be able to produce locally some of its simpler requirements. There have been a series of laws enacted to encourage industry, which have tended to become less generous as the years passed.

There is a good deal of economic nationalism talked—not always

very wise. I remember a series of articles in the local Press on the subject, "Where are our restrictions? All countries are imposing restrictions. Why does Iraq impose none?" It is not unnatural that this should be so: in Iran practically all trade as well as industry has become a Government monopoly; and in Turkey, although the movement there has been far less extreme, there have been very wide measures of Government control and support. And it must be remembered that Turkey is the model to which Iraq is most prone to turn its eye.

But the Government has not been carried away: it has left the development of industry to private enterprise, and though it has granted privileges to local industries it has, as I say, tended of recent years to restrict rather than to increase them. One reason perhaps is that excessive profits or great wealth of any kind is not *bien vu* in Iraq: they do not think there that it suits their common weal that there should be a few rich to make many poor. And in that, a Financial Adviser, with his eye on the customs receipts, is only too ready to agree.

While then I do not expect to see Iraq a great manufacturing country, I think there is a scope for industry on a minor scale, which would at least utilize local produce for the primary transformation stages. As an example: a barter agreement was put through not long ago with Germany, which took a considerable quantity of low grade Iraq dates for conversion into alcohol. Clearly, if Iraq dates are to be converted into alcohol, it should be more profitable to do so in Iraq and export the alcohol.

The essential situation is therefore sound and indeed easy. I have said that communications are being developed; in the course of this year there will be standard gauge through trains running from Baghdad to Haidar Pasha on the Bosphorus; the introduction of a train ferry there would enable you to enter your sleeper at Victoria and get out at Baghdad.

Basrah is thirteen hours from Baghdad by train, and with a fast steamer service Karachi would be ten days from London by this route. Iraq lies on the main air route to the East; services by flying boat take the direct route from the Habbaniyah Lake near Ramadi on the Euphrates to Basrah, with a shuttle service to Baghdad; but many direct routes land at Baghdad. When I left Iraq I took the plane at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning and dined in London on Monday night.

Iraq, indeed, lies on the junction of the great north-south and east-

west routes—from Aleppo down the rivers to Baghdad and Basrah, a very ancient trade route (Mosul gave its name to muslin), and again from Baghdad through Iran to the East. The old Khan, which is now the home of Arab Antiquities and Art in Baghdad, bears over its side-door the mark attesting it to have been one of the stations on the Silk Road.

The economic policy adopted by Iran has cut down of recent years Baghdad's position as an entrepôt for trade with its Eastern neighbour, and railway construction in Iran has developed from north to south. But a railway from Baghdad to Haifa has been discussed in the past and surveyed, and would give to Iraq a much-needed outlet to the Mediterranean with its more competitive freights and the saving of the Suez Canal dues. I believe that time will see that project realized, and that the eastern arm of Iraq's railway system will link on with the Iranian system, restoring once again the east-west, or perhaps we should now say the west-east, route.

Historically, I believe it is true to say that population has come into Iraq mainly from the east. The Kurds were where they are in Herodotus' day, and I suppose for many a long day before that: Parthians, Medes and Elamites have swept in across the eastern frontier (and the eyes of Iraq are still turned in that direction); the Jews were brought in by Assyria and Babylon; the Roman came and went, and the Arab drove back the Persian at Ctesiphon. The Tartars destroyed the country and its irrigation system, and the Turks came and settled on the remains. It is to be doubted whether any of these movements—since the earliest—have greatly displaced the bulk of the population. I have been tempted to believe that Sumer and Accad are still reproduced in the names of the Shammar and the Aqaidat—and, like other amateur philologists, have been sternly rebuked for doing so.

But the Euphrates as a whole still looks westward to Syria, as it has done since the days when its middle reaches were the field of Padan Aram—the Aramaic-speaking ploughlands—even if its tribes cover less ground than Abraham, who seems to have ranged in his time from Ur to Hatra and Damascus.

These age-old relations and the natural bond of sympathy with Arabic-speaking and Moslem neighbours react on modern politics, though less than might be supposed. The unity of the Arab nations is a cry that may be said to have given birth to Iraq, and though the actual revolt from Turkey broke out in the Hedjaz, it was fostered in Syria, and Faisal was acclaimed in Damascus before he was crowned in

Baghdad. The cry is still raised, and events in Palestine and Syria have been followed with lively interest. There are signs of cultural communication with the Yemen, mainly in the form of scholastic missions being sent to Baghdad.

There is, however, so far as one can judge, little likelihood of the emergence of a united Arab kingdom or even of a real Federation of Arab States. No country inhabited by Arabic-speaking Moslems is indifferent to the fate of other such countries: true; and the argument that to be divided is to be weak is plausible. It is natural to expect sympathy and some co-ordination of policy. But any step towards a more closely knit political structure would have obvious difficulties to confront. Apart from the fact that the future status of the Syrias and Palestine is not yet defined, there is the fact that the Arabian Peninsula is at a wholly different stage of development; that the currency of Iraq looks to sterling, and that of Syria to the franc; that the trade of these countries with one another is insignificant in comparison with their trade with other countries, while they depend to a very large extent for their revenue on import duties; that none would appear to have resources in excess of its own needs; and finally that there are difficult questions of minorities within the countries as they stand.

I can add a word here in relation to Iraq which I think is not irrelevant.

I referred above to the system of provincial administration in Iraq inherited from the Turks—the Governor of the Province with his *Qaimmaqams* and *Mudirs*. There are fourteen such provinces in Iraq: they are of very unequal size, and it has been thought that they could with advantage be reduced in number, and that if this were done and some scheme of local taxation could be set up—there is none at present—it would be possible to put them in charge of matters like rural education and health and minor roads which can better be administered locally than from Baghdad. But at once the danger was pointed out that if the number was too much reduced the resulting administrations would acquire zonal or regional interests which would create a danger in a country with centrifugal tendencies like Iraq.

I cannot speak of Syria or Palestine from personal knowledge, but it is difficult to suppose that their centrifugal tendencies are less; and there is no reason at all to suppose that there is any magic in the name of Federation or unity which would overcome them. On the contrary, a country can hardly be ready to federate with another until its own major problems are solved—not at least until some new name

with spell-binding powers to hold man's allegiance to something wider than nationality is found.

I think that the internal problems of all these countries are sufficient to occupy them during the coming generation. The primary task of the Iraq Government would seem to be to continue to weld its component parts into one coherent whole. That task is being achieved on the whole with remarkable success. Iraq has existed as a separate country for less than twenty years: as an independent Government free of the Mandate it is less than ten years old. It has had the misfortune—I believe it was a very great misfortune—to lose the guiding hand and the centralizing influence of His Majesty King Faisal I.: the reign of King Ghazi was too short for achievement; but I believe firmly that when his present Majesty reaches years of discretion and takes over the reins of government he will find his country more populous, wealthier, better equipped and established on the lines of peaceful progress.

This achievement demands the preservation of peace at home and the continuance of friendly relations with Iraq's powerful neighbours to the north and to the east.

If difficulties arise, I am sure that it is to this country that Iraq will look for help and guidance: with that help and guidance available if required the task can be done, and I believe it will be done.

IRAQ ON AND AFTER THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

Mr. Hogg's lecture and the discussion which followed did not attempt to give a picture of the present situation in Iraq, and the following brief note may be of some interest to readers.

For a considerable time prior to the outbreak of the war Iraq had been subjected to a strenuous campaign of propaganda under the guidance of Dr. Grobba, the German Minister. Invitations to selected Iraqis to visit Germany, their lavish entertainment in Berlin, the distribution locally of large subsidies to sympathizers and a flood of literature directed against Great Britain were all employed to win over those Iraqis who were discontented or who admired the efficiency of German methods.

The brutal murder of the British Consul at Mosul just after King Ghazi's fatal accident was alleged to be the result of a rumour spread by German agents that the British were responsible for the King's

death. In spite of the headway which the movement seemed to be making, it failed dismally on the outbreak of war. The Iraq Government acted promptly, and though it did not declare war on Germany, it acted fully up to its treaty obligations and has continued to do so since. It handed their papers to Dr. Grobba and his staff, banished all Germans from the country and sequestered all enemy property. Although there is still some sympathy for Germany in certain circles the movement is not at present dangerous, though it will naturally require watchfulness on the part of the Iraq Government.

The political situation in Baghdad is somewhat unstable, but that is no new thing. The present Prime Minister, Nuri Pasha Said, has held office for over a year, which is a long period in Iraq, and a strong opposition has grown up against him. Nevertheless, he has acted with much wisdom and determination, and he has successfully held his own up to the present.

The situation in the districts is normal. The authority of the Government in certain parts of the Middle Euphrates is somewhat precarious, but no worse than it has been for some years past, during which at different times punitive measures have had to be taken. In spite of rumours to the contrary and the vociferousness of the extremists, the majority of Iraqis are friendly to Great Britain and have no desire for close relations with Germany. The Mufti of Jerusalem, who is now living in Baghdad, is, however, a disturbing element. His presence serves to keep before the public the Palestine question in which most Iraqis are keenly interested. This question, as in other Arab countries, is a potential danger.

In the sphere of foreign relations, Iraq was flooded with wild and baseless rumours at the beginning of the war, but the Anglo-Franco-Turkish pact had a very calming effect. Although the Iraqis were not pleased with the cession of the Hatay to Turkey, their relations with that country are now cordial. The Sa'adabad Pact between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan has been referred to in the discussion. No incidents have occurred recently to mar the relations between Iraq and Iran, though the establishment of complete confidence and friendship between them must necessarily be a matter of time. The fear of Russian aggression looms over both.

Iraq has a treaty of friendship with Sa'udi Arabia and the Yemen, and here again relations have been correct. Mutual confidence between Iraq and Sa'udi Arabia has, however, been somewhat disturbed by a number of not very important frontier incidents in the recent past. The

pretensions of Iraq to Kuwait, which last year upset Ibn Sa'ud, have not been renewed recently.

To sum up, the Iraq Government has acted fully up to its treaty obligations, the country as a whole is quiet and friendly to Great Britain, and, although there seems to be some instability in the internal political situation, Iraq has so far weathered the war remarkably well.

THE PALESTINE LAND TRANSFERS REGULATIONS

1. The Past History of Land Sales in Palestine

REFERENCES to problems raised in Palestine, as early as the end of the last century, by the sale of land to Jews are to be found in a pamphlet published by Mr. Moshe Smilanski in 1935 (J.N.F. Library No. 2, *Hadera*) and in an article by Mr. Haim Kalvariski in *Jewish-Arab Affairs* (1930). These two writers are among the oldest surviving veterans of Jewish colonization in Palestine. With reference to the draining of the Hadera marshes in 1896, Mr. Smilanski wrote that when the "hundred of black labourers" engaged by Baron de Rothschild arrived from Egypt to dig the necessary trenches,

"the Beduin neighbours, the Damireh and Infiat tribes, rose in protest. . . . Where would they pasture their cattle and sheep? But the mudir came from Cæsarea with a detachment of police and dispersed them. From that time on, the work proceeded without disturbance."

Mr. Kalvariski, referring to a period some ten years later, wrote :

"In the Jewish colonies, the relations between Jew and Arab were very cordial. They met both in their houses and in their fields and got to know each other intimately. When the Jewish colonies were first started, there was a great demand for labour . . . and there were no Jewish labourers in the country. It was therefore necessary to engage Arab labour, and thus Jewish farmers and Arab labourers had an opportunity of knowing each other. The fellahin from the neighbouring villages worked in the Jewish colonies, returning at night to their own homes. There they related that the 'Yahudi' (the Jew) and the 'Hawaja' (owner) were good men who paid well."

Soon after the holding of the first Zionist Congresses, however, relations were on several occasions severely strained.

A conflict, for example, arose over the Jewish settlements in Lower Galilee (Sejera, Yavniel, Mesha, Beit Gan, Melhamia).

“Most of the land,” wrote Mr. Kalvariski in the article quoted above, “which had been purchased from absentee landlords and merchants in Beirut, was occupied by the tenants. Mr. Ossovetsky, who acted as agent, and the landlords paid no regard to the fate of these tenants and insisted on their eviction, as the land had already been bought and paid for. This led to a conflict between the tenants and Ossovetsky. The Vali (Governor) backed Ossovetsky, while the Kaimakam (District Officer) of Tiberias, Emir Amin Arslan, sided with the tenants. Ossovetsky was shot at; troops were brought and many tenants were arrested and taken to prison. . . . It was then that, for the first time, I came in contact with Arab nationalism. Rashid Bey, the Vali, who was a Turk, cared very little whether the Tiberias District was inhabited by Arabs or Jews and was thus prepared to order the eviction of the tenants. But Emir Amin, the Kaimakam of Tiberias, who was an Arab Druze, not only insisted on the payment of compensation to the evicted Arabs, but also, as I was later informed, resisted the de-Arabization of the district. . . .”

This particular dispute was settled, as the result of Mr. Kalvariski's intervention, by the payment of compensation to the tenants, a practice which was always observed by Jewish purchasers in later transactions.

In general, the pressure on the land before the war does not seem to have been so great as to cause more than occasional local difficulties. It is, however, noteworthy that in the indictment of Zionism prepared by the Turkish Kaimakam of Jaffa for Jemal Pasha in 1915 two of the points mentioned were “the supplanting of Arab labour and the purchase of land in the attempt to take possession of the country.”

The purchase of the Plain of Esdraelon after the war of 1914-1918 was on a much greater scale than any previous purchase and had far more serious repercussions. This plain was always known for its fertility. Laurence Oliphant gave a glowing description of it in 1883, though he deplored the harsh treatment of the peasantry by the Beirut family of landowners who had recently acquired it. T. E. Lawrence passed the plain when on a walking tour in Syria as an undergraduate in 1909, and thus described it in a letter to his mother :

“From Nazareth I went past the plain of Esdraelon . . . the plain was very good; so fertile, and all the people of the villages

engaged in harvesting and threshing: they take tents out and live in the fields, while strings of camels and asses carry the corn to the threshing-floors."

Much of this grain used to be stored in Nazareth, where large granaries, now disused, are still to be seen.

Malaria and war conditions in general appear to have caused a serious deterioration by 1919, though in view of the above accounts it is hard to believe that there was not a certain exaggeration in the description of its desolation given by Sir Herbert Samuel in his 1925 Report. About 1921, negotiations, which had been envisaged by Zionist leaders as early as 1903, were brought to completion and the plain was purchased from the same Beirut family whom Oliphant had known. The price paid was, it is said, £760,000. Tenants, but no agricultural labourers, are said to have received compensation to the extent of £28,000. About 8,000 Arabs, inhabiting 22 villages, are alleged to have been displaced. Certainly by 1931, the village of Affuleh which, according to the census of 1922, once contained 500 Moslem Arab inhabitants, had become a purely Jewish agglomeration except for a few casual Arab labourers. The former Arab agriculturists of the area were apparently absorbed in other villages, in the new orange groves or in the building operations at Haifa, Jaffa or elsewhere which had been stimulated by Jewish immigration.

An important land transaction of a quite different character was the allotment to the Arab tenants of the Beisan lands. These consisted of 400,000 dunams of potentially rich agricultural land, at that time neglected and sparsely inhabited by a fever-infested and miserable Arab population.

The land had been acquired by Sultan Abdul Hamid by means whose justice was disputed by the Arabs in possession. It was now allotted by the Mandatory Administration on favourable terms to the Arab tenants who had enjoyed the use of the land in the time of the Ottoman Government. This arrangement gave satisfaction at the time to Arab political feeling; but the fellahin concerned "lived in mud hovels, suffered severely from the prevalent malaria and were of too low intelligence to be receptive of suggestions for improvement of their housing, water-supply or education." The fellahin were, in fact, quite incapable of developing the land, much of which was suitable for irrigation if a general scheme of development could have been adopted. Some of them made a certain profit by selling the land to

Jews, a procedure which was against the intention of the law. The land in the possession of the Arab fellahin has, therefore, remained undeveloped, while the case has been a valid grievance to the Zionists; for they point out truly that their resources and energy might have been applied under a carefully-thought-out scheme to raise the standard of life of the existing fellahin and at the same time to provide a considerable area for Jewish settlement.

In the maritime plain, it would seem that much land was sold by large landowners and that some of them developed their orange-groves with the capital which they received. No doubt the same process may have occurred to some extent with small proprietors. Dr. Ruppin, however, the Zionist land expert, informed the Shaw Commission that nine-tenths of all the land bought by Jews up to 1929 had been acquired from absentee landlords.

The Royal Commission did not confirm the often-made claim that Arab villagers who sold part of their land developed the rest with the capital received. On the contrary, they stated that :

“It is frequently contended that the Arab has only to follow the example of the Jew to become prosperous. This is doubtless true of the relatively wealthy and enlightened Arab landowners who have developed citrus plantations in the Maritime Plain. But the case of the Arab cultivator is very different. Unless he can be provided with the same resources, in the shape of capital, continuous help and advice, he cannot possibly compete with the Jew.”

And they quoted an official witness who said :

“The view that the Arabs sell part of their land and spend the money in developing the other part of the land I do not think is consistent with the facts. Some years ago an enquiry was made into 12 villages which had sold part of their land to the Jews, and I think only in one or two was any improvement made.”

The following were among the results of these land sales :

- (1) There was a tremendous extension of the orange industry. For some years this yielded great profits. It appears, however, to have been over-developed and its position at the present moment is often described as desperate.
- (2) The Jewish purchasers spent an enormous amount of

money and skill upon the land which they acquired. It thus became far more intensively cultivated than it was before; where not suitable for cultivation, it was afforested.

(3) The Arab population tended to disappear from Jewish-owned land, particularly in the case of that acquired by the Jewish National Fund. This can be seen very clearly in the Plain of Esdraelon and in parts of the Maritime Plain.

The displaced Arabs, together with the enormous natural increase of the Arab population (300,000 in twenty years on a population of 600,000), have been "absorbed" in the Arab orange groves, in the ports or the capital, in portions of the plain not acquired by Jews but capable of more intensive development, or in the villages.

The surplus population thus created provided recruits for the armed bands during the rebellion. Since these men are not "unemployed" in the European sense of the word, it is difficult to give statistics of their numbers. These can only be conjectured by the enormous number of applicants who come forward when work of any sort is reported to be available.

During the peak of the rebellion, when landowners suspected of selling land to Jews were liable to assassination, land sales were much reduced.* Towards the end of the rebellion, however, when it became apparent that restrictions were likely to be introduced, the Jewish authorities made great efforts to purchase as much land as possible before the regulations came into force. Their efforts were largely successful for the following reasons:

(1) The financial difficulties of landowners, large and small, owing to the rebellion.

(2) The eagerness of non-Palestinian landowners to profit by the uneconomically high prices offered by Jewish bidders.

The position during 1937-1939 was thus described in the Report of the Jewish Agency and Zionist Executives to the Twenty-first Zionist Congress (p. 187):

"Though political instability and a severe economic depression prevailed in Palestine during the period under review, much

* M. Rappard: What was the position of those who still sold land to the Jews? Mr. Kirkbride: The sellers of land to Jews were residing safely in Syria or Lebanon. (*Minutes of the Meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission*, June, 1939, p. 71.)

more land was redeemed"—*i.e.*, transferred from Arab to Jewish possession—"between May 1, 1937, and April 30, 1939. . . . Though in view of the mounting poverty among the Arabs, the sale of a part of their estates was the only means of livelihood left to many landowners and they themselves considered this the sole way of improving their lot, they could sell land to Jews only at the peril of their lives. . . . Political developments indicated the probability of early land transfer restrictions. . . . The Keren Kayemeth, therefore, resolved to take advantage of any and every opportunity to buy land. . . . In buying, preference was given to those areas which might be of decisive importance when the delimitation of frontiers and similar matters came up for consideration. Land purchase was speeded up to such an extent that 80,000 dunams were redeemed during the period under review. . . . The extraordinary progress of the past two years was achieved by mustering all the energies and financial resources of the Keren Kayemeth. . . . Tens of thousands of pounds in excess of income have had to be found in order to acquire the new tracts, to meet commitments on previous purchases. Happily, the receipts of the Keren Kayemeth have continued to rise, and have now reached a figure of over £400,000 a year."

With this may be compared a passage from the Minutes of the Meeting of the Permanent Mandates Commission held in June, 1939:

M. Rappard noticed that during 1938 "27,280 dunams of land were purchased by Jews from non-Jews." Who were the non-Jews mentioned?

Mr. Moody replied that in 1938 most of the purchases in question concerned land on the northern frontier of Palestine, the property of Lebanese and Syrian landlords who did not reside in Palestine.

During this period, according to Zionist writers, the economic aspect no longer dominated in the land-buying policy of the Jewish National Fund.

"The emphasis now shifted to the political and strategical importance of areas acquired. Purchases were aimed at strengthening our frontier positions in Upper Galilee, or the Syrian frontier, in the Beisan area and along the sea coast" (*Zionist Review*, September 13, 1939).

From other authoritative Zionist statements it would appear that it is now becoming so difficult to "absorb" the displaced Arab population within Palestine that arrangements have on occasion been considered for settling them beyond the frontiers. Thus in the case of the two Arab villages of Dafne and Khan Duweir, near the northern frontier, recently acquired from absentee, non-Palestinian landowners, a Jewish journalist wrote as follows :

"We are here on a part of the newly won land of the Jewish National Fund. It has not yet been possible to occupy other portions of the land because the Arab tenants have not yet vacated the soil. On this spot success has been achieved in coming to an agreement; they will, some thirty families, be settled in Trans-Jordan or the Hauran, on equally good soil, and they have received financial support from the Jewish National Fund" (*Jüdische Rundschau*, May 19, 1939).

To go to the Hauran, Palestinian subjects would require a passport from the Palestinian, and a visa from the Syrian, authorities; and if they settled there, they would presumably have to resign their Palestinian nationality.

Considering these facts as a whole, it is difficult not to draw the conclusion that the Administration would have done better to assume complete control of all land transactions from the beginning and to have developed land settlement on a definite plan. It is difficult also not to conceive serious doubts concerning the morality of permitting such extensive sales of land by non-Palestinian landlords over the heads of the tenants and agricultural labourers, even though they had been to some extent protected by the terms of the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance.

2. The New Regulations

By the new regulations, Palestine is divided into three areas. In one of these, which, roughly speaking, includes the whole of the main coastal plain, together with all municipal areas, land sales will remain completely free and are apparently expected to continue on a "considerable scale" (p. 10). No indication is given as to whether the Arab population to be displaced by these sales is expected to be accommodated on the plain, thanks to development schemes voluntarily arranged between Arabs and Jews, or to be "absorbed" into the

towns or into one of the two zones into which the remainder of the country is divided. The first of these zones, named Zone A, includes the hill country as a whole and certain areas in the Gaza and Beer-sheba sub-district. In this zone the transference of land to a person other than a Palestinian Arab will be prohibited save in exceptional cases, which, however, rather surprisingly, apparently include those in which the landlord is a non-Palestinian Arab.* In Zone B sales will be permitted, after approval by the High Commissioner, in furtherance of development schemes either in the joint interest of both Arabs and Jews or in certain special cases of minor importance. This area includes the plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel; Eastern Galilee; the coastal plain between Haifa and Tantura, and between the southern boundary of the Ramleh district and Beer-Tuviya; and the southern portion of the Beersheba sub-district (the Negeb) (p. 7).

Notwithstanding these regulations, the High Commissioner is authorized, *in the interests of Jewish settlement*, if he is satisfied that the "rights and position" of the Arab population will be duly preserved, to review and modify any orders passed relating to the prohibition or restriction of the transfer of land (p. 10).

With regard to the probable result of these regulations, it is very difficult to speak with any assurance. Restrictive legislation of this nature often has results which are not at all those which were intended; in a country with such peculiar economic and political conditions as Palestine the difficulties of prediction are greatly increased.

Certain features may however be noted. In the first place, since the High Commissioner is given authority to relax but not to intensify the regulations it would appear that they represent a maximum of restriction which is not to be exceeded, but which may be reduced "in the interests of Jewish settlement."

All depends, therefore, upon the interpretation given to the regulations by the High Commissioner.

Nevertheless, if we interpret the White Paper as a whole, the general effect of the Government's proposals seems to be the following:

It is apparently intended that the Maritime Plain, with or without the Jaffa-Lydd-Ramleh enclave, should become increasingly Jewish, and that the hill country should remain, for the present at least, overwhelmingly Arab. In the remainder of the country—that is, in the

* Section 3 (1) and Paragraph 2 of Enclosure 2. A possible explanation of this provision is that there is no longer any considerable portion of hill land in the possession of non-Palestinian Arabs.

Maritime Plain immediately south of Haifa, in the plains of Esdraelon and Jezreel, in the Huleh area and in the Negeb—it is proposed to settle an increased number of Jews upon the soil, but to balance this by increasing the number of Arabs also and by raising their standard of cultivation. No indication is given as to what proportion of land or of population it is intended to allot to Arabs and Jews respectively in this area. Possibly, however, the Huleh scheme, which has been approved by the Government, by the Royal and Partition Commissions and by the Jewish Agency, though not by responsible Arab leaders or by the Arab population concerned, may be taken as a model.

The Huleh scheme is a project for draining a lake in North Palestine and the marshy land around it. A concession for this purpose was originally granted by the Ottoman Government to certain Syrian Arab merchants. The concessionaires apparently found themselves unable to carry out the work on account of the expense, and in 1930 Sir J. Hope Simpson wrote in his report :

“ The Huleh area is all irrigable . . . and it is regrettable that the area owned by the Government therein has passed almost in its entirety into the hands of a concessionaire. . . . If the concession falls in, it seems essential that the Government should retain the proprietary right in the area for development purposes.”

In 1934 the Jewish Palestine Land Development Company purchased the concession for £192,000. This company, like the Arab concessionaires, was unable to carry out the necessary works on account of the great expense. The Government, however, is now considering making a contribution of £226,000 towards the total of nearly £1,000,000 required. There are of course a number of Arabs already living in the area concerned. Under the original (Arab) concession an area of 10,000 dunams was to be reserved for them. This has now been raised to 15,772, which would appear roughly proportionate to the increase of the population in Palestine during the last quarter of a century. Under the new concession, however, the remainder of the reclaimed land, amounting to 36,000 dunams, will be settled by Jews instead of Arabs and a great part of the labour employed on the works will no doubt be Jewish. From this point of view, the new concession is less favourable to the Arabs than the former one would have been. At the same time, the operation involves an enormous capital expenditure which is not likely to be forthcoming unless it is paid for

by Jewish funds. If Arabs are taken into consultation about the project and an agreement is reached by which they regard their interests as duly safeguarded, the scheme may prove a success in all respects and serve as a model for similar schemes, in the future, in various parts of the country. For the moment, unfortunately, Arab cultivators and Arab opinion in general regard the scheme with profound mistrust. The success or failure of the new land legislation may well depend in large measure upon the success or failure of the Huleh scheme.

ROME AND HER CLIENT STATES IN THE EAST*

By A. H. M. JONES

THE subject which I have announced in my title is a large one, and this afternoon I propose to treat one aspect of it only, the part which the client states—kingdoms, ethnarchies, and tetrarchies—played in the Roman system of provincial administration. And by way of foreword I must first say something of that system.

It must always be remembered that the Roman Empire was an outgrowth of the city of Rome, and the administrative machinery of the provinces was a mere extension of the civic magistracies. Two important results follow from this circumstance. Since the Romans were reluctant to extend their magistracies beyond the traditional limits of the city-state, the administrative personnel of the provinces was exiguous in the extreme. The governor of each province had a very limited staff, a finance officer (*quæstor*), and two or three adjutants (*legati*), and, on a lower grade, a handful of clerks and attendants. Each governor, moreover, ruled an area which would, even in modern conditions, be accounted large—Syria, for instance, was one province, and the whole Spanish peninsula formed only two—and which in antiquity was effectively far larger, since communications were so slow. In the second place, the administration of the provinces always retained, to some extent, the amateur character of the civic magistracies. The principle of annual tenure was, it is true, less rigorously applied in the provinces than in the city. But it remained the norm, and as a rule a Roman would spend not more than half a dozen years in the provinces in the course of his whole career, and these would be scattered years spent in different districts.

In the second place, it must be remembered that the Roman Empire developed from a federation. Rome started her imperial career by imposing her suzerainty on neighbouring cities, allowing them to govern themselves and merely claiming their assistance in her wars. When her dominions spread overseas and she had to establish special com-

* Lecture given to a joint meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Royal Central Asian Society on December 12, 1939, Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., in the Chair.

mands to supervise them—in other words, provinces—Rome instinctively followed the same general line of policy. The provincial communities were, it is true, taxed, and their internal affairs were liable to interference, but they were still regarded as allies of an inferior sort, and, what is more important, they continued to govern themselves. It was, indeed, only on this presupposition that the system of provincial administration sketched above was possible. The Roman governors were expected to protect and supervise the provinces, not to administer them; the provinces were not so much administrative districts as groups of self-governing communities subject to Roman suzerainty.

The administrative system of the Roman republic thus is superficially analogous to the modern policy of “indirect rule.” But the resemblance is accidental only. Roman policy was not based on the ideal of preserving native culture and institutions. At first, indeed, Rome was indifferent; she did not care how the provincials governed themselves so long as they carried out the necessary business of administration somehow, and she tolerated the form of community native in each province—in the East the Greek city-state, in Gaul the Celtic tribe, in Africa the Punic town, in Spain the Iberian clan. But the Romans were fully convinced of the superiority of their own culture, with which they associated that of the Greeks. They might admire barbarians for certain qualities, but they placed them on a lower plane; Latin and Hellenic culture was, in their eyes, the only civilized way of life. Such being their sentiments, the Romans never discouraged the natural tendency of conquered peoples to adopt the civilization of their conqueror, and, as with the gradual development of a sense of imperial responsibility they evolved the positive ideal of a civilizing mission, that mission was one of assimilation either, in the West, to Roman or, in the East, to Greek culture. This ideal of assimilation was combined on the political side with the older policy of indirect rule, and it became the object of the Roman Government to organize the provincial communities as Latin *municipia* or Greek *poleis*. The ideal norm, therefore, to which a Roman province approximated was a group of autonomous *municipia* or *poleis* under the supervision of a governor sent from Rome.

To the realization of this ideal there were certain obstacles, refractory districts which for one reason or another refused to fit into the scheme. On the other hand, there were a number of areas, especially in the East, which had been governed by kings on a centralized bureaucratic system. Here the population was accustomed to taking its orders from royal officials, who in turn took theirs from the central government. The

very elements of local self-government, on which the Romans were accustomed to depend, were thus lacking. In other districts—wild mountainous areas, for the most part—the unruly inhabitants possessed the spirit of independence in excess. Their chieftains could not be relied upon to keep the peace and obey the governor, and, if they could be won over, their tribesmen would as often as not defy their authority. Here also, therefore, a stable basis on which the Romans could build was lacking.

The Roman Republic found no satisfactory solution for the difficulties presented by these refractory districts. In the bureaucratically administered areas it set up city governments, but, having once established them, it left them to carry on alone without further encouragement or support; and, not unnaturally, the new cities did not flourish. In the turbulent areas the only policy of the Roman governors was punitive raids, which merely exacerbated the hatred of the tribes without taming them. It was left to the principate to evolve out of the client kingdom an instrument for civilizing these backward districts.

The client kingdom was no new invention of the Roman emperors. The Republic had been in the habit of forming alliances with the kingdoms on the borders of its provinces, but these alliances were external only, pacts of mutual non-aggression and of mutual aid in case of attack by a third party. It was Antony who first put a constructive use to the conception of the client kingdom by two revolutionary changes of policy. In the first place, instead of merely accepting the existing hereditary kings, he appointed nominees of his own. In the second place, he did not only maintain the existing kingdoms, but created new kingdoms out of those backward districts which were imperfectly assimilated to the provincial scheme. The client king thus became an instrument of Roman policy, a new type of Roman governor, better adapted to rule the recalcitrant districts which were entrusted to him than the ordinary governor, because, unlike him, he was permanent and thus had time to learn the problems of his province and follow a consecutive policy in tackling them, and, secondly, because, being of oriental origin, he was better able to understand the idiosyncrasies of his subjects and to humour them.

In the propaganda of his rival, the future Emperor Augustus, Antony's new policy was naturally described as squandering the possessions of the Roman people on his minions. The taunt had just enough substance to make it sting. Some of Antony's choices were unorthodox. Not all his kings were, of course, new men. In Com-

magene he permitted the ancient dynasty, a superficially Hellenized Iranian family, which proudly claimed descent from both Alexander the Great and Darius the Achæmenid, to continue, and in Arabia he left undisturbed the native Nabatæan line. In two other cases he appointed the ministers of previous kings to be kings themselves; Amyntas had been secretary to the old Galatian tetrach Deiotarus, and Herod had been the vizier of Hyrcanus, the senile high-priest of the Jews. Two other choices were more curious. Archelaus came of what would to-day be called a Levantine family. His earliest known ancestor was the military expert who organized the armies of Mithradates the Great of Pontus and led them against Sulla. His grandfather had by timely treachery won the favour of Pompey, Mithradates' conqueror, and had in reward been appointed high-priest of Comana; but he aspired to higher things, and for the last six months of his life was king of Egypt, as consort of Berenice, Cleopatra's elder sister. It was from this family of rather shady adventurers that Archelaus came. Antony's fourth choice was an odd contrast. Polemo was the son of a wealthy and respected professor of rhetoric from the Greek city of Laodicea on the Lycus.

Not all these kings were given provincial territory to govern. Archelaus received the ancient kingdom of Cappadocia, where the feeble native dynasty was suppressed. Herod was installed in the ethnarchy of the Jews, hitherto ruled by the Maccabean dynasty, and little territory in addition. On the other hand, Amyntas started his career as king of Pisidia, a difficult mountain tract in central Asia Minor, which had long been nominally Roman territory. To these were added the neighbouring districts of Isauria and Lycaonia, both turbulent lands never effectively subdued hitherto, together with the plain of Pamphylia; the kingdom of Galatia, from which he took his title, was but a small part of his dominions. To Polemo were entrusted the backward eastern districts of Pontus, which Pompey had superficially and unsuccessfully urbanized.

After his final victory at Actium, Augustus did not hesitate to confirm all Antony's minions in their ill-gotten gains; now that the struggle for power was over, the propaganda of the war period was conveniently forgotten. He even increased the dominions of some. To Amyntas he entrusted yet another unruly mountainous area, Cilicia Tracheia. He died five years later, and most of his dominions were deemed ripe for provincial government, so well had he done his work. His most recent acquisition was, however, still unpacified, and Cilicia Tracheia was

accordingly granted to Archelaus, who further received Armenia Minor. Herod was presented with a number of neighbouring cities directly after Actium, and later received a more considerable accession of territory in Central Syria. The Ituræans, who inhabited the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon and neighbouring districts to the south-east, supplemented the meagre profits of agriculture by brigandage. Their native tetrarchs, so far from curbing their depredations, actively abetted them on a profit-sharing basis. So Augustus suppressed the native dynasty and entrusted some of the most difficult Ituræan districts, including Trachonitis (the Lejja) and Auranitis (Jebel Hauran), to Herod.

It would be too long a task to trace in detail the history of the several client kingdoms through the next century and a half, and I will next turn to their constitutional position and functions in the administrative scheme of the principate. Constitutionally the most striking feature of the new client kingdom was that it was not hereditary by right. The Roman government reserved for itself complete liberty of action, and on the death of a king might at its pleasure either annex his dominions or appoint a new king of its own choosing, or confirm the natural heir. This policy was facilitated by the purely personal theory of the monarchy current in antiquity. A kingdom was regarded, not as a state ruled by a hereditary dynasty, but as the property of a king, which naturally passed to his heirs. Treaties were made with an individual king and lapsed on his decease, and the Roman government was therefore never bound to maintain any dynasty in perpetuity, as is the British Crown in India. The further development of the theory, whereby the Roman people claimed the right to dispose freely of a kingdom on the death of an allied king instead of allowing it to pass to his natural heir, is more difficult to justify. When a kingdom had been created out of provincial territory, the basis of the claim was clear: what the Roman people had given naturally reverted to the Roman people on the death of the grantee. By analogy it was apparently presumed that every king who accepted the suzerainty of the Roman people gave the reversion of his kingdom to the suzerain power. This process of reasoning is typical of Roman constitutional theory, which always tended to assimilate rights recognized by Rome to privileges granted by her.

In practice the hereditary principle was often for the sake of convenience maintained. Thus Commagene continued, apart from a brief period in the latter part of Tiberius' reign, when it was annexed, to be ruled by its native dynasty till A.D. 71. Pontus similarly was governed by Polemo I, his widow Pythodorus, and then, having been annexed by

Tiberius, by their grandson Polemo II, till royal rule was abolished in A.D. 64. Arabia, again, remained under its native kings till A.D. 105; but it is significant that, on the death of Obedas II, Augustus thought seriously of giving the kingdom to Herod, and was only deterred by the latter's failing grip. The Herodian dynasty continued to rule the Jews so long as the Roman government persevered with the policy of governing this intractable people through client kings; but this was inevitable, for the Herods were the only Jewish royal family available, and a pagan king of the Jews would have been inconceivable. It is more remarkable that the descendants of Herod long continued to rule the Ituræan districts granted to their ancestor when they had ceased to be kings of the Jews.

In a larger sense also the hereditary principle prevailed. No new families were raised to the royal dignity after Antony's day; the only newcomers admitted to the circle subsequently were the ancient royal house of the Sapæi who under Augustus became kings of all Thrace. The existing families, which intermarried extensively, came to form a kind of royal caste, a pool from which kings would be drawn as required for districts which had no established dynasty. One such district was Armenia Minor. I have already mentioned that it was given to Archelaus by Augustus. It was annexed by Tiberius; next it was granted by Gaius to Cotys, a descendant on one side of Polemo, and on the other of the Thracian royal house; finally it passed to Aristobulus, of the Herodian family. Cilicia Tracheia similarly passed through many vicissitudes. First it was under Amyntas, then under Archelaus, from whom it passed to his son, Archelaus II; next it passed to Antiochus IV, of Commagene; and finally to Alexander, a great-great-grandson of both Herod and Archelaus. The same stock of families was used in Great Armenia, a kingdom which, though it lay outside the empire, Rome liked to see under rulers well disposed to herself. Finding the native dynasty untrustworthy, Augustus installed as king Tigranes, a grandson of Herod and Archelaus; but he did not survive for long. Tiberius' choice was happier; his nominee, Zeno, son of Polemo and Pythodoris, enjoyed a long and prosperous reign. Finally, Nero tried a second Tigranes, nephew of the first, but he did no better than his uncle.

The royal houses were not only welded by intermarriage into one great royal family; they also became by education foster-brothers of the imperial house. It was a regular practice for client kings to send their sons to be educated at Rome. We are best informed about the Herodian family. We know that Herod first sent his two sons by Mariamme to Rome, where they were boarded by Pollio, a Roman noble intimate with

the imperial family. Later, when these two sons had been executed by their suspicious father, he sent another pair, Antipas and Philip. His grandson Agrippa was brought up at Rome in close intimacy with the families of Tiberius and his brother Drusus, and when he died his son was then educated at Claudius' court. This policy had obvious advantages. It instilled Roman sentiment in the hearts of future kings, and bound them by personal ties of friendship to the emperors. It had the countervailing disadvantage that it tended to weaken the bond of sympathy between the kings and their subjects. This disadvantage, however, produced no serious difficulties except in Great Armenia, an essentially oriental country. Here princes who had received a Greek literary education found scant favour with the hard-drinking and hunting aristocracy; hence the failure of the two Tigranes. Zeno owed his success to the sagacity of his mother, Pythodoris, who brought him up in Persian fashion.

The client kings of the principate inherited the obligation of their predecessors under the Republic to give military aid to their suzerain. For this purpose they all maintained their own armies, which were probably organized on the Roman model, since they were all ultimately absorbed into the imperial army as auxiliary units. Some kings—Polemo II, of Pontus, for instance—are known to have maintained fleets. With these forces they were expected to assist the imperial army in any major operations in their neighbourhood—Vespasian, for instance, in his campaign against the Jewish rebels, was supported by contingents from the kings of Arabia, Emesa, and Commagene, and from Agrippa II., who ruled the Ituræan districts—and, furthermore, to defend their kingdoms against external attack. This second task was no sinecure, for almost the whole of the eastern frontier of the empire, from the Black Sea to the Gulf of Aqaba, was, during the first century of the principate, held by client kingdoms—Pontus, Armenia Minor, Cappadocia (until A.D. 17), Commagene, Emesa, the Ituræan districts, and Arabia.

In their internal affairs the kings were allowed a very free hand. Financially they were autonomous; since Antony's day client kings had been obliged to pay a fixed tribute, but they retained full powers to levy what taxes they thought best, and to spend the proceeds—after the tribute had been paid—according to their own judgment. Rome maintained no system of supervision; there were no "residents" at the courts of the client kings. The two exceptions prove this rule. When Archelaus, at the end of his long reign, fell into senile decay, a Roman

administrator was installed in Cappadocia. And in Thrace, when the heirs were minors, a Roman guardian was appointed for them. The general principle which the Roman government followed was, in fact, having selected a man whom it trusted, to give him full discretion. The results were generally satisfactory, but it must be admitted that the subjects of the kings had little protection against oppression. They had the right of petition to the emperor, but the king against whom they appealed could obviously make it difficult for them to exercise their right; and if the petition were unsuccessful the lot of the complainants on their return was not a happy one; some Gadarene envoys who complained to Augustus against Herod are recorded to have committed suicide when their petition was rejected. A case of a successful petition is, however, on record. Herod's son Archelaus was so singularly maladroit as to provoke both his Jewish and his Samaritan subjects, and a joint embassy from both communities convinced Augustus of the oppressiveness of his rule. But the real opportunity for the population of a client kingdom came on the death of a king, for then the whole question of the future of the kingdom was in the melting-pot. We possess a full record of the proceedings following Herod's death. The rival claimants to the throne and delegations from the various elements of the kingdom, the Jews and the Greek cities, all stated their case before the emperor in council.

The first function of a client king was to establish and maintain order in his dominions, and, as the districts which they ruled had often been selected precisely because of their turbulent character, this was often no light task. Amyntas spent the whole of his reign subduing the wild tribes of the Taurus, which had for fifty years been nominally Roman subjects, and was killed fighting. In Palestine, Herod had at the beginning of his reign to suppress what are called in our sources brigands, but were, in fact, armed bands operating against the government, and later he was entrusted with the task of pacifying the Jebel Druz and Lejja, then, as now, notorious for the unruly character of their inhabitants.

When order had been established he had next to introduce a regular administration. We learn that Archelaus II had to face a rebellion of his wild Cilician subjects because he attempted to enforce a census and regular taxation on the Roman model. We have a charming picture in Josephus of Philip, who succeeded Herod in his Ituræan dominions. His ruthless father had with an iron hand produced order, and Philip was able to go a step further. He was a conscientious ruler, and spent

the greater part of his reign going on trek round his dominions. Wherever he went he took with him a portable throne, and if any of his subjects appealed to him for justice he would have his throne set up by the wayside and settle the dispute then and there. By this prompt and personal administration of justice he gradually habituated the wild tribesmen to peaceful methods of settling their quarrels and weaned them from their native practice of vendetta.

The client king had also to foster a spirit of loyalty to the Roman Empire. The principal means adopted for this end was the propagation of the worship of Rome and of Augustus. This policy caused no difficulties in pagan lands, where it harmonized with the religious tendencies of the age. Herod naturally found the imperial cult a problem. For the Jews themselves a compromise was arranged, no doubt by the joint efforts of Augustus and Herod, whereby a daily sacrifice was offered in the Temple, not, as elsewhere, to the emperor, but on his behalf to Jehovah. But Herod ruled pagan cities and lands as well, and here his position as a Jewish king was anomalous. Despite the protests of his Jewish subjects, he took the line that in his pagan dominions he must act as a pagan, and he built temples to Rome and Augustus in two of his Greek cities, Cæsarea and Sebaste, and at Panium in the Ituræan district.

Client kings were, furthermore, expected to civilize—that is, to Hellenize—their barbarous subjects. A favourite method of disseminating Greek culture was to celebrate competitions on a magnificent scale on the model of the great games of Greece. These competitions comprised, on the one hand, athletic events and, on the other, displays of music, drama, and recitation. They thus stimulated interest in both sides of Greek education—the gymnastic and the musical. Here again Herod met with religious objections from his Jewish subjects, but he overrode their opposition and insisted on celebrating games in Jerusalem itself.

Finally, the kings had to train their subjects to self-government by establishing cities and fostering their growth. Here again the many foundations of the Herodian kings—Cæsarea of Palestine, Sebaste, Tiberias, Cæsarea Paneas, to name only the most famous—might be cited, but I prefer to quote the record of a king of another dynasty. Antiochus IV ruled two districts, Commagene and Cilicia Tracheia, between A.D. 38 and A.D. 71. In the former he established two cities, Cæsarea Germanicia (named after the Emperor Caligula) and Antioch upon Taurus, to commemorate himself. In Cilicia two cities celebrated his

imperial patrons (Germanicopolis and Claudiopolis), one (Antioch-by-Sea) himself, and two (Iotape and Philadelphia) his wife. Yet another (Irenopolis, the City of Peace) was the memorial of the final pacification of the country after a rebellion of the wild tribesmen of the mountains.

When this last stage had been traversed the client kingdoms had fulfilled their purpose, and they were accordingly abolished. Their dominions had been pacified, subjected to a regular administration, imbued with Hellenic culture and Roman sentiment, and finally organized as groups of self-governing communities. They now needed no special care, but could be fitted into the normal provincial scheme.

EXPLORATION IN EASTERN HIMALAYA

By CAPTAIN F. KINGDON WARD

Report of a meeting held on February 21, 1940, at 3 p.m., Mr. Archibald Rose, C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN : It is my privilege to preside at this meeting, with the ostensible duty of introducing to you Captain Kingdon Ward. There would be no meaning in such an introduction to members of the Royal Central Asian Society, for every one of us whose heart is in Central Asia has followed so carefully his journeys, his comings and goings, that his personality has become part of the Himalayan landscape.

Whilst introduction is unnecessary, I shall still take advantage of my privilege to recall one personal incident. Thirty years ago I was stationed at a little frontier post where China, Tibet, and Burma meet. Late one evening the servants came in and said: "There are bearers at the gate, carrying a litter; and in it there is a white man." It was a long time since I had seen a white man, and I went down to investigate with some excitement. The man was Kingdon Ward. He had come down the passes from his first great journey, and there was not much left of him in the way of solid flesh. He revelled in the luxury of clean towels and clean sheets, and was soon fit enough to start for home with the collection of new plants that stirred the imagination of the world.

In the thirty years that have passed since then the name of Kingdon Ward has become a household word, especially for those who love their gardens. Every time he comes back to England he brings in his arms such a wealth of new and glorious flowers that they are apt to distract our attention from the hard scientific work that has made his journeys increasingly successful and valuable.

I have been told that in the garden of Queen Elizabeth there were only thirty-six varieties of flowers. In the gardens of England to-day there are fifteen thousand distinct species of flowers that have been brought to us from overseas. Of that new wealth a generous proportion has been contributed by Kingdon Ward; and they have come mainly from that right angle of the Eastern Himalayas of which we shall hear to-night.

In his long search Kingdon Ward has carried on the great tradition of his father, and has brought the spirit of science to bear on all his researches, all his discoveries, and all his journeys. In the record of science, as in that of adventure and gallantry, the name of Kingdon Ward will stand high on the list of his own generation. He has already earned the proudest recognition that our country offers to the explorer—the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. (Applause.) He is also a medallist of the Scottish

Geographical Society and of the Horticultural Society of America. Those are the hall-marks of his scientific work.

We can now rely on him, and on his pictures, to transport us from the murk of this darkened London to a more glorious scene.

YOU have heard of Assam as a Province of India where they grow tea, and you may perhaps have come across Assam tips—which have nothing to do with the 3.30 at Newmarket. I was in Assam in 1938. Shortly after my arrival there a smart car drove up to the bungalow where I was staying and out of it stepped a police officer in uniform. He asked me if I were Mr. Kingdon Ward. It seemed idle to deny it. He then said, "I am an officer of the Imperial Police and at the orders of my Government . . ."

I said to the officer, "Well, I am just off to Shillong to see the Governor. Shall I give the Inspector-General of Police your salams—he is a friend of mine!"

So I went up to the capital, and found everybody, from the Governor of Assam downwards, just as charming as they could be, and as the head of the Foreign Office in Delhi was also well disposed, everything was smooth again. So it came about that, two years after having been almost an international incident, I was allowed to return once more to the frontier of Assam!

Geographically Assam is the valley of the Brahmaputra for the last six hundred miles of its course, from the mountains to the Bay of Bengal. It is a funnel-shaped plain lying on its side, with a wide-open mouth, its apex blocked by some of the highest mountains in the world. Up this funnel the monsoon rushes, resulting in a very heavy rainfall, which gets gradually heavier as you go eastwards up the valley. The plain is bounded by converging ranges of mountains, and is extensively cultivated; but there is also a great deal of jungle. The climate is humid. Cherrapunji, one of the wettest spots in the world, is in Assam, with an alleged rainfall of something like six hundred inches, but that is exceptional. Nevertheless, parts of Assam get washed away periodically.

My first map slide gives you a general idea of Tibet, sunk in the heart of Asia. It was on the borders of that country, and all through its eastern and southern parts, that the last few years of my life have been spent.

The next slide shows the Assam valley, and the distribution of vegetation in Tibet. Assam, as I say, is a tea-producing country, and

that is almost the only export. A little inferior coal and a certain amount of oil are produced; but Assam has no industrial future.

I think it probable that Assam will one day be on one of the great air highways of the world, a port of call on one of the short cuts from Europe to the Far East. At present it lies too far from Calcutta to be of great commercial importance. Occasionally you get earthquakes in Assam, and about once in ten years the Brahmaputra overflows its banks, inundates many thousands of square miles of country, drowns a few cattle and then returns to its bed. But, unimportant as it may be to-day, I would recommend this Society and the next generation to keep their eyes on Assam, because I am sure it is going to become an extremely important region.

Assam has been invaded again and again, but up to comparatively recent time always, you might say, from the most unlikely direction; in other words, overland, from the East across those great ranges of mountains, and overland from the North, and not by the obvious open doorway from the West. The reason for that was that in the old days the only way of getting up the Brahmaputra was in small sailing vessels, and the voyage took a long time. The plain was mostly swamp and impenetrable jungle. But during the migrations to and fro across Asia men have never been afraid to face mountains, and they have been attracted across those mountain ranges by the rich alluvial plain of Assam. One after another of the conquering invaders have settled on the plain, become weakened by fever and have been unable to protect it, so that they have fallen an easy prey to the next aggressive tribe. The last comers were the British; they came in from the west.

My starting-point for the journey I am about to describe was the city of Tezpur, on the bank of the Brahmaputra. In the old days it was a very important and perhaps beautiful city. It was the ancient capital of Assam, but now it is a derelict, rather arid, miserable sort of place. Its glory has gone and it is sunk into an extraordinary lethargy. It is on the plain, only a few hundred feet above sea level, and is surrounded by more or less impenetrable jungle and sandhills. Nowadays there is a road which runs northwards to the foot of the Himalayas. Few people realized until the beginning of this century that there was a good route over the Assam Himalayas on to the plateau of Tibet; yet for generations people had been going to and from Lhasa by this route. How is it that explorers never realized that there was a road here? Apparently two fallacies were current. One was that the whole of the Himalayas were occupied by dangerous tribes who would let nobody

through. The second was that there was a mysterious monastery some days' journey back in the Himalayas, the monks of which were fanatical and would stop any traveller. So there was a double reason for avoiding this route into Tibet: if you escaped being murdered by the tribes, you would probably be imprisoned by the monks. Until quite recent years nobody had ever tried to get through that way. Actually it is possible to reach Tibet through almost uninhabited country. It is easy to get through without anybody being any the wiser. That was what I did in 1935. The route is not marked on any map, but I had friends who knew the way.

The Brahmaputra at Tezpur varies in width from 1 to 3 miles, and in the rainy season rises 20 or 30 feet. Sometimes you cannot see any land for miles and might think you were at sea. The total length of river is about 2,000 miles; for 600 miles it is on the plain, for about 300 it is battering its way through the great gorges, and for 1,000 miles it is flowing away up on the plateau of Tibet behind the Himalayas.

There are some very beautiful temples in this part of Assam, built by the Ahonis, a Tai people who conquered the country. They are beautiful buildings, but in the damp climate of Assam the jungle grows very fast and buildings disintegrate rapidly.

At Tezpur, a decayed capital of Assam, I hired a motor lorry to transport myself, two Tibetan servants, and my baggage to an outpost at the foot of the Himalayas. We went across the plain for twenty miles to Lokra, where there was one British officer and a small detachment of the Assam Rifles, a frontier force to keep law and order. We started from Charduar. The country round Lokra and Charduar is jungly; from here you get a fine view of the Himalayan snows when the weather is clear. Leaving Charduar in the middle of April I marched five days' journey over the mountains to the first village on the other side. The first day we waded across the Belsiri River, which rises so high during the monsoon that you cannot get across it even by boat; in the dry weather you paddle across ankle deep. The first night we camped at Tiger Flat, a little clearing on the edge of the jungle. We did not see any tigers, but the next day we were held up by a herd of wild elephant. The country is very wild. The trees are magnificent, especially at the beginning of the hot weather when they are all flowering.

Next day we began to climb, following the bed of a small torrent. By the time we had reached 9,000 feet we were in beautiful temperate

forest, the trees muffled with moss, from which hung great bunches of orchids and rhododendrons.

No sooner had we crossed the pass on the fifth day than an extraordinary change came. So far we had been in dense evergreen rain forest. Now we looked back and saw the plains of Assam 9,000 feet below for the last time. Then we crossed the pass and in half an hour we were in open woods of weeping blue pine and oak trees just coming into leaf; birds were singing in the trees, primroses and anemones grew under foot; it might have been the woods of England in early spring. The reason was that we had crossed the first rain screen and the rainfall had suddenly dropped from about 90 inches to half that amount, or even less.

It takes many years to get any adequate idea of the forest trees, especially if you are only passing through the country. You collect a tree in flower but cannot find any fruit of it, so cannot identify it. But very gradually a succession of botanists, from Hooker's time down to the present day, have got together a knowledge of this Eastern Himalayan forest. The names of Hooker and Griffith are, of course, outstanding in the botany of the Eastern Himalayas.

At 7,000 to 9,000 feet you find the finest of all flowering trees, the magnolias and tree rhododendrons; besides larches and familiar trees like birch and maple, and a number of oaks. In a way, it is something like the forests of Europe, but on an extravagant scale. The going is very difficult. There are a few native tracks, but the track is always the bed of a torrent, and during the rainy season so much water is coming down that it is quite impassable. In the lower country the rhododendrons are one of the principal features, and they begin at an altitude of about 6,000 feet. Sometimes you will see a bush or tree rhododendron growing on the bank of a river by itself; but generally speaking rhododendrons grow together. The people are interesting. We are dependent on them not only for permission to pass, but on their goodwill for transport and food and everything else. The first duty of a traveller is to make friends with the people of the country. They are known as Mönba, and their country is called Mönnyul. Like people all over the world they are addicted to gambling, and whenever they have any spare time—which is about 24 hours of the day—they gamble. It is a very well-run country. All the work is done by the women, while the men look after important things like gambling, smoking and talking.

Ten days' travel across the upper ranges of the Himalayas brought

me to Dirang Dzong, situated in a deep valley in the heart of the comparatively dry country—that is to say, dry as compared with the Assam plains. Here I settled down, deciding to make this my base camp. I had permission from the Indian Government to cross the “inner line” but not the frontier. That gave me plenty of scope. The “inner line” is fixed and is drawn along the base of the mountains, across which nobody from the plains is allowed to pass without special permission from the Government. The frontier, on the other hand, is extremely fluid. Governments never settle where the frontier is if they can help it, because by the simple process known as “rectifying the frontier” it is often possible to claim a little more than your due.

Dirang Dzong was my base camp for six months. I occupied a sort of barn here. It had a leaky roof and two rooms. When I was at my base camp I used to sit in this room and do my botanical work, then after a few days I would collect transport and go off north, south, east or west to camp in the mountains and collect plants. The altitude of Dirang Dzong is about 5,000 feet, and, although there are severe frosts in winter, there is no snow.

There are numerous small monasteries. The Tibetans have taught arts and crafts, and the cottage industries are paper-making, wood-turning, and weaving. There is no trade in these things, however; they are simply for local consumption. The people were friendly but not keen on carrying loads.

Along the river at Dirang Dzong I found a great many interesting shrubs. I went right to the source of that stream, but I could not go far down the valley because that took me into tribal territory. To travel amongst the tribes is simply asking for trouble, and the Government forbade me to trespass far west of Dirang Dzong.

Luculia Pinceana grows on the river banks. It is a beautiful shrub with pink flowers, deliciously scented. It was a pleasure to walk round these bushes at night, when they were crowded with hawk-moths. *Lilium Wallichianum* grows here. It is not reckoned hardy in this country, and yet I learn that many years ago it was growing in a garden in Yorkshire, outside, for at least fifteen years. There were hundreds of plants on the dry grassy slopes of the mountains round Dirang Dzong. It has not much scent. Lilies seem to like pine-clad country. Wherever you find pines you find lilies. In 1925 I found none, but in 1938 two.

The people of Mönnyul are very religious, and they love to go up into the mountains and pick armfuls of flowers (*Rhododendron*

polyandrum and others) and bring them down and decorate their shrines. There are numbers of these shrines along the road, and during the summer they are always decorated with flowers. The wells, too, are decorated, and yaks' horns are put up on them. The horns have inscriptions.

One of the first expeditions I made from my base in May was up to a place on the Tibetan frontier especially to see the rhododendrons in bloom. As you climb up you come into zones of different rhododendrons, first of all bushes, then trees, then bushes again, and finally little dwarf plants only a foot or so high covering the ground as heather does in Scotland.

There is permanently cultivated land in these hills. The plough is simple, consisting of little more than a pointed stick, and the bullocks, quite used to going over country of every description, pull the little plough along and scratch the surface. So prolific is the soil, where there is any, that it produces two crops a year. They grow barley, which is reaped in May, and immediately after a crop of maize is put in, and that is ripe by September; very often in the autumn they put in a third crop, buckwheat, and so get three crops off the ground in the year.

Rice is grown on a very small scale. Paper is made from the inner bark of a shrub *Daphne*. This inner bark is pulped and made into a scum, which is floated on water. A cloth sieve is then put underneath, lifted up and water drained off. The scum settles on the sieve and is peeled off and dried in the sun. A lot of paper is made in this way, but you must not let it come in contact with water. You can write a perfectly good letter in Tibetan on that paper by using Chinese ink and a brush. These arts and crafts are organized by the monks, and quantities of paper are made for the monasteries.

The Tibetan church is very powerful in Mönyul, so the obvious thing to do was to make friends with the monks. I had a friend in Ishi Dorji, a missionary who was born in Tibet of humble parents, who has become famous in Mönyul. He studied at one of the great monasteries near Lhasa, and was then sent into this country on the borders of Assam.

I do not know of any country more beautiful in early spring when the rhododendrons are in flower, or in the autumn, when the scarlet berries are on the trees, than the mountain country of Mönyul. Looking over towards the Himalayas, you see range beyond range, with deep valleys between the ranges. Travel is very slow, because you

have to cross so many mountains and valleys. Each range takes a day or two to cross. It may take you five or six days to do twenty-five or thirty miles, but all the time there are wonderful plants to collect.

The people who live up in these mountains with their herds are the proletariat of the Himalayas. They have no cultivated land, but can go and live just where they like up in the mountains. They destroy the forests to encourage the growth of pasturage, on which their flocks and herds graze. They live in villages, too high up to ripen any crops at all. It is desperately cold in the winter, but not unpleasant in the summer. Round their houses there is not so much as a grain of wheat or a cabbage growing. Nothing will ripen. It is too cold. On the other hand, lower down in the jungle you find cultivators who are nomadic. When they have destroyed all the forest over a given area to raise their crops, the whole village has to emigrate to a new area. Thus we have the curious paradox of a nomadic peasant population.

A very beautiful tree at 10,000 feet is the Himalayan hemlock spruce. As soon as you get amongst the hemlocks you may be sure of finding plenty of rhododendrons. The whole forest seems to be ablaze with crimson, yellow and purple flowers.

There is a second lily, *Lilium nepalense*. I only found one patch of that plant in the whole of my travels. You do not find it except in cattle pastures, so far as I know. When you get over into Burma it is replaced by a somewhat similar plant which has for long been confused with it, *Lilium ochraceum*.

Still higher up we get into forests of silver fir, mixed with rhododendrons. Here there are thousands of rhododendrons, and you may well speak of mountains in flower.

Amongst the big rhododendrons with brilliant flowers mention may be made of *R. sino-grande* (cream with crimson blotch), *R. campanulatum* (mauve), *R. Wightii* (pale yellow with crimson spots), *R. Hookeri* (blood red), *R. fulgens* (crimson), and *R. campylocarpum* (sulphur). *Rhododendron fragariflorum* is an undershrub only a foot high, with strawberry coloured flowers. Above the tree line grew millions of bright yellow primulas. I noticed that the yak would eat many kinds of Alpine flowers, but would never touch these primulas. They could not help trampling on them, but they would not eat them. Wherever there is plenty of snow and a humid atmosphere you get these wonderful meadows of primulas. Their numbers run into uncountable millions. The whole air is scented with these flowers throughout the summer.

Blue poppies grow on the hillside. That plant, *Meconopsis betonicifolia*, is very common now all over England. It is grown in practically every English garden and park.

This will give you some idea of the tremendous variety of the country, the ridges covered with small rhododendrons and the peaks rising higher and higher up towards the clouds and the snows. It takes a long time to toil up those slopes, but it is very well worth doing. When autumn comes the gentians flower. What in the summer were fields of primulas, become fields of blue gentians. In the Swiss Alps they flower about June, but in the Eastern Himalayas and Tibet they flower in September and October and even into November. I have seen them flowering in the snow and looking as beautiful as in English gardens.

The pictures of *Gentiana amœna* and *G. gilvostriata* look very much as though they might have been taken in English rock gardens, but actually I took them in November, 1938, in the Eastern Himalayas.

Winter was now approaching. We had had our six months' exploration and were away up above the tree line, with the first frosts coming and the winter snows beginning. In a week or two the yak would have to leave the high pastures because there is no more grass. Above the tree line you get wonderful sweeps of open moorland covered with all kinds of flowers; the last silver fir is at about 13,000 feet.

The usual way to finish up a lecture is to bring you down from the tops of the high Himalayas, through the forests, across the meadows, back to the plains of Assam. But I think I will break a rule to-day and, having led you up in spirit to these high places on the roof of the world, I am going to cut short my lecture as we cross the Himalayas, and come to the great, windy open plain of the Tibet plateau under the azure dome of heaven where grow some of the most beautiful flowers in the world. (Applause.)

Sir ARTHUR HILL: Many years ago, as no doubt Captain Kingdon Ward recalls with regret, he had to sit and appear to listen to my lectures when I was assisting his distinguished father, who was my professor at Cambridge. I little thought in those days that he would develop in the line of botanical work in which he has made himself a master. It was certainly quite clear then that the subject on which I was lecturing was not one in which he was very seriously interested at that time!

Anyhow, he has discovered the right line since then, and, as you

know, we are all very much indebted to him for the many beautiful plants which he has brought back to enrich and adorn our gardens. Luckily they flourish among us, though I am afraid these last two months of Arctic weather may have sent some of them to their graves.

At Kew and at Edinburgh and in many private gardens you can see a great number of the beautiful plants he has thrown on the screen this afternoon, particularly *Luculia*, which flowers in profusion with us at Kew every autumn. It is now getting so high that I have had a pair of steps put up to it in order that people may get up and smell the flowers; but it is very curious that they are mostly afraid to do so because they think they ought not to or perhaps they think the steps unsafe.

I would like to express my thanks to him for the extremely interesting account he has given us and for the remarkably beautiful slides, not only of the flowers but of the human interest and of the very fine mountain scenery.

In answer to a question as to the coal and oil found in Assam the lecturer said :

Oil and coal are both found in Assam. There is only one oil-field near the apex of the plain. The coal is inferior.

The CHAIRMAN thanked Captain Kingdon Ward for taking his audience in spirit to great Himalayan heights, to mountains ablaze with rhododendron, to the snowy ranges of the great hills, and congratulated him on his wonderful photography. He held out hopes of a fresh expedition, when further treasures would be added to English gardens from that inaccessible borderland.

THE LONDON MOSQUE

It was a very happy coincidence that on January 30, at a dinner presided over by the Marquess of Zetland, Lord Lloyd's brilliant survey of the co-operation in the present war by the world of Islam in friendly interest and sympathy with the British Commonwealth of Nations should be followed by a speech from His Excellency Hassan Nachat Pasha, the Egyptian Ambassador, in which he put forward his scheme for the establishment in London of a Mosque which should be a religious and cultural centre worthy of the great traditions of Islam and the dignity of the British Empire, which counts the largest number of Muslims in the world.

Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, the Muslim Adviser to the Secretary of State for India and Chairman of the London Nizamiah Mosque Trust, expressed his readiness to co-operate and assist in any efforts aimed at the founding of a Mosque such as that envisaged by the Egyptian Ambassador. He also invited attention to the fact that he understood the French Government had built a Mosque in Paris at a cost of £80,000 and that the Paris municipality provided the site free of cost.

Ibrahim Nachat Bey, the father of the Egyptian Ambassador, was a devout Muslim, and was selected to take charge of the Mehal from Cairo to Mecca. Hassan Nachat himself has been a Professor, a Doctor of Law, and a Secretary in the Ministry of Wakf, apart from his distinguished record in the Diplomatic Service. By his personal interest and his official position and contacts he is eminently qualified to make his scheme a success.

His Excellency has already succeeded in obtaining the patronage of His Majesty King Farouk of Egypt, and it is hoped that it will be possible for him to arrange for the services of architects and engineers from Egypt and substantial help from the Ministry of Wakf. The University of Al Azhar, which is celebrating its thousandth anniversary this year, could be prevailed upon by him to provide the necessary personnel such as the Imam and Muezzin, and teachers who have received training in Islamic studies both in Egypt and in Europe.

Earlier Projects

For the best part of half a century different groups of Muslim workers have been engaged in providing means for building a Mosque

in London. Prayer meetings were held in different rented houses, and the services of the Imam from the Turkish Embassy were obtained. On one occasion a number of young men, prominent among whom were Abdullah Suhrawardy and Abdul Qadir, held their Id prayers in Hyde Park near Marble Arch, in spite of snowfall and sleet.

Besides Abdullah Suhrawardy (Calcutta) and Abdul Qadir (Lahore), the early group of workers also include Rafiuddin Ahmad (Bombay), Abdur Rahim (Calcutta), Muhammad Iqbal (Lahore) and Sultan Ahmad (Patna). It is remarkable that all these gentlemen were destined to occupy leading positions in the public life of their country, and to receive the dignity of knighthood. In 1908 Abdullah Suhrawardy, founder of the Pan-Islamic Society and a Muslim Mission with a London Mosque Scheme,* left for India to take up Principalship of the Islamia College at Lahore, and his work was taken up by Mushir Hosein Kidwai (Lucknow), Dr. Abdul Majid (Patna) and later by Khwaja Kamaluddin Ahmad (Lahore).

The organization and pioneer work in forming a representative committee for the building of a London Mosque was undertaken by the late Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E., the eminent Judge of Calcutta High Court, and the first Muslim Member of His Majesty's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

On November 9, 1910, a public meeting was convened by Mr. Ameer Ali at the Ritz Hotel, under the chairmanship of H.H. the Rt. Hon. the Aga Khan. On November 19, 1926, the Committee formed itself into a Trust. Mr. Ameer Ali became the Life-Chairman. As the Deed of Trust provides for the Muslim Member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, ex-officio, to be a Trustee, and for the Chairman of the Executive Committee to be a Muslim, Sir Umar Hayat became the Chairman on the death of Mr. Ameer Ali in 1929. The Rt. Hon. the Aga Khan is still the President, and Lord Lamington the Vice-President. Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Sir Frederick Sykes, Sir Firozkhan Noon and Sir Hassan Suhrawardy are Trustees, and the Hon. Secretary is Sir Ernest Hotson. The assets to the credit of this fund at present stand at £10,417.

The most successful project, however, has been the London Nizamiah Mosque scheme, which was also started under the Presidentship of H.H. the Aga Khan. It owes much of its success to the

* Allama Sir Abdullah Al-Mamun Al-Suhrawardy Iftakhar-ul-Milla, Kt. Commander of the Order of Medjedie, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D. (Obituary Notice in London *Times*, January 14, 1935.)

enthusiasm of its Life-Chairman, a British nobleman, the late Al-Haj Al-Farooq the Rt. Hon. Lord Headley. Accompanied by Khwaja Kamaluddin, Lord Headley set out on an extensive tour for collecting funds. Subscriptions and donations were received amounting to over £70,000, including a sum of £60,000 (Rs. 500,000) from the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Deed of Trust was executed on April 17, 1928.

Everything augured well, but difficulties arose from unexpected quarters. Sir Abbas Ali Baig and Syed Ameer Ali did not agree, and the two London Mosque Funds could not amalgamate. The Nizamiah Trust also suffered a serious setback on account of legal proceedings resulting from a claim by an architect, which depleted the funds by nearly £12,000. Luckily for the Trust, Lord Headley had secured a fine open site with a cottage at Mornington Avenue, West Kensington, W. 14, measuring 1 acre, 23 poles, at a cost of £28,000. It is gratifying to note that this excellent site has appreciated in value and an offer of £35,000 was made for it. Lord Headley died in June, 1935, and two years later, on June 4, 1937, the foundation-stone of the London Nizamiah Mosque was laid on this site by the Prince of Berar, Sahibzada Azim Jah Bahadur, the heir-apparent of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad.

The Nizamiah Trust received £221 from the will of Mr. Wilfred S. Blunt, which provided for this sum to be made over when the foundation-stone of a Mosque was laid in London. We trust that British sympathy will again and again show itself by generous donations, co-operation and support in the cause of a faith which is so close to its own in all its basic principles.

Besides the site, the assets standing to the credit of the Trust, including investments, securities and deposit accounts in banks, amount to £37,246.

The present Board of Trustees are as follows: Al-Haj Sir Hassan Suhrawardy (Chairman), His Excellency Shaikh Hafiz Wahba, Al-Haj Mahomedali Zainal Alireza, Nawab Sir Akeel Jung and Dr. Saeed Mohamedi (Honorary Secretary).

AFGHANISTAN'S REBIRTH

AN INTERVIEW WITH H.R.H. HASHIM KHAN IN 1937

BY ELLA MAILLART

(Translated by A. S.)

IN Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, there is a vast reception room on the first floor of the Ministry of the Interior. From the bay window I could see flower beds and the high earth walls which enclose every garden here, as in China.

I watched the Prime Minister, Hashim Khan. He was one of the most impressive figures I had ever met, a man of fifty, with a sallow, oval face, straight nose, narrow eyebrows, a Richelieu billy-goat beard and a supple mouth which could be hard or indulgent, when my questions revealed my ignorance. Was it this exterior which created an impression of greatness, or even more, his eyes, those windows of the soul, which were both quick and searching and followed my thoughts beyond my words?

He, an overworked minister, like all Prime Ministers in the world, had granted me this interview without any fuss—a rare thing in the East. His nephew, Prince Naïm, the young and handsome Minister for Education, a tall, supple, beardless young man, interpreted for us. He had been a student in France, as also had his young king, Zaher.

“To seek knowledge, travel even as far as China.” This is the slogan, taken from the Koran, which the Afghan Government uses for propaganda. This teaches backward Muslims that progress and knowledge are not in opposition to religion . . . that knowledge which must be the basis of any improvement. “And this year,” added the Prime Minister, “we are devoting a sum to public education equal to half our war budget. In this way we are forming the men who to-morrow will have to watch over the independence of their country. We must transform the thoughts of the Afghans before we can build an ultra-western capital, as Amanullah tried to do. He saw only the outward forms of modernization.”

The modern Afghans are straightforward. There are no “orientalisms,” no flowery phrases, no trays of tea on our centre table. And I was able to ask questions without circumlocution.

“But the treasure was plundered ten years ago, and the recalcitrant Elders . . . How did you set about your task, Your Highness?”

"Yes, we began our efforts from zero," explained Hashim Khan. "From below zero, for the mistakes of Amanullah had made everyone hostile to progress. On the balance-sheet we had no army, no money, and distrust everywhere. Up to his tragic death H.M. Nadir Shah had this difficult task, and I as Prime Minister have continued his work. First of all we introduced paper money, a wonderful feat in a country where everyone likes to be able to feel his riches. We were helped by the fact that on long journeys it is an advantage not to have to carry about heavy money.

"Only at first, and we had foreseen it," he added with a smile, "the Afghans rushed to the bank to see if they would really be given money against their notes!

"Having thus created some resources, we organized the army, began building roads, restored peace, and, as you have seen, there are no more bandits on the roads. It takes four days by car instead of forty-five days by caravan to reach the limits of the country.

"Before instituting reforms it was essential to create an atmosphere of confidence and goodwill. To achieve this we only made promises which we could keep . . . that is the secret. For men know when one is sincere."

"Yes, Your Highness, but I should also like to discover the reason for the influence which I see that you exercise over everyone. What is it?"

With the simplicity of a man who seeks the truth, the Premier said: "The people of my country know that I am devoting my life to helping them, for I have no family of my own. If I have succeeded it is because the Governments which have preceded me were bad, and it was enough for me to avoid their mistakes to gain the trust of the people.

"To-day every Government must be progressive, so in that I have no merit. I had to destroy the tradition of civil wars, stabilize the tribes, and level the fortified walls which allowed ambushes. Only King Nadir, three times the saviour of his country, could ask that.

"Now Parliament and the Senate are organized. We are working in peace. We have almost finished eight barrages, which will irrigate desert areas. This reclaimed land will be given to poor nomads and to our surplus population.

"We have successfully begun growing cotton and we shall increase it because Japan is a large buyer. Cotton is going to be as important as caracul skins, which represent 50 per cent. of our exports."

"Is it true that you have sold your petrol to the Americans?"

"Yes. French experts refused to touch it. The Americans are really working on the other side of the Iranian frontier. They only wanted control on this side of the frontier. They are paying £330,000 for the concession for the first five years, then for the following years we shall get 20 per cent. of their net profit.*

"We have needed foreign technicians to help us to manufacture our electricity, our cement, our glass, our matches, as well as to found the chairs of our young university. Paying special attention to primary schools, we still have only two Chairs, Medicine and Science, where the Frenchman, Monod-Herzen, is doing invaluable work. Our aviation is developing, and we have just sent 30 pupil pilots to India."

"I was on the point of asking Your Excellency about those charming boys I met at Peshawar. I was so astonished to hear them speak such perfect French."

"Now you know why, for you have visited the Istiklal College, Istiklal meaning 'Independence,' where six French masters prepare the best of the 600 pupils for their *baccalauréat*."

"And I hope that the long-awaited new head of the College will soon arrive from France. But tell me about your great neighbours, India and U.S.S.R. Can they be useful to you?"

"We do not encourage their subjects to come and live here, although our imports from each of them are worth over £2,000,000 each year. Apart from the Legations, there are only two Englishmen here; they are building a wireless station. We have also just bought a wireless transmitting station of 20 kilowatts from the Germans.

"Actually we call most on the Turks for our army and our hospitals; there are about 150 of them in Kabul. We employ Germans to build our bridges, our roads, and our new town districts. They prospect for us, oversee the cotton factories, teach at the German College, Nedjat, at the Art College, the Agricultural College, and at the professional college, a magnificent present made by Germany to this country. . . ."

Here I must add a few words of explanation to the French reader, to make him understand why the Germans have such a hold in Afghanistan. And why they are the only Europeans to have 150 subjects there. They are dynamic. They feel the need to leave their own overpopulated country. And also they sell their services and their pro-

* The American Inland Exploration Company gave up their oil concession in June, 1938.

duce more cheaply than the other Europeans, though for twice as much as the Japanese. But mainly because they are the only ones to whom their government guarantees the payment of their contracts with the Afghans—thanks to a clearing system of 60 million marks between Berlin and Kabul (480 million francs, approximately). Again, the Germans of *Lufthansa* are the only ones already to have made test flights for an air line which would bring Kabul within three days of Berlin.

There was also a parallel which I wanted to draw before taking leave. "Your Highness," I said, "you have been kind enough to make it clear to my readers how you found money, built up confidence and organized progress with the help of foreigners. But how do you achieve unity among your heterogeneous peoples? You have not only three different languages, as in Switzerland, but four: Pushtu of the Afghan tribes, Persian of the town-dwellers, old Turkish of the Uzbegs of the North, and the 'Farsi' of the Tajiks."

"Our disparity," said Hashim Khan, "is perhaps mainly superficial. Beneath the surface we are all united in Islam, our communal strength whose foundations must not be destroyed by progress. We must watch to see that the ideas which free us do not in the end divide us. . . ."

"Then, again, who knows if our mountain climate which is so harsh may not give us a common character, as in Switzerland, independently of race? Then you have mentioned Pushtu. . . . From next year it is to become the language of our officials, doing away with Persian. Our legends and our poems will then be understood by everyone. We shall draw from them a pride in our culture of the past which will unite us. We, too, like Switzerland, though we are in Asia, may become an indispensable buffer state without colonial ambition, bounded by great powers."

As I said good-bye to the Premier I ventured another question, of greater delicacy, on the progress of the "*question feminine*."

"This problem has not been faced yet, Mademoiselle. We are sad and depressed about it. For women are the foundation of all reconstruction. This room in our house, if I can so put it, has not yet been put in order. Please be indulgent about it. Afghans must first learn to imagine another life. Come back in ten years' time!"

As I left the Ministry, in the burning streets which men were watering with leather bottles, I thought to myself:

Yes, Your Highness, I have confidence in you. For I knew five

European women married to Afghans in Kabul and living the harem life. Not one of them regretted her marriage. Then at the women's hospital I saw kind Afghan nurses, the first in the history of the country. But most of all I saw the bright, wide-awake faces of the 500 little girls who go to school. I was enthusiastic about what I saw, for I saw energy and vitality in those who will be the mothers of tomorrow.

But first of all peace must continue in Afghanistan.

JAPAN

At a meeting at which Mr. E. M. Gull spoke on the War in China and the European War (p. 172), Mr. G. Sale spoke on Japan.

MR. G. SALE: The lecturer, I think, has given a very able explanation of Japan's situation in China from the military point of view up to the present time. I have prepared a few remarks, but I have a little difficulty in exactly fitting them into his talk because I did not know what he was going to say. I think I can only talk, not from the military point of view, but more from the point of view of the home front and political considerations.

I had the good fortune to be in Japan at a most interesting period this year, from June 30 to July 22, during which time the Tientsin talks in Tokyo were proceeding, and to a certain extent I was able to see behind the scenes of these talks. I think the two features of that period which impressed me greatly were the unanimity of the Press against Great Britain, supported by large meetings and demonstrations. Yet underneath one found strong elements who were anxious to be friendly with Great Britain, and I heard no case of any British in Japan being inconvenienced or embarrassed by the mobs or crowds or hindered in his daily business. Though feelings were running high, and prejudice in certain quarters strong, on the whole British firms suffered very little loss in their businesses.

The very day on which I was the guest of honour of the Japan-British Society, to which there came a record attendance of Japanese, there were demonstrations in the park outside of five to ten thousand. The Japanese public at large felt that England was not going to fight in Europe and were inclined to believe the German propaganda that England had become supine and decadent. I think that events since the outbreak of war will have proved to them the error of their views, and the Japanese public at large have now a considerably increased measure of respect for England and the Empire, which will strengthen the hands of the elements who are friendly to us.

Various political parties in England took divergent views with regard to the extent and intent of the Russian activities in Spain, which in the opinion of certain well-informed quarters was the cause of the Spanish Civil War, but Russia's actions in Poland, Esthonia,

Latvia and Finland have proved beyond a shadow of doubt the true character and aims of Russia's policy. I think that we should now frankly admit that Japan's fears of Russian influence and activities in China were not without cause and reason. I hope that this will help us to understand Japan's problems and difficulties more sympathetically.

I felt convinced during my stay in Japan that the country was tired of war, even the military; but they were unable to see how to stop it. Here I feel there is a great mission for the diplomats of England and America to study possible peace terms. I do not think Japan is in the mood to accept England and America as mediators, but I certainly feel she would welcome them in an introductory capacity; it should not be beyond the diplomacy of England and America to find out from Chiang Kai Shek on what terms peace could be secured. Japan has already given her own framework. They have not altered their ideas since Prince Konoye's declaration of last year, in which he said: "No territorial aggrandizement, no indemnities, but certain economic concessions, and a declaration by China of her severance of her relations with Russia."

It is a very broad frame and almost any picture can be put into it, and I think that the statement made by General Abe, when he became Prime Minister early in October, is worth repeating: "It was natural," General Abe admitted, "that many Japanese attributed General Chiang Kai Shek's prolonged resistance to the aid he had received from third powers," but he insisted this was only one, and not the most important, factor. He blamed Japan for demanding that China should offer unquestioning allegiance to Japan's plans for a new order in East Asia instead of asking for her genuine and sincere co-operation.

This, he declared, is not the way of the Western Powers in dealing with China. They deprive China of territory, but China does not complain, because the Powers unsparingly give compensation for what they have taken. "There is an appalling contrast," he said, "between the attitude of the Western Powers and the illiberal way in which Japan deals with China."

These are the words of the man who to-day is Prime Minister of Japan, and only in the papers to-day I think you will notice the announcement of the partial re-opening of the Yangtse and the Pearl River, which is a step in the right direction, and I am sure that the hands of the Japanese desiring peace would be strengthened if they could feel that England and America were making an honest and sincere effort to understand and sympathize with their problems. I

do not mean by this they should agree with the methods and actions and condone all her actions in China, but rather to make the Japanese feel that they realize that Japan has certain very difficult problems, such as the expanding population which demands either emigration or trade outlets, and that the Japanese fears of Russia are justified and their present war in China has come about through no fault of their own. In other words, they have embarked on something which is too large for them to stop. If the moderate elements in Japan feel they can rely on English and American sympathies on these lines, it will encourage them in their efforts to bring about an early peace in the Far East which should be satisfactory to China as well as to Japan.

As the luncheon discussions are informal and are not published, this speech is given separately.

THE HAIFA-BAGHDAD ROAD

At the luncheon meeting when Mr. E. G. Hogg spoke on Iraq, questions were asked in the discussion on the Iraq Government road policy, on the effect of conscription on the nation, on the tribal question and on the lack of a governing class in Iraq, and on road communications westwards to the Mediterranean. With regard to the Baghdad-Haifa road, Captain A. M. Hamilton has sent the following note :

SOME two years ago I accompanied Lieut.-Colonel R. Briggs on a reconnaissance for this road. The sections of the route we studied most carefully were those through the hilly regions and the famous lava belt of Trans-Jordania, which are, on the whole, the most difficult parts for the roadmaker. The chosen alignment makes use, wherever possible, of the Iraq Petroleum Company's construction road beside the oil pipe line, and, incidentally, lies in the same area as that surveyed about eight years ago for the proposed Haifa-Baghdad railway.

Following on the reconnaissance a staff of Royal Engineer officers and N.C.O.s under Colonel Briggs has directed the construction of these Trans-Jordan road sections covering a distance of some 200 miles. Their work terminates at the Iraq frontier. The most modern mechanical road-making plant has been used, both for speed of construction and because of the difficulties of employing very large labour gangs in open desert far from water and food supplies. A metalled, sealed bitumen surface is provided throughout, and long sections are elevated above the surrounding desert for drainage purposes.

The progress made has been very commendable indeed, and this part of the project will, in all probability, be completed in a few months, thus enabling cars to pass in any weather, at speed, over what was once a most impassable and most historic barrier of the ancient world.

An excellent description of the work is given by Colonel Briggs in a paper contributed to the January *Journal of the Institution of Civil Engineers* and may be referred to by those interested.

As to the other sections of the road, those in Palestine on the one hand and in Iraq territory on the other, which have not been budgeted for by the British Government, these are not yet fully linked up. So the chief remaining requirement of the road is that, in view of its certain importance as a great future trunk highway into Asia, it must be

considered as a whole and brought to a uniform standard—throughout its six hundred and fifty miles from the Mediterranean to Baghdad. The standard to rule the whole road should, I think, be no less than that of any of our first-class Ministry of Transport highways. The road would then be able to take any type of vehicle whatever—notably the biggest of the Nairn and Iraq Petroleum Company motor cars, which at present are debarred from reaching Haifa, or of using the Western Trans-Jordan and the Palestine sections of the route.

This unification of the whole road and the raising of its loading standard will, I feel sure, soon be carried into effect in view of the rapidly growing importance of the road—its importance in a political and military as well as in a commercial sense; but I am not aware of what steps are being taken to secure this end at the present time.

REVIEWS

Turkistan Tumult. By Aitchen K. Wu. With illustrations and 2 maps. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xiii+279. Methuen and Co. 12s. 6d.

Since the Chinese Revolution of 1911-12, events in Eastern Turkistan may be said to have passed through three distinct phases. First, on the overthrow of the Manchus, the chaos prevalent in Inner China quickly extended to the outer province of Sinchiang, the Kuomingtang revolutionaries, with the swiftness of a tornado, passing onwards successively through the various towns from Hami to Kashgar, leaving in their trail the mangled bodies of District Officials, and setting up, with lightning speed, their own nominees. The last of their victims was the venerable Yuen Ta-jen, Taoyin of Kashgar, then about to leave for Urumchi on his nomination as Provincial Governor. The outstanding feature of this *coup* was the deliberate and disciplined way in which it was carried out. The fight was purely between the Chinese themselves. Not a native Moslem was plundered, nor a British subject molested; and apart from an incident in a small village near Khotan, where an Andijani had his house burnt down by some natives who had no connection with the revolutionaries, nothing untoward happened to Russian subjects.

(Yet, incidentally, be it mentioned that such were the alarmist reports furnished by the Russian Consul at Kashgar to his Government that 1,200 troops were sent over from Tashkent. These remained in Kashgar for the greater part of two years, but were eventually withdrawn, apparently on British diplomatic pressure.)

As for the revolutionary *Ambans*, they carried on the administration, and put money into their pockets, much in the same way as their predecessors: apart from a change of personnel the old machine just worked in its old way.

The second phase began in 1913. In that year, after the assassination of the Governor-Designate Yuen, Yang Tseng-hsin was proclaimed his successor; and he held the office of Governor till he himself was assassinated in 1928.

And the last phase, which brings us down to the present time, is full of turmoils and massacres throughout the whole of Sinchiang, caused by oppressive administration, and followed by a revolt led by a Tungan youth named Ma Chung-yin.

The book under review describes the more recent events in Sinchiang. The author is a Chinese diplomat who, in 1933, was in Urumchi as the then Governor's Political Adviser; and he was not only an eye-witness of, but an actor as well in, many of the events of which he gives a most vivid account.

As Mr. Wu came to Urumchi in 1933, it was some years after the Governorship of Yang Tseng-hsin. But he took pains to gather on the

spot some details of the character of that sombre and tragic figure who, without troops, but by sheer diplomacy, managed to impose such a peace on Sinchiang as to cause men from war-torn China to speak of it as an earthly paradise. Mr. Wu is, however, by no means indiscriminate in his admiration for Yang, many of whose acts he condemns as dishonourable and needlessly cruel. In *Turkistan Tumult* he gives a most realistic account of the double tragedy of 1916 and 1928: in the earlier year, Yang invites certain enemies of his to a feast and has them assassinated at table, and in the later year, his enemies invite him in their turn and mete out a similar fate to him; thus fulfilling the prophesy current in Urumchi—"He who slays at a feast shall at a feast be slain."

Atrocities of this sort are not as rare as one might suppose in a country with China's civilization. There were two or three instances of this in the Kashgar Yamens during the revolutionary days of 1912. Chinese etiquette makes it difficult for a subordinate to decline an invitation to a meal from his superior. If he fails to attend, he confirms whatever suspicion may have been entertained of his loyalty; and if he puts in an appearance he does so at the risk of his life.

Yang's administration was bold and skilful. After the withdrawal of the Russian troops from Kashgar in 1913, little by little he turned out the various revolutionary *Ambans*—self-installed in the different towns in the south—and in their stead set up his own relations and personal adherents, without, however, too close a regard for their ability or integrity. His attitude towards the foreign Consuls at Kashgar was hardly friendly, marked as it was by a spirit of self-assertiveness, especially after the outbreak of the Great War and the downfall of the Tzarist régime. This, at least, was the reviewer's impression, who was in Kashgar during the first six years of Yang Tseng-hsin's administration.

Yang's successor was Chin Shu-jen, a man cruel and weak and devoid of statesmanship. One of his first acts was to start a train of events which plunged the whole province into a long-drawn-out bloody civil war. For many years past, a line of Moslem kings had reigned in Hami. Taking advantage of some local trouble, Chin Shu-jen decided to abolish the kingdom of Hami and to place it under direct Chinese control; the intention being to dispossess a certain number of Moslem inhabitants of Hami of their lands for the benefit of Chinese immigrants. This injustice, coupled with the seduction of a Moslem girl by a young Chinese *likin* official, started a revolt which grew with such rapidity that it soon extended to the provincial capital. Urumchi itself was besieged by the local Moslems and Tungans; and but for the defence put up by some White Russian refugees who were in the Chinese service as soldiers, the city would assuredly have fallen with the massacre of the Chinese officials inside.

Though order had been restored more or less in the capital, the surrounding districts on the north of the Tian-shan continued in a ferment, with *Mullahs* and *Akhuns* agitating for an independent Moslem state, and intrigues going on between them and a Tungan stripling, named Ma Chung-yin, then in the neighbouring province of Kansu.

Regarding Ma's antecedents, the author tells us :

"Although he was a mere youth he had already a wide reputation; and though his military prowess was admitted by all, there were sides to his character which alarmed all who knew of him. He was of Moslem blood, a Tungan, native of Hochow, in the south of Kansu, and when only a few months over the age of nineteen, was made an officer in the army at Sining. The interior of China was then in great disorder; and though various generals were on the march, all avowing high-flown aims, they were in fact little more than large-scale brigands, plundering the provinces they claimed to be liberating. Ma Chung-yin appears, even at the time of his first command, to have thought that this was a game at which he too could play. He had no clear aims beyond the advancement of his personal ambitions."

In 1933, Ma was a Divisional Commander in Chiang Kai-shek's army; but that did not prevent him from responding to the call of the *Mullahs* and *Akhuns* in Sinchiang, and so he marched his troops through the desert to Hami, and then suddenly appeared quite near Urumchi, at Kucheng, which he occupied. The provincial capital was in terror; and so low had sunk the morale of the Chinese officials that they decided on parleying. Accordingly they sent a deputation to Ma, with terms which in substance came to this—that Ma was to be given the rank of "Garrison Commander of the East" (virtually the same as *Titai* or Commander-in-Chief at Kashgar), and that if he left alone Urumchi and the other towns in the north he could do what he liked in the south (Tarim Basin). The deputation, of which the author was a member, pointed out to him how poor and bankrupt were the northern towns, whilst

"Southwards lie your own people, the Moslems, true believers, who look to you. Their lands are rich, and food is plentiful for your horses. Your men too will be content, and you can complete their training at your leisure. . . . Sinchiang is a great territory, and when you have made three-fourths of it yours, who will be able to stand in your way?"

Ma was certainly tempted; but it does not seem that he actually accepted the proposal. Anyway, early in January, 1934, he tried to take Urumchi, but failed; thanks again to the assistance given by White Russian troops, against whose aircraft and bombs Ma's soldiers were no match. Foiled in the north, Ma turned south, and appeared before Kashgar in February, 1934. But there he did not find the bed of roses so temptingly described to him a few months earlier by the Urumchi Peace Delegation. Instead, he saw towns torn by dissension and running with blood. One Sabit Da Mulla—self-styled King of Khotan—had raised the standard of revolt against the Chinese and had proclaimed a new state to be known as "The Republic of Eastern Turkistan." Kirghiz tribesmen were coming down from the Tianshan mountains, looting and murdering in Kashgar, and sparing none in their quest of plunder. The whole situation was so bewildering that the common people no longer knew where to give their allegiance.

The conflict was no longer clear-cut between Chinese and Moslems: rather did it seem that each rebel leader was fighting for his own ends.

Ma Chung-yin's appearance at Kashgar did not have the expected dramatic effect. He made some progress at first and captured a few towns. But he was coldly received by the local Moslems. The Kashgarians never had much liking for the Tungans; moreover, they seemed to have grown tired of their two years of strife and bloodshed (1933-34), and had no wish to be plundered by another "deliverer." And so, corrupt as the Chinese administration was, they realized that it was still better than any form of government they themselves could set up. The ill-fated Republic of Eastern Turkistan soon disappeared. Chinese officials took possession of their Yamens again—this time, however, with Russian "advisers" at their side.

As for the youthful Tungan, Ma Chung-yin, his fantastic ambition of world-empire soon came to an ignominious end: on the advice of the Russian Consul at Kashgar, he took refuge in Soviet Russia, though whilst he was in Chinese territory he had always been opposed by the Russians.

No sooner was peace restored in Sinchiang than things took an unexpected shape—no less than an "anti-imperialist" movement directed against Britain. What happened is already well known to us—how the British Consulate at Kashgar was boycotted, how Indian traders were forced to sell their goods and quit the country, numbers of them arriving in Gilgit frost-bitten, penniless and starving, etc. That a strenuous effort had been made to remove British interests and influence, lock, stock and barrel, out of Sinchiang, there could be no doubt. The power, however, behind the movement is not clearly defined by Mr. Wu. Still, the two following passages from his book throw some light on the situation:

"Chin Shu-jen (lately Governor), it will be recollected, had turned to Soviet Russia for aid and had made a secret treaty, for which he was subsequently imprisoned on his return to Nanking. In his case the error was aggravated in the eyes of the Central Government by their belief (right or wrong) that personal considerations had played a big part in the affair, and had indeed predominated over the interests of China in Chin Shu-jen's mind. When Sheng (Chin's successor as Governor) made overtures to the Soviet authorities, his action was much easier to excuse. . . . Sheng did not always show wisdom in his decisions; but at least he faced his problems boldly and never took refuge in shallow optimism. He was a realist, and his approach to Russia was made only when careful examination of his position had convinced him that this was the only chance. While he knew that Soviet aid could be purchased only for a definite price—the *virtual monopoly of Sinchiang trade*—the alternative was to see the whole province given over to disorder. He may well have thought that a Central Government which can offer no aid to a hard-pressed frontier province cannot claim to dictate what policy should be followed by the man on the spot. Sheng was on the spot . . . and he had to act quickly or perish."

And, further on, Mr. Wu refers to the Tass News Agency in U.S.S.R. as having given out a message—as stupid as it is false—that “the new State (the ill-fated Republic of Eastern Turkistan) was fostered by Britain as a spearhead for an attack upon China and Russia.”

The situation is deplorable. The key of it, however, does not lie at the British Consulate at Kashgar. More likely will it be in London where, one day, many intricate post-war problems will have to be discussed and settled.

Such are some of the points in *Turkistan Tumult*. The author, who is a foreigner, has a remarkable command of the English language, and displays in its use no little literary skill. Containing as it does much information that is new as well as true, this important book will be of service both to the historian and to the diplomat; whilst it cannot fail to interest any ordinary reader who is curious to hear about Chinese Central Asia and its recent tragedies.

The two maps inserted as front and back endpapers are very useful.

G. MACARTNEY.

Soviets in the Arctic. An historical, economic and political study of the Soviet advance into the Arctic. By T. A. Taracouzio. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Pp. xvi + 563. 7 maps. Macmillan. 1939. 32s. 6d.

In this book Dr. Taracouzio has, as the result of his reading of a mass of documents, prepared an exhaustive account of the work projected by the U.S.S.R. in the Soviet Arctic and tried to show to what extent these projects have been carried out.

His book is a monument to his industry in carrying out this investigation, and he has endeavoured to make his conclusions impartial. As a work of reference his book has a lot to be said in its favour, but it is most tedious reading, and forces on the reader the impression that he has made the utmost possible of his material. The result has been a work of reference almost in the form of an encyclopedia rather than a descriptive book on the subject. His analytical method simplifies reference but makes reading very tiresome, as it leads to a great deal of what is more or less repetition.

The extent of Russia's aspirations in the Arctic are clearly shown, but not unnaturally, as this information is not so easily obtained, the degree to which these aspirations have been attained is not so clearly indicated.

Due to the advent of wireless and the aeroplane, the Russians have in a comparatively short period been able to accomplish a great deal of exploration and development work which was quite impossible under earlier conditions. In addition to this it must not be forgotten that all earlier work was done very much as the result of private initiative and with most limited financial resources, whilst the work of the U.S.S.R. has had at the back of it national finance and co-ordinated national resources on a very large scale. There is little wonder therefore that progress, despite all the many difficulties, has been rapid.

With a knowledge of all the drawbacks of these inhospitable regions one

naturally asks what is the real incentive behind the drive which the U.S.S.R. are devoting to the development of the Arctic.

Whatever its mineral and other wealth may be, one remembers the enormous extent of Russian territory and the huge natural reserves of minerals, timber and other resources in far more hospitable regions which are still awaiting development, and one is forced to the conclusion that in the opening up of the Arctic, the exploitation of its mineral and other wealth is really of only secondary importance.

What is important for Russia is the opening up of the "North-East Passage," with its shorter route from European Russia to the Pacific. The period during which this route can be navigated is necessarily short, and its very existence as a navigable route is locked up with the modern developments of wireless and aeroplanes.

Considered with this as its main objective one is able to understand Russia's desire to establish stations and new townships, to give them, wherever possible, their own industries and to make them self-supporting.

In case of war in the Far East the existence of this North-East Passage would be of the greatest importance to Russia, but it cannot be maintained and developed on a war footing and must be done on a commercial basis; hence the planning of towns and industries.

This book is extremely thoroughly documented, but practically all its documentation consists of Soviet Government decrees, statutes, reports and plans, and the author is himself at pains in many cases, especially with regard to industrial and social development, to demonstrate that Russian statistics and reports are not always reliable.

From the time the Soviet Government formulated their first Five Year Plan their plans have been grandiose, and the actual execution of these plans has, therefore, fallen short of expectations. This statement, however, does not mean that they have not accomplished a great deal in developing the Arctic Provinces, let alone the very large schemes actually put into operation in other parts of the Russian territories. Their developments in the Arctic, as the author shows in the chapter dealing with Industry, have at times been badly organized as well as executed, but a great deal has been done and more successfully and thoroughly on the exploratory side than in industry and social matters.

The author lays particular emphasis on their attempts to "Sovietize" the indigenous population, and in this respect they are repeating one of the faults of the Imperialist régime, which always tried to dragoon their subject peoples into Russian ways.

The political significance of Russia's claims over the icefloes of the Arctic up to the Pole itself, which is dealt with at length, may be important, but their practical utility cannot be great.

This decision to develop and exploit the Arctic regions is probably the most outstanding scheme of all those that Soviet Russia has undertaken, and in carrying it out she has shown energy and in many cases initiative of a high degree. She has also shown very clearly that she intends to continue a most isolationist policy (that indeed is on all fours with her development

of other parts of Russia) and the North-East Passage is, and is intended to remain, a closed Russian sea route.

The author's account of the development of industry and commerce in the Arctic regions leaves the impression that as commercial undertakings with sound accountancy they would show very handsome losses, but profit-making is certainly of little importance in the Soviet Government's eyes as compared with the maintenance of safe navigation of the North-East Passage.

Dr. Taracouzio is to be congratulated on his evident impartiality, a quality generally missing from books dealing with Soviet Russia.

ARTHUR G. MARSHALL.

Revealing India's Past. A Co-operative Record of Archæological Conservation and Exploration in India and Beyond. By Twenty-two Authorities—British, Indian, and Continental. With a foreword by A. Foucher. Edited by Sir John Cumming, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., M.A. $8\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$. Pp. xx+374. Thirty-three plates and map. The India Society. 1939. 25s.

This notable volume does not aim at original research, but is a comprehensive survey of archæological enterprise in India since 1862, when General (afterwards Sir Arthur) Cunningham was appointed Director of Archæology and commenced his valuable series of Reports. After his retirement in 1885, little was done by the Government of India until Lord Curzon, with his characteristic energy and enthusiasm, reorganized the Department and sketched out a generous and enlightened programme, the execution of which was entrusted to Sir John Marshall and an able band of Indian colleagues. This account of their labours, contributed by Indian and English scholars, each in his own sphere, includes a great variety of activities, concerned not only with exploration and excavation, but with the even more important duties of the repair and conservation of ancient monuments, as well as the study of epigraphy, the arrangement of museums and libraries, and the collection of photographs and other records. We cannot here attempt to do justice to the vast range of antiquarian interests in the subcontinent of India, from the palæolithic dolmens of Travancore to the latest masterpieces of Moghul architecture, and it must suffice to indicate a few of the outstanding achievements of the Department in recent years. Of these the most sensational is the unearthing of the prehistoric civilization which flourished in the Indus Valley five thousand years ago. Previous to the excavation of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa nothing was known of Indian history earlier than about 1,500 B.C., when it was held that the Aryans began their invasions from the highlands of Central Asia. Suddenly and at one stroke the civilization of ancient India was placed on a level with those of Mesopotamia and Egypt, with which numerous connections can be traced. The rival claims of these three regions in point of age remain to be decided by further evidence, but the high status of the Indus Valley culture is abundantly attested by its artistic seals, its inscriptions (not yet deciphered), its relics of

statuary comparable to the best Greek art, its bronze statuettes, and cotton fabrics unknown in early Sumer, as well as by the modern planning of its cities with wide, straight streets crossing each other at right angles, and a complete drainage system far in advance of anything at Ur or Kish. The origin of these interesting people and their connection with other races are still obscure, but that they were not Aryans is indicated by the fact that, unlike the Aryans, they had no horses or iron and worshipped the bull instead of the cow. Nor can they be certainly identified with the dark-skinned Dasas, or Dasyas, whom the Aryans encountered. But it seems possible that their influence upon later ages can be traced in their worship of images, the cults of Shiva and Kali, and the practices of cremation and Yoga.

Hardly less important are Sir Aurel Stein's journeys in Central Asia and his examination of the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas and other sites, resulting in the rescue of many priceless relics of Buddhist art, mural paintings, banners, and manuscripts, which have been fully described in the eleven quarto volumes of *Ancient Khotan*, *Serindia*, and *Innermost Asia*.

Next we must refer to Sir John Marshall's investigations at Taxila, extending over more than twenty years, which have revolutionized our knowledge of the cultural history of North-west India from the seventh century B.C. to the fifth century A.D., including the invasion of Alexander and the influence of Hellenism upon India.

Less spectacular, but not less essential to the safety of India's ancestral heritage, is the preservation of her world-famous monuments, which has absorbed the bulk of the expenditure. Recent visitors to India will readily bear witness to the charm and taste displayed in the renovation of the ruins which stud the plain of Delhi, the surroundings of the Taj Mahal at Agra, the marble pavilions by the Anasagar Lake at Ajmer, the Buddhist stupas at Sanchi in Bhopal (restored with infinite care and ability by Sir John Marshall), the Moghul gardens and temples in Kashmir, together with innumerable buildings in other Indian States as well as in British India. In estimating the value of all this work, we must bear in mind the formidable obstacles which Nature and Man have opposed to the labours of the archæologist in India, such as the heavy rainfall and luxuriant vegetation which dislocate and bury structures in brick and stone, the saltpetre which emanates from the soil and disintegrates the fabric, the rivers which remove whole cities by erosion, the earthquakes which overthrow the most firmly founded monuments, the destruction wrought by iconoclastic invaders, by the plough of the agriculturist and the spade of the ignorant or careless excavator, and the pillage of peasants and contractors in quest of materials. In spite of all these difficulties, nearly three thousand buildings have been scheduled as protected monuments and carefully preserved.

It remains to add that the book is very well produced by the India Society, is embellished with some excellent photographs, and provided with an adequate index. The addition of a chapter on travel in India will be found specially useful to the tourist.

C. W. WADDINGTON.

Islam. By Henri Massé. Translated from the French by Halidé Edib. Pp. 270. Putnam. \$2.50.

It would not be fair to pass a definite judgment on this book without having seen the French original; it seems, however, that the author has erred in attempting to include too much matter in a small space. He describes his aim as a "sketch of the historical evolution of Islam." For this purpose far too many details are mentioned. For example, the technical terms of religious jurisprudence, which bewilder the general reader, while the treatment is far too sketchy to interest the specialist.

The author is described as Professor of Arabic and Persian Literature at the University of Algiers; his scholastic erudition is considerable. He has, however, been unlucky in his translator. The following sentences, for example, occur in the translator's introductory notes:

"2. The numbers of verses or chapters quoted from the Koran differ mostly in the translation, for they were mostly wrong in the original. . . . Please keep them as they are."

"3. Capitalization of English words is left to Putnam and Sons, as the house style in general vary a little in publishers. The translator has no objection to having the wording changed whenever it is deemed necessary to suit the American public."

"4. The spelling of the non-English words is taken from the Encyclopædia of Islam (English version). But as the translator could not get an English version, she had an Englishman control it in the Br. Museum."

Unhappily, the "Englishman in the Br. Museum" seems to have exercised his control only intermittently. While many words are correctly transliterated, we find throughout the curious form "Muslem"; "Nejd" and "Nedjd" occur alternately; "Razzia," "ghasura" and "rezzou" are given; and Nosairis are, we are told, more often known as "Ansaryes" or "Alauites." Other slips occur, which seem to be due to error in the original; such, for example, is the statement that the Druzes (who appear to be regarded as an extinct sect) "lived in Hauran, the mountainous region of Syria." It is a pity that the evident goodwill and enterprise of the translator was not matched by the necessary technical skill and experience.

Petra, the Rock City of Edom. By Dr. A. M. Murray. Pp. x + 210. Thirty-two plates; two sketch maps. Blackie. 1939.

Petra is one of the most important antiquity sites in the world, and, owing to the fact that it was lost for more than five hundred years, the name to-day carries with it a suggestion of mystery, of a city hidden away in deep valleys and suddenly abandoned. Dr. A. M. Murray has dealt with her subject admirably and has produced a much-needed book, which should be read by all visitors to Petra.

The arrangement of the book as a whole is very good. The first chapter, by way of introduction, gives an excellent account of the country round Petra and the people living in it. The chapter devoted to monuments deals

only with the more important ones, and gives a clear picture of them. The descriptions are written in a style intelligible to all visitors and do not go into abstruse archæological or architectural details.

Dr. Murray's incursion into the history of the Edomites and Nabatæans forms a valuable background and is a necessary part of any book which deals with Petra. The writer clearly shows the necessity for more excavation and scientific research before many of the problems of Petra can be solved. In the account of the trading activities of the old inhabitants of Petra the author demonstrates the commercial relations between Rome and China, but does not stress that the reason the trade route gradually changed to Palmyra was in order to avoid the exorbitant monetary demands made by the Nabatæans.

Dr. Murray is not correct in saying that the Bdul tribe is in every respect pure Bedawy, and it would be interesting to know on what authority it is stated that they belong to the Ibn Gazi section of the Howeitat. They have none of the attributes of Bedawin, and the Ibn Gazi would be horrified to hear that the Bdul were their blood relations.

The photographs are excellent and well chosen, but the book is worthy of a better map of Petra. The work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Arabia, and is presented in a pleasing and non-technical style which will be of interest to a large public.

F. G. P.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor, "Royal Central Asian Journal."

ZABUL,

E. IRAN.

January 11, 1940.

SIR,

A phrase used by Sir Richmond Palmer during the discussion following his lecture of July 12 appears to me to hint at a very important and little realized truth without fully expressing it, and I should like to trespass on your space in order to underline that phrase and emphasize the truth behind it.

Sir Richmond Palmer said: ". . . 'Loyalty' is a difficult term to use of a country like Cyprus." He might have gone further and said: "'Loyalty' [to the British Empire] is a term which cannot be used in the same sense of Cyprus as it can be used of, say, Canada." There is a confusion and lack of clear thinking in our use of the word "loyalty," which complicates many of our thoughts and utterances on the colonial problems of to-day.

To tell an Englishman that he is disloyal to Mussolini would be to utter an accusation which does not make sense, but if "the King" be substituted for "Mussolini," the phrase has a meaning. Why? Because there can be no loyalty where there is no obligation to loyalty. There are two forms of obligation to loyalty: one, the external form, is a matter of passports and papers; the other, the spiritual form, is our debt to the community into which we are born. This latter loyalty, true loyalty, I would define as "cleaving to the community to which one belongs by birth and culture." True loyalty is seldom changed, and then only as the result of a spiritual transformation. Imagine, as an illustration, the case of two Germans who emigrate to the U.S.A. and become naturalized Americans. One, a Nazi, goes to work for the German-American *Bund*, while the other, a refugee, goes to start life afresh. Both owe allegiance to the U.S.A., but the inner loyalty of the one is to Germany, and he does not change it; the other, out of resentment at his wrongs and gratitude to his new country, rejects his former loyalty and becomes body and soul an American. He changes his community by a process amounting to spiritual rebirth and re-education into a new culture.

To return to Cyprus. Is it possible that the true loyalty which I have attempted to define could be transferred by the Turkish conquest or the cession to Britain? What are the alternatives? One is cultural fusion with Britain, and the other is to make it worth while for Cypriot self-interest to favour the connection.

Nearly two thousand years ago Paul of Tarsus, nearby, boasted, "I am a

Roman," though he had never been to Rome; but if the modern Paul of Famagusta were to say, "I am an Englishman," he would be laughed at; and to say, "I am a British subject," is a very different thing. We have made no attempt to assimilate the peoples who live under our flag, either culturally or racially, as did the Romans in the Near East or the Portuguese in India. It is too early by several hundred years to say which is the better policy, but assimilation is not in our tradition.

There remains the second alternative of making the British connection of clear benefit to Cyprus. Let me illustrate by taking the example of India, than which no other country presents a better example of warring loyalties. The inborn loyalty of the "man in the fields" of India is to his religious and cultural community, hence the scourge of communal rioting. The task which lies before the Nationalists is to change the focus of this loyalty from "Islam" or the "Khalsa" to "India." It is a task so immense that the possibility of its successful conclusion is so remote as to be almost non-existent. But meanwhile who are the millions who are undoubtedly "loyal" to the Empire? They are the men whose common sense tells them that only through the British connection has India any hope of peace and orderly progress.

This, too, is all that we can ask from the Cypriots—that their common sense demand that they support the Empire connection—but we must give their common sense solid grounds on which to base its demand. We failed to do this in Ireland, and in India the issue hangs in the balance. What of Cyprus?

Perhaps all is well, for my paper to-day has the headline: "Cyprus—A Loyal Island"!

I enclose my card and beg to remain merely

A DISTANT MEMBER.

OBITUARY

SIR MICHAEL FRANCIS O'DWYER, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I.

SOME forty or more years ago, when travelling from Simla to Karachi on the way to exploration in Persia, I was obliged to spend long hours at a railway junction. There I foregathered with an Indian civilian, whose charm and wit so delighted me that at parting I expressed the hope that we might meet again, a hope that was warmly reciprocated. Fate was kind in this instance. We met again, and since Michael O'Dwyer in the meantime had learned Russian and travelled in Central Asia, which I also had visited, we became firm friends and came together frequently, not only at meetings of the societies to which we both belonged, but also on the Roehampton links.

O'Dwyer was Irish to the backbone, and right proud of his sept of the clan which had been settled for many centuries in Tipperary. His father, John O'Dwyer, of Barronstown, farmed a big farm, and was famous for the horses he bred and also for his cattle. He must have been a man of parts to have been able to educate his fourteen children, of whom Michael Francis was born in 1864; and to endow them—at any rate, in the case of this son—with exceptional brains.

Educated at the Roman Catholic College at Tullamore and aided by coaching at Wren's, Michael passed the Indian Civil Service examination and went up to Balliol College, which was then under Jowett, who was at the zenith of his fame. Among his fellow-students at this period were the present Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Lord Grey of Fallodon, while his tutor, Arnold Toynbee, was one of the most brilliant and inspiring of teachers. At the end of the two years of probation O'Dwyer was allowed to remain for a third year at Oxford. He studied jurisprudence, and ended his university career with his name among the five firsts.

Starting as Assistant Commissioner at Shahpur in the Punjab, he laid the foundation of his successful career, not only by his ability in making land settlements, but even more perhaps by the sympathy and affection which he displayed for the fighting races of the Punjab, whether Moslems or Sikhs. Living with these sturdy agriculturists, who sympathized with his love of horses and his prowess at "pig-sticking," he spent happy years in close touch with all classes, gaining invaluable experience.

Taking leave for a year and a half in 1895, after enjoying his journey via Egypt, Turkey, and Central Europe to Ireland, O'Dwyer settled down in Russia to qualify as an interpreter in that difficult language, a task in which he was successful. During this period he travelled in Central Asia, on the Trans-Caspian Railway, with Sir Edward Maclagan, destined to be his successor in the Punjab. Difficulties were made, since the British were viewed with some suspicion, and the all-important permit had not been

obtained from General Kuropatkin. However, although placed under arrest, a good dinner with plenty of potent wine solved this difficulty, and Samarkand was visited.

At Tiflis O'Dwyer met Alikhanoff, who had played the leading part in the famous Panjdeh incident of 1885, which nearly led to war between Great Britain and Russia. Alikhanoff freely expressed his views on Russia, as he had done to me some four years previously. Being a Daghestani, he never received the promotion that he merited, and was naturally discontented.

O'Dwyer returned to India with a much wider outlook on the world than that of most of his fellow-officials, and his promotion was deservedly rapid. In 1908 he was appointed Resident at Hyderabad, and five years later he succeeded Sir Louis Dane as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, where he had considerable scope and made the fullest use of it.

When the last Great War broke out, thanks to his close connection with the landowners and his influence on them, the contribution made by the Punjab, "The Sword-arm of India," can only be described as magnificent. His appeal to the martial races resulted in nearly half a million sturdy Punjabis enlisting, and no one who has commanded Indian troops can fail to realize their warlike qualities.

But apart from these services, O'Dwyer had to deal with the serious problem of the return to India of a shipload of Sikhs, who had become tainted by revolutionary doctrines imbibed in Canada, and in his valuable book, *India as I Knew It*, the seriousness of the problem is clearly shown.

To quote :

"There was a constant series of explosions. All over the Central Punjab police were murdered; loyal citizens . . . were shot down and killed with bombs . . . plans for seizing the arsenal at Ferozpur and the magazines at Lahore were formed; and persistent attempts were made, not in all cases without success, to tamper with the Indian troops."

Such a situation would have appalled many an official, but O'Dwyer succeeded in passing an ordinance for speeding up trials in certain cases, and stamped out the movement.

After the close of the Great War O'Dwyer had to deal with a new class of difficulties, which were connected with Indian political claims. The disorders which they led to in the Punjab were especially dangerous in the spring of 1919 until they were met by the stern action which General Dyer was forced to take at Amritsar in April of that year. This action not only crushed the rebellion at Amritsar, but prevented it raising its head elsewhere. At the same time, it is certain that King Amanulla relied on rebellion in India to help him materially in his "holy war" against the British.

I do not propose to go into the Dyer case, but in O'Dwyer's libel action against the late Sir Sankaran Nair, Mr. Justice McCardie definitely expressed his opinion that Dyer had acted rightly and had been wrongly punished by the Secretary of State.

After his retirement O'Dwyer did yeoman's service to India in criticizing the Indian Constitutional Reforms, but I prefer to remember him as the

Chairman of the Royal Central Asian Society for several years, while my advantage, as Honorary Secretary of the Society, of being able to seek his advice has been great. Nor have I had a more congenial friend, whose staunch loyalty to everyone he was connected with was an outstanding quality; and, again, his statesmanlike, witty speeches have invariably delighted his hearers.

But alas! the golden sunset of his happy life was to end suddenly in tragedy. On March 13 I gave a lecture on "Afghanistan: The Present Position," at which Lord Zetland presided. Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir Louis Dane were the chief speakers, while Lord Lamington was to close the proceedings. O'Dwyer made a brilliant speech in support of my theme that Afghanistan was now a friendly Government, but when the proceedings were brought to a close suddenly shots were fired, and O'Dwyer, pierced by two bullets, fell to rise no more. More shots followed, wounding Lord Lamington and Sir Louis Dane severely if their advanced ages be considered, but fortunately Lord Zetland, although struck, was not severely wounded. The assassin was seized by the efforts of a brave woman, supported by two other members of the audience.

Thus fell Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., who ranks among the greatest Indian officials of the period. The world is poorer by his loss, but his influence on India, which is aghast at the tragedy, remains, and his memory will be cherished by many friends. He married, in 1896, Una, daughter of the late Monsieur Bord. She is a D.B.E. and Lady of Grace of St. John of Jerusalem. He leaves a son, who is Consul at San Francisco, and a married daughter.

P. M. SYKES.

(By kind permission of the Editor of the Observer.)

SIR HUGH SHAKESPEAR BARNES, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O.

By the death of Sir Hugh Barnes this Society has lost a distinguished member, who for many years was a member of Council and then a Vice-President.

He was born in 1853 and died on February 15, 1940, at the age of eighty-six years. As the son of a member of the Indian Civil Service, and closely related to families such as the Trevors, Plowdens, Beadons, and Rivett Carnacs, whose names were so well known in the history of India of the past century, it was inevitable that he should adopt an Indian career. Educated at Malvern, he passed first in the Indian Civil Service examination of 1872, and soon after his arrival in India became private secretary to Sir John Strachey, then Finance Member of the Government of India, whose daughter Winifred he married in 1878. The same year he was appointed an Under-Secretary of the Indian Home Department.

So far his career had followed on the normal lines of the Indian Civil

Service, but the wider interests of the frontier and political work of the Foreign Department of the Government of India seem to have appealed to him as they have so often done to others, and he joined the Foreign Department in 1879, in time to be sent in 1880 to act as Political Officer at Kandahar, after our occupation of that town, and to take part in the later stages of the Afghan War. In 1882 he was appointed an assistant to Sir Robert Sandeman, and entered upon a close personal friendship with that great Frontier pioneer, who was then so energetically engaged in his great and self-imposed task of cultivating friendly relations with trans-border tribes—Baluch, Brahui, and Afghan—and of constituting out of those independent and unruly elements the present great Province of Baluchistan. This proved an association which was destined to last for many years until the death of Sir Robert Sandeman.

During this period Hugh Barnes held the post of Political Agent of the Quetta and Pishin district until 1890, and then of Revenue Commissioner until 1894.

In 1884, as an interesting interlude to ordinary work, he was entrusted with the by no means easy task of laying out supplies of food and water to facilitate the passage through the Baluch Desert to the Helmand River of the Afghan Boundary Commission, which, under Sir West Ridgeway, were to take that route on their way through Afghanistan to the Russian border. In 1892 he sustained a sad loss in the death of his wife, who left him one son and one daughter.

In 1894 Hugh Barnes was transferred from Baluchistan to Kashmir as Resident, a post which he held until 1896, when he returned to Baluchistan as Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner. He had charge of that province until 1900, when he became Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He brought with him to Quetta his second wife, Edith Helen, daughter of the Very Rev. R. Barnes, Archdeacon of Barnstaple. During the many years he served in Baluchistan, Hugh Barnes proved himself a worthy disciple of Sir Robert Sandeman, and loyally carried out the precepts of the "Sandeman school" in the cultivation of friendly relations with the tribes of his province and in maintaining their tribal traditions and customs. As Foreign Secretary he entered on a sphere of work with which he was not unfamiliar, for he had served on several occasions in the Indian Foreign Office—as Assistant Secretary in 1879, Deputy Secretary in 1889, and as Acting Foreign Secretary in 1895.

Of his term as Foreign Secretary there is little to note except that in that capacity he was called upon to play a prominent part in the preparation and carrying out of the great Delhi Durbar held by Lord Curzon in 1903, to which H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught came to represent the King. For his services in this connection he received the K.C.V.O. almost immediately after his long run of previous service had been acknowledged by the K.C.S.I.

In 1903, Barnes, now Sir Hugh Barnes, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, where he spent a busy two years in measures for the development of that country, more especially in respect of trade and communications. In 1905 he was offered a seat on the India Council in London,

and his long services in India came to an end; but his connections with and services for India continued for several years more until in 1913 his tenure of office in the India Office expired.

After that date, his energies by no means exhausted, Sir Hugh threw himself into business life in the City of London. He was made a director of the Anglo-Iranian (then the Anglo-Persian) Oil Company, a director and then Chairman of the Imperial Bank of Iran (then the Imperial Bank of Persia), and held this latter post for twenty-one years. He was a director of other important City companies also.

It will be seen from the above necessarily long review of his many and varied services how great a loss his country has sustained in the passing of Sir Hugh Barnes, but to his friends, among them the writer, who had known him and enjoyed his friendship for fifty-two years, the loss is equally great.

His personal character and charm can be summed up in a few but expressive words: courtesy—dignity and charm of manner—with an overpowering sense of justice and consideration for those serving under him, in whatever capacity.

Few men have been blessed in their lives and work with an abler help-mate and wiser counsellor than Sir Hugh Barnes enjoyed in the person of his wife. Lady Barnes survives him.

A. H. M.

COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, BART., C.S.I., C.M.G., LL.D.

COLONEL SIR CHARLES YATE, who died recently at his home in Shropshire at the ripe age of ninety, was not only a distinguished officer in the Political Department of the Government of India, but after his retirement was Conservative M.P. for the Melton Mowbray Division for a period of fifteen years. Soon after reaching India he took part in Lord Roberts' march from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar, where he was appointed Political Officer until its evacuation by the British in 1881.

Perhaps the most striking event of his career occurred in connection with the Panjdeh incident, which, in the spring of 1885, nearly caused war to break out between Great Britain and Russia. The crux of the question was the Pul-i-Khishti, or "Brick Bridge," on the Kushk River. The Afghans held the country on the right bank, but had posted troops on the left bank. Here, according to the agreement between the British and Russian Governments, they were technically in the wrong, and gave the Russians a chance which they promptly seized.

Yate was in political charge and, to quote from my biography of Sir Mortimer Durand, "still hoping for the best, and realizing the Russian appreciation of good cheer, he invited Zakrchevski [the Russian General] and his officers to an entertainment. It was given in the open between two lines of mounted men, who were only a few yards apart, and one can imagine the feelings of the two sides as they watched the British and Russian

officers toasting one another in courteous fashion, and wondered what the upshot would be. For hosts and guests alike it was a memorable banquet, possibly coupled with a sense of impending tragedy."

Neither side dared yield. The Russians had only recently taken over the Sarik Turkoman, and a retreat might well have caused a rebellion, while the Afghan General knew that if he retreated he and most of his men would be tortured to death by grim Amir Abdur Rahman Khan.

When the Russian ultimatum expired they attacked the miserably armed Afghans, who lost heavily. Yate's exertions in the cause of peace secured the Afghans' retreat through the Panjdeh oasis, where the Sarik tribesmen, who disliked the Afghans, wished to attack them.

Later, in 1893, Yate returned to the valley of the Kushk River to adjudicate, after the Russo-Afghan boundary had been fixed, on the important question of irrigation water.

His next post was that of Consul-General for Khurasan, where he travelled far and wide and published a valuable book, *Khurasan and Seistan*. Succeeding him some years later, I found that wherever he toured he made friends with the people; his popularity was aided by the fact that he was a keen sportsman and a good shot. His last post in India was that of Agent to the Governor-General in Baluchistan, where, in 1901, he took part in operations against a rebel chief.

His political career in England, in which he received valuable assistance and support from his devoted and remarkably capable wife, was marked by sound criticism of the policy pursued by the late Mr. Montagu in India. To conclude, Yate was a strong, cheery Englishman endowed with courage and abundant common sense. He took a deep interest in the affairs of the Central Asian Society, as it was then called, and frequently spoke at meetings. He was a Vice-President of the Society for some years. His services were recognized by the award of the C.S.I. and the C.M.G. for his work in Asia, and in 1921 he was created a baronet.

P. M. S.

PROFESSOR A. J. WENSINCK

To Orientalists, and more especially to students of Islam all over the world, the news of the death of Professor A. J. Wensinck in September brought a deep sense of loss. Amongst the Oriental scholars of this generation there was none whose work was more widely known or more appreciated. It was no light task to add fresh lustre to a Chair which had been occupied in succession by Reinhardt Dozy, M. J. de Goeje, and Snouck Hurgronje. But in no respect, whether width of interests, depth of scholarship, or industry, did Wensinck show himself inferior to his predecessors, although his death at a comparatively early age has prevented him from completing the work to which he had set his hand.

Of his earlier studies in the fields of Semitic ideas and Syriac mysticism

there is no room to speak in this short notice. But it was their quality which marked him out as the natural successor of Snouck Hurgronje in the Chair of Arabic at Leyden and of his fellow-countryman, M. Th. Houtsma, in the general editorship of the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. It was in the latter capacity especially that Wensinck's name became known far outside the small circle of professional Orientalists. He took his editorial duties seriously—how seriously only those who were his fellow-workers could fully appreciate. The immense labour of correspondence with contributors and translators in all parts of the world was carried on entirely in his own handwriting, and every sheet in all three editions—German, French, and English—passed under his careful scrutiny before it was printed off. No sooner was the main work completed than he set himself to fill the more obvious gaps by a supplement, and when that, too, was finished he planned and began the issue of an abridgment in one volume. Even during his long and painful illness he continued to direct the revision of the sheets, and left the work to his successor in an advanced state of preparation.

Wensinck's chief interest, however, lay in the collections of traditions ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad. Before the last war preliminary arrangements had been made for the indexing of the great body of materials contained in the chief early collections, and in the following years the vast indexes familiar to visitors at the Islamic Institute at Leyden were built up. The first-fruits of this labour were the *Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, and some five years ago, when the necessary provision had been made, Wensinck began to issue the *Concordance to the Traditions* in large fascicles. This work, too, after the issue of ten fascicles, has been temporarily interrupted, but it is understood that arrangements have been made to carry it on to completion.

An offshoot of Wensinck's interest in the Traditions was his classic study of early Muslim theology, *The Muslim Creed*, written in English (of which, as of French and German, he had a fluent idiomatic knowledge), and published at Cambridge in 1932. During his last years he had begun to revert to his earlier fields of study. A book from his pen on the Muslim mystic al-Ghazali has been announced as in the press, but a study of even greater interest on the Aramaic foundations of the Gospels has, it would seem, been left unfinished.

In his personal relations Wensinck was retiring and gave an impression of shyness and reticence. But those who have been privileged to enjoy the hospitality of his home in the Wittesingel will not readily forget its serene and friendly atmosphere and the large humanity of both host and hostess. With all his tireless activity, Professor Wensinck was singularly happy in his family life, and it was largely the devoted assistance of Madame Wensinck that enabled him to carry through the labours which filled every working day.

H. A. R. G.

An appreciation of Professor D. M. Margoliouth's magnificent scholarship will be given in the next number.



Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXVII

JULY, 1940

PART III

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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.....

NOTICES

PROFESSOR MINORSKY has kindly consented to lecture in the place of Captain K. A. C. Creswell on July 3. Captain Creswell was to have spoken on "Architecture in the Near East," with slides. The second volume of his monumental work on Muslim architecture has now been completed by the Oxford University Press.

* * * * *

Sir Arnold Wilson has made a gift to the library of Burton's translation of the *Arabian Nights*, for which the Council are most grateful. A man of very great value to his country, it is very much to be hoped that news may come of him. The aeroplane in which he was acting as gunner was missing after the tragedy in France, but news may still come through of its crew. He can be ill spared at this time.

* * * * *

All suggestions for lectures and speakers for the autumn session will be welcome, and those members who have films at home would be benefiting the Society if they would offer to show them. Coloured films are especially appreciated.

* * * * *

Members are asked to keep the office informed of their changes of address.

* * * * *

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal.

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 :



A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

Volume III

By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA

35s. net

This is the third volume of Dr Dasgupta's comprehensive survey of Hindu thought in Sanskrit. With Volume IV, it may be regarded as the history and account of the philosophy of Theism in India. In the present volume it has been found impossible to separate the devotional philosophy from the religious pathology which is associated with it, especially in the schools originating in South India, but the writer has tried to steer a middle course in the interest of philosophy. A great deal of the literature that had to be studied is only available in unpublished or rare texts.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS



BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN CHINA, 1880-1885

By E. V. G. KIERNAN

16s. net

A study of the opening moves in the struggle between the Imperialist powers for the control of China, with sections on the social and economic structure of the Chinese Empire and on the interests and policies of the powers involved. Mankind has "lived dangerously" in the last century. It has uncovered demonic energies, and created for itself seemingly insoluble problems. That of China is one of the greatest of them, and about 1880, more clearly than at any other single date, the problem of China was in preparation.

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EMPIRE FIBRES

By A. WIGGLESWORTH

Paper read before a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and East India Association on April 10, 1940, Sir HARRY LINDSAY, K.C.I.E., in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: I have very much pleasure in introducing our speaker of this afternoon, Mr. Wigglesworth, who is an old friend of mine and who is a recognized authority on sisal, jute, hemp and other fibres.

What will give us all particular pleasure is that he is able to combine a very practical knowledge of those fibres with a very profound knowledge also of the theory and science of their cultivation and their marketing. Mr. Wigglesworth went out to East Africa first in 1913, before the Great War, and after that war he went out again at the invitation of Lord Milner to take a practical interest in the development of sisal in Tanganyika. Later on he pioneered flax development in Kenya; and he has also travelled extensively in other parts of the Empire, particularly in Australia, where he was interested in flax development and, in New Zealand, in the development of phormium fibre. He is a member of the Council of the Joint East African Board and of the Council of the Sisal Growers Association. He is a member of the Councils of the Royal African Society and of the British Empire Producers Association, and he is also, I am glad to say, Chairman of our Vegetable Fibres Consultative Committee of the Imperial Institute. I am sure you will agree with me that that practical experience, coupled with his theoretical knowledge, has made him just the man to read us the paper which he proposes to give us this afternoon.

Jute

JUTE is a bast fibre obtained from the *Corchorus* species of the natural order *Filiaceæ* and is native to Bengal. There are two main varieties, known botanically as *Corchorus capsularis* and *Corchorus olitarius*. Eighty years ago the word "jute" was not in our vocabulary, now it looms large in all languages as the name of an Indian fibre used at the present juncture on a vast scale for war purposes, notably for the manufacture of sandbags, which are now being turned out by the million from the looms of Calcutta and Dundee.

The new type of warfare, so deplorable in its effects on the civilian population of nations at war, has necessitated the introduction of this kind of defence formerly confined to trench construction at the battle front, but now used on a vaster scale to buttress buildings in the cities.

Although long known in India, jute was first imported into Britain on a small scale in 1838. An enterprising flax spinner from Dundee, Edwards by name, chancing to inspect a few bales put up for auction in London, bought and shipped them to Dundee to try if the new fibre

were spinnable on his flax machinery. By the addition of oil he improved the spin, and naturally he chose whale oil, which was readily obtainable in Dundee, the centre at that time of the Scottish whaling industry. Thus that city became the centre of a valuable and profitable jute industry, whose products are distributed to the four corners of the earth. A useful division of responsibility was arranged, the distribution having been placed largely in the hands of merchants. In this way the manufacturer was able to concentrate on the operation of his factory, gradually improving the machinery to fit it to make the many fabrics for which jute was eminently suitable. The trade extended from narrow looms, weaving the standard 40-inch hessian, to those immense looms weaving material 8 yards wide to be turned into floor-cloth. The appearance of the goods was improved by cropping and by calendering and mangling, but though jute was employed for carpet backing, or for jute rugs or twine, for imitation tapestry used for wall decoration, for webbing, curtains, mats and sundry other uses, sacking—or hessian as it is called—was the principal product, to be used as the cheapest obtainable container for grains, coffee, flour, cement, coal, etc. Dr. S. G. Barker, who was recently appointed as research officer by Calcutta interests, proved that jute sacks for packing material will withstand hot climates better than any other textile covering, and that jute is certainly as heat resisting as any other soft fibre, hence its popularity as a container for grain, coffee and many other crops. Expanding exports of these products have called for ever-increasing quantities of raw material,

The Hooghly Mills

Meanwhile in 1855 an enterprising Dundee manufacturer, probably after a dull period of trade, dismantled and erected some of his machinery in Calcutta, thus initiating a vast industry which grew steadily until it absorbed the major part of the crop of raw material.

The standard of living in tropical India being much lower than that of Britain, provided abundant labour at wages considerably below those ruling in Dundee, and thus induced formidable competition, but although the intelligence of labour in India did not compare favourably with that of Dundee, its cheapness led to its rather extravagant use. Nevertheless, the Calcutta product gradually forced its entry into the world markets so that at present 65 per cent. of the crop is manufactured locally and 35 per cent. abroad.

Dundee did not long maintain its European monopoly, British

machine-makers having sold spinning and weaving plant to Germany, France and Italy, while extending their sales gradually to every country in Europe, and to North and South America. Under the stimulus of high protective tariffs these ventures in some cases expanded, eventually to cover whole national requirements. Certain undeveloped countries, notably the Argentine with its vast output of grain, continue to import large quantities of bags from Calcutta, though the policy now is to follow the lead of Brazil in industrial development, which is intended subsequently to embrace the cultivation of substitute fibres for local manufacture.

One marvels indeed that Dundee should so long have been able to compete with the cheap Indian labour without protection of any kind, and it is greatly to the credit of the manufacturer that by improvements in machinery, so as to turn out a larger output of goods of attractive quality, they have been able to retain a leading place in the industry, though obviously they have, in volume, had to cede first place to Bengal, and their profits on the average have not been too satisfactory to shareholders, with a few notable exceptions.

A few years ago with a new type of spinning frame with spindles revolving at almost double the speed of the older machines, and with automatic doffing (viz., changing the bobbins when full), a factory operating three shifts, each about eight hours, was able to produce at a figure which permitted profit-earning in the face of Calcutta competition. By such means has Dundee held its head up.

PRODUCTION OF JUTE GOODS IN INDIA.

<i>Tons.</i>			<i>Tons.</i>		
1935	...	1,000,000	1938	...	1,253,000
1936	...	1,198,000	1939	...	1,183,000
1937	...	1,285,000			

The Bengal Monopoly

It may be wondered why, despite the extension of jute manufacture to so many countries, they have not succeeded in growing their own raw material. The reason is not far to seek. The Province of Bengal is singularly well placed for the cultivation of this important fibre. A glance at the map shows the vast areas in close proximity to tributaries of the huge Ganges and Bramaputra rivers. The plant grows best on rich alluvial soil, which is deposited freely within the Ganges delta. After careful weeding of the plantlets little remains to be done until cutting time, just after the seed pod has been formed. The stalks are

then tied into bundles and steeped in the sluggish streams or stagnant water for twelve days when the temperature of the water is 80 deg. Fahrenheit, and up to a month in cooler water until fermentation loosens the fibre from the stalk—the so-called retting process. Although much thought has been expended on mechanical preparation, the stripping or scutching of the fibres continues as primitive as ever, the stalks being thrashed on the surface of the water and beaten with sticks until the fibre is readily detachable, after which there only remains to dry it in the sun and to bale and cart the product to the store, in expectation of a buyer. Subsequently the crop passes through many hands in Mofussil (the country districts) before it arrives at the press house in Calcutta, where it is graded and densely packed into 400 lb. bales for sale in 250 or 500 bale lots, under certain recognized marks. Mr. R. S. Finlow, the late founder of research in pedigree seed, indicates the cost at about £10 per ton.

Production of Jute

When it is realized that over a million ryots are employed on the growth and preparation of a 2,000,000-ton crop, and that innumerable men are engaged as dealers or brokers in marketing the produce, some idea can be formed of the importance of a crop that yields at pre-war prices some £40,000,000 to £60,000,000 annually.

EXPORTS OF JUTE, 1934-35 TO 1938-39 (APPROXIMATE), IN BALES.

(000's Omitted.)

<i>Destination.</i>	1934-35.	1935-36.	1936-37.	1937-38.	1938-39.
U.K.	970	890	1,125	755	1,060
Germany	990	910	970	815	870
France	440	405	470	340	425
Belgium	270	250	310	205	215
Spain	260	280	15	—	35
Italy	430	235	540	365	245
Holland	85	45	45	40	20
Scandinavia	75	50	50	40	50
Port Said f.o. and other ports	145	185	235	320	235
U.S.A.	320	480	615	365	270
South America	130	165	200	235	185
Japan	125	140	175	125	140
Other Eastern ports	100	140	110	70	80
TOTALS	4,340	4,175	4,860	3,675	3,830

Jute is subject to wide price fluctuations, mainly due to irregular demand and uncertainty of yield of fibre, since seasons and rainfall vary considerably. An attempt to regulate planting is now being made by Government, mainly through the issue of coloured posters throughout the jute district, enjoining the grower to sow less jute. Such posters give graphic illustrations of the dire result of defying the advice. The effort is not without success, the production of jute after years of depression having receded from 11,000,000 bales at the peak to 6,000,000 in 1932, thus helping to maintain a measure of price stability. But it must never be forgotten that a low price of raw material stimulates demand, for although jute is an unique fibre it *is* possible to find substitute products. For instance, the rise to over £60 per ton in 1925 led directly to the substitution of paper bags for cement, so the jute trade permanently forfeited a large and constant consumption which seriously dislocated the relations between supply and demand for a long period. It is calculated that the loss amounted to between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 bags a year. There is danger that history may repeat itself in so far as to-day's high price is out of relation with many other fibres. That a cessation of the purchase of sandbags for army or air raid precautions may have a drastic effect on prices is borne out by the recent fall in values on the Calcutta market, one day in January last, of £7 per ton in four hours' time, merely because Government announced that they would extend the delivery period of existing contracts by two months, thus checking the demand for raw material in anticipation of further orders for sandbags for delivery after April.

Research

India, having a monopoly of jute, has delayed too long the start of research which in this scientific age plays so important a rôle in industry, but this is now being remedied, a department having been organized in Calcutta within the last few years in charge of Dr. S. G. Barker, who has published a valuable treatise on his findings. Research has a double object. Firstly, to improve methods of growth and preparation by selected pedigree seed so as to yield a heavier crop of better quality. Though it is not easy to increase quantity and to improve quality concurrently, progress has been made in the direction of a heavier crop. To Mr. R. S. Finlow, late Director of Agriculture in Dacca, credit is due for his pioneer work in this direction. The second type of research seeks to extend the uses of jute. Here is a wide

field to explore. For the moment, demand being centralized on sand-bags, there is no immediate urgency to seek new uses, but the problem may become acute after the War.

The *Journal of the Textile Institute* for September, 1939, published a series of addresses of outstanding importance to be delivered, appropriately, in Dundee at last year's meeting of the British Association for Science, which opened early in September, but was cut short by the declaration of war. Those who desire to study more closely the course of modern research will find much food for thought in the articles of Dr. S. G. Barker, Dr. W. G. Macmillan, Mr. Herbert L. Parsons, Mr. R. S. Finlow and others.

Some form of control of crops is generally admitted to be necessary if planned industry is to follow the unrestricted free methods of the past, but without far-reaching statistics, which to-day are scarcely obtainable, such control may prove hazardous. The jute crop is subject to such vicissitudes of both supply and demand that very careful investigation of all features incident to production and consumption must be available if success is to attend such attempts, but the most strenuous efforts of the department which organizes the jute forecast have seldom been able to approach reasonable accuracy of returns. True, jute is an annual crop, and its sowing is easier to control than, say, the planting of rubber, tea, coffee, sisal or manila, all of which take years to mature and continue to produce for several years whether harvested or not. Rubber control has taken many years to develop its present technique. Its first effort, promoted by Lord Stevenson, failed to benefit the industry through the refusal of the Dutch planters in the Netherlands East Indies to co-operate, hence reduced output within British territory was more than compensated by increased effort in the Dutch Colonies, where profits by all-out production were disproportionate to those of the British estates whose costs were enhanced by curtailed output.

Tea control started at a later date, and having profited by the errors of rubber control it has met with reasonable success, while the tin production of the Federated Malay States constitutes so large a percentage of the world output that it has been able to make control effective.

In the case of jute, the problem will certainly come to the fore after the war, and it must be studied not only from the point of view of the area under cultivation, but also from the side of controlling the marketing so that it may be regulated to supply world needs without throwing redundant supplies upon the world's markets, while it must also

avoid creating a shortage. Stability of price should be the aim. Such an effort can scarcely be organized by trade associations without the friendly co-operation of Government working through these Associations, and it may well prove difficult to get the necessary support from the Indian Government, which has to walk warily when interfering with national effort, especially where it concerns agriculture.

Other Fibres

Past experience has proved that foreign competition to grow jute is a most unlikely contingency, as no country which has made the attempt has possessed the requisites of climate, soil, water supply and skilled labour, which in Bengal is supplied gratis by the family of the grower.

The Dutch have produced in the Netherlands East Indies serviceable fibre from *Hibiscus sabdariffa*, commonly called *Roselli*, which spins satisfactorily on jute machinery, but being a plantation crop, its cost far exceeds that of Bengal jute. The Belgians are growing in the Congo a substitute fibre, *Urena lobata*, but again its cost is relatively high, so it is unlikely to compete with jute. Brazil has also produced *Hibiscus* fibre similar to jute. It is marketed locally, thus displacing Calcutta imports, which are subject to a heavy import tariff. This fibre is most unlikely to compete with Indian jute in foreign markets.

East African rainfall and general climatic conditions are quite unsuitable for jute, and though the labour is cheap it could not compete with the Indian native industry. The West African climate is more favourable, but wages are comparatively high, and this would put jute out of court.

Small-scale experiments in jute cultivation in West Africa, where rainfall is abundant, met with scant success on account of high cost, so that it may safely be assumed that Bengal, the cradle of the jute industry, will retain its monopoly. It is, however, highly recommendable that this privilege should not prevent the prosecution of extensive research and the introduction of every possible reform to place the industry on a higher pedestal. Much remains to be done in grading and packing the raw material, so as to ensure greater regularity of quality and the standardization of grades. Each district possesses its own particular merit or demerit, and the practice of mixing the products of different districts should be abandoned so that spinners could know the exact origin of the fibre and thus be able to pick and choose

with care the district and grade requisite for their particular class of work.

In general it might be profitable to export the best grades so that the incidence of freight could be reduced; Europe and America being mainly concerned with the manufacture of high-class goods require fibre of good quality.

Trade Organization

Association is a principle which nowadays is being widely extended. Calcutta has its Jute Balers Association looking after the collective interests of this branch of the industry. Its counterparts in Britain are the London Jute Association, which concerns itself with regulating trade by drafting a standard contract and controlling by arbitration the settlement of disputes between buyer and seller on quality or other differences. Dundee has also its Association, its contract differing from that of the London Association as regards the standard of quality and a few other points. War conditions and currency controls now impede the transport of bales to London for arbitration purposes, and this, combined with the transfer of a section of the trade to other points, is weakening the control in London. The loss of London as an emporium for jute has undoubtedly been accelerated by the high charges levied in the docks here for landing, storing and transhipping cargo. Doubtless closer co-operation between these Associations would have helped to consolidate the trade by regulating it for the benefit of all concerned in preference to operating for sectional interests. Monopoly again may be to blame for omission to recognize the truth of the old adage, "Union is strength." The lack of friendly co-operation is illustrated by the following incident :

Many of the mills in Calcutta are now owned and operated by wealthy Indian firms whose policy is not always in line with that of the Calcutta Jute Fabrics Shippers Association which controls the manufacture. A recent period of depression shortly before the war caused a heavy accumulation of stocks of manufactured goods, to curb which the British-owned mills sealed up a number of looms. Unfortunately this policy was not supported by their Indian rivals, who continued to work at full speed. The controversy could only be solved through pressure of Government to bring the two parties into line, but not before dislocation of the world's markets had been caused by uncontrolled full production of all the mills, thus precipitating a crisis both in the goods and the raw material markets.

India may naturally be concerned about the future of jute after the war, but meanwhile the Government of Bengal has decided to restrict jute sowing this year to an extent equal to that of 1939, and has appointed a committee of experts to consider means for regulating the crop in subsequent years. The co-operation of the Government of Assam and Bihar is invited. The world hopes for a long spell of peace hereafter, though we may not be so optimistic as those who, after the last war, declared hopefully that the war had been fought to end war. Certain it is that future demand for goods may vastly change, and the trend will depend upon the new orientation of world development which may take quite a new direction after the War. The extent to which jute sacks will continue to be used to move crops will obviously affect the demand for jute.

U.S.A. Tariffs

As regards future trade developments it is of paramount importance to observe the new policy of the U.S.A. After a long battle the Secretary of State was empowered by Congress six years ago to make bilateral treaties, and his power has just been extended for a further period of three years. Meanwhile, Mr. Cordell Hull has concluded over twenty treaties with various countries, including Canada and Great Britain, each embodying a clause relative to the "most favoured nation" treatment, which widely expands the area of the tariff concessions. This is America's first step towards freer trade and its importance to the economic history of the world must not be overlooked. Further, our Prime Minister in January declared his sympathy for this policy, and it may have wide repercussions in post-war reconstruction. If, then, the two greatest trading nations of the world resolutely set themselves to put an end to the trade obstructions which were fostered during the past decades by means of prohibitive tariffs, quotas, embargoes, subsidies and all these patchwork remedies for a grievous malady, they will impose a check upon the policy of self-sufficiency which defies the liberal ideal and prevents the clearance of the blocked channels of international trade. Such a policy should exercise an important influence on the jute manufacturing industry of India, which would benefit by the closing down of ephemeral industries established abroad under high protective tariffs, in countries whose interest should be rather to increase those agricultural and industrial pursuits which are best suited to their particular climatic, geographical and labour conditions. Without drawing invidious distinctions, one may compare

the cost of a sack in Calcutta with, say, that of Brazil, Guatemala, the Balkan Peninsula or other countries, and ask what benefit they derive from eliminating a cheap source of supply of essential containers for the export of coffee, grain, wool, etc. On the other hand, India in turn may have to open her frontiers to foreign importations to pay for her increased exports of jute and other goods.

Mr. J. C. Eastham, in his paper for the British Association of Science, on "Economic Problems of the Jute Industry," brought out some interesting points. He indicated that the maximum demand Calcutta has ever known for its goods could be met with a third of the existing machinery. He writes regarding the world industry, that the excess capacity which exists is primarily the result of a policy pursued over a number of years by an important section of the industry, but he is against restriction on the grounds that the growth of new capacity in unexpected places might upset calculations and indicates that unit costs, including overheads, are lowest when a mill is working 100/120 hours a week.

One hears much talk nowadays about *Lebensraum* and denial to Germany of access to world raw materials. Nothing could be more misleading than the latter statement. Empire products are available for sale to all who can or will pay for them. Jute, for instance, was shipped to Hamburg in large quantities until war was declared; in fact, that port was an emporium for its distribution to Central European countries, large stocks being held available, their market price generally being about the lowest in the world. The following table indicates the growth of India's jute industry during the last five years.

EXPORTS OF JUTE, RAW AND MANUFACTURED, FROM INDIA.

			<i>Raw</i>	<i>Manufactured</i>	<i>Total</i>
			<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
1935	...	...	795,000	766,000	1,561,000
1936	...	...	769,000	960,000	1,729,000
1937	...	...	830,000	1,051,000	1,881,000
1938	...	...	657,000	963,000	1,620,000
1939	...	...	585,000	1,021,000	1,606,000

Indian Sunn Hemp

Another Indian bast fibre of comparatively small importance, known to commerce as Sunn Hemp, is derived from *Crotalaria juncea*, a leguminous plant, which is sown widely in India to provide green

manure. Only a small part of the crop is harvested for the production of fibre and the rest is ploughed up. The stalks, when mature, are either cut or pulled up by the roots; thereafter they are steeped in small pools to facilitate separation of the fibre from the woody stalk. If clean water is used the colour of the fibre is light, but if, as is all too frequent in the North-Western Provinces, muddy water alone is available for retting, the resultant fibre is discoloured and full of earthy dust. The plant is widespread, each Province producing fibre so different in appearance as to give the impression of being the product of different species. That theory was exploded when Sir David Prain, then Director of Sibpur Gardens, Calcutta, at the suggestion of the lecturer, sowed in that garden in identical plots seed from each distinctive area, with the surprising result that the variations disappeared, under identical conditions of soil, rainfall, pulling and retting. In short, all was resolved into *Crotalaria juncea*, and Jubblepore hemp, which Dodge considered originated from *Crotalaria tenuifolia*, was obviously derived from a variety. Further investigations were subsequently pursued by Dr. and Mrs. Albert Howard at Pusa.

Since Russian hemp has ceased to be exported, Indian Sunn is used as a substitute, its strength and durability being comparable to Russian and superior to jute. It is sold under the name of the district in which it is grown, Bengal, Benares, Jubblepore, Deoghad, Itarsi, Seoni or Sewnee and Philibhet. The Madras coast produces Godavery. Grading, though somewhat improved during recent years, continues too irregular to secure full advantages in competition with other fibres, and the export is practically stationary, being mainly to this country and to the Continent.

Some years ago an experiment was made in Portuguese East Africa with the cultivation of Sunn hemp (*Crotalaria juncea*), and although the soil and climate were suitable and the labour was cheap even for Africa, while the product was superior to that of India—being prepared for machinery instead of hand labour, its cost far exceeded that of Indian varieties, and the scheme was abandoned as unprofitable.

The extent of the Indian crop varies considerably, an average for a number of years being approximately 110,000 bales per annum (about 20,000 tons). Of this 75 per cent. is shipped from Calcutta and the remainder from Bombay and the Madras Coast. It is taken by the various countries in approximately the following proportions :

							<i>Per Cent.</i>
United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
Belgium	...	...	...	...	...	...	29
Germany	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Greece	...	...	...	...	...	...	9
Scandinavia	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
France	...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Italy	...	...	...	...	...	...	3
America	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Portugal	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Other countries	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
						—	
							100

Sisal

Let us now turn to another Empire fibre of increasing importance to our national economy.

The name sisal is derived from the small port situated on the coast of Yucatan, whence the fibre was formerly exported. It is the product of the Agave. The soil of that Province is almost sterile, its surface being mainly coral rag with small pockets of soil. Its rainfall is small. Until 1893 Mexico had a monopoly of this fibre, its production increasing rapidly to meet the demand created by the use in U.S.A. of the automatic reaper and binder for harvesting grain crops. On that date plants which had been introduced experimentally into Florida by Dr. Trelane were exported thence to that part of East Africa which was then in German hands. A few years later plants were brought over the border into Kenya. It was soon proved that the migration to Africa was favourable to the growth of the plant under very different conditions of climate and soil. In East Africa, with its double monsoon rainfall in spring and autumn, it was found that the cultivation thrived, not only at the coast, but also in highland areas up to 6,000 and 7,000 feet altitude. In Kenya there are many plantations hundreds of miles from the coast and at altitudes of 3,000 to 6,000 feet. Above that height night temperature is too low to grow sisal successfully, but the coastal area of Tanga following inland through the Usumbara valley rapidly expanded as the centre of production and it has continued to maintain its lead. The war of 1914-18 caused a serious setback, as this area was the scene of a long struggle between Britain and Germany, but since the Armistice of 1918 great headway has been

made in the cultivation of sisal in East Africa, and especially in Tanganyika. There are many variations of the Agave family which produce this valuable fibre. In Mexico, *A. fourcroydes* is preferred, and in Africa and Java *A. sisalana*. There are many varieties of the Agave, but these two supply all the fibre excepting small quantities from *A. cantala*, grown in Dutch possessions, and certain varieties in Mexico.

Sisal differs materially from jute, in so far as the latter matures within fourteen to sixteen weeks of its sowing, whereas the Agave plant, which produces sisal, takes three to four years before the first leaf can be cut. Jute is said to yield an average profit of 130 rupees an acre, but no such returns have been realized from sisal during recent years. Again, while jute is entirely a peasant crop, sisal is a plantation industry, highly organized and requiring large capital and direction by trained Europeans.

Sisal was very little known until recently; Cortez found the Agave indigenous in Mexico, supplying the Aztec tribe with fibre for rope and fishing twine, while alcohol, beer, fabrics, medicine, brushes and many other products were produced from different varieties of the plant. Not until 1836 was it planted experimentally in Florida, but no development took place in that region. Subsequently, in 1893, as already mentioned, Florida supplied plants to East Africa; thence it spread to other countries now engaged in its production. Java began its cultivation about 1900.

The Mexican monopoly having been broken, East Africa now tops the list for volume of exports, although climatic and soil conditions vary so much from those in the country of its origin.

The following table indicates the expansion of the industry in Tanganyika and Kenya over the last ten years :

<i>Exports (in Tons) from :</i>				<i>Exports (in Tons) from :</i>			
		<i>Tanganyika.</i>	<i>Kenya.</i>			<i>Tanganyika.</i>	<i>Kenya.</i>
1930	...	48,500	16,000	1935	...	82,300	32,700
1931	...	54,700	16,000	1936	...	80,600	36,200
1932	...	59,700	15,200	1937	...	89,500	32,000
1933	...	69,500	20,000	1938	...	101,400	29,800
1934	...	72,000	24,000	1939	...	93,500	29,900

The industry cannot be profitably developed unless land is cultivated in large areas. The reason for this is not far to seek, as each unit of

machinery—being composed of a decorticator, or fibre stripper, brushing plant, baling press, and a power engine with building, stores and drying ground—may cost some £12,000 to £20,000. This will require an area of about 5,000 planted acres to keep the machinery engaged all the year round, producing on the average some 1,200 to 1,500 tons of dried fibre of a value, at to-day's price, of £30,000 to £35,000. To control this plant two experienced European engineers are required, several field men and a manager, whose salaries total a substantial sum, justifying employing their services on two or more units of a capacity of 3,000 to 4,000 tons of fibre, the larger figure requiring 10,000 to 15,000 planted acres and surplus land to renew exhausted areas. Since the leaf contains only 3 to 4 per cent. of extractable fibre, the production of, say, 3,000 tons of fibre entails the cutting and transport for distances up to five or ten miles of some 100,000 tons of leaf each year.

Netherlands East Indies

While Africa works on a small scale of units, two planters in the Netherlands East Indies have adopted the practice of huge batteries of "decorticators" up to 15 or 20 in one factory; thus the sisal industry in that area is controlled mainly by large producers, one producing about half the exports, another, a British concern, some 15,000 tons, while less than a dozen smaller concerns produce the balance, totalling about 80,000 tons.

One can spend a whole enjoyable day visiting even superficially a well-organized sisal estate. Here one finds miles of private railways and roads for motor transport, scattered villages, a hospital, schools for native children, perhaps a church, a football ground, several factories, stores, offices, with managers' and assistants' houses. One cannot but admire the co-ordination of the work, so that planting may keep pace with the leaf-cutting programme in such a way as to give a constant supply all the year round. Further, spare parts of the complicated machinery, of infinite variety, must be on the spot to avoid long delay in bringing them from Europe so as to avoid stoppages in case of breakdown. Success implies clever and tactful control of labour, which makes all the difference between profit and loss at the end of the financial year. There are, indeed, few industries where the tight control of expenditure plays so great a part in the returns. Work starts at dawn and usually goes on until the estimated output is reached. This may be within eight hours or it may take much longer.

The same with the field tasks. These are allotted on the piece-work system, and one may, in fact, see a man returning from his day's cutting of leaf at 10 a.m.; as he may have worked by moonlight to save toiling during the heat of the day.

African Plantation

Care in the feeding of the African is now regarded as of prime importance, and it may be safely stated that plantation workers enjoy a fuller and more varied diet than is possible in their own homes, hence their health is naturally improved. Anti-malarial control is another highly beneficial factor, while new drugs such as M. and B. 693 are helping to eradicate venereal disease and to cure pneumonia and influenza. As a rule the labour is partly residential but it is mainly under six months' contract. Occasionally the men come from far afield; Rhodesia, over 1,000 miles distant, sends quite a quota of labour to Tanganyika Territory. It has been found that the experience gained in the field work is utilized to introduce improvements on their own primitive methods of agriculture. In this way the planter helps the Government agricultural schools. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that nearly all natives possess their own "shambas," or farm, and resort thence each season to sow or plant crops for the use of their family. This helps to maintain tribal organization, and, although it tends to make labour supply inconstant, it retains the natives' independence.

There can never be any real unemployment problem in primitive tropical Africa, where a living is so easily earned from the soil. Indeed, it is estimated that thirty days' work in the year supplies the annual food requirements of a household. In addition, the native has been encouraged by Government to grow "cash crops," another name for surplus growth of beans, groundnuts, and in addition coffee for export, as it is not a native drink. All the same there are at present some 300,000 natives in Tanganyika alone who perform no work of any kind.

It would be interesting, though scarcely appropriate to relate the development of the policy of indirect rule, which seeks to encourage the African to constitute primitive self-government. There is much conflict of opinion as to the merit of this scheme, and many consider that *Festina lente* would be an appropriate motto.

Trade Organization

The sisal industry has gradually evolved a controlling organization which is now financed by a cess of 3s. 6d. per ton of export. Kenya has its Association in Nairobi, while Tanganyika has its central association branches in Tanga, with branches in Dar-es-Salaam and Lindi, these three holding a joint meeting occasionally in Tanga, the main producing centre of the industry. By means of a Research Station at Mlingano, behind Tanga, experiments are constantly being carried out in plant breeding, and in a study of comparative methods of planting, including the distance between plants and rows, period of cutting, number of leaves to be cut, fertilizers, rate of growth under varying conditions of soil and rainfall and other agronomic studies. Plant diseases are constantly investigated, and careful comparison is made between plantations free from weeds, which in the tropics grow prolifically, and others in varying states of cleanness. Cover crops are studied, and, perhaps most important of all, fibre content of the leaf is strictly watched, as here is the crux of production. The hope of breeding a better yielder is ever present, either by crossing, by plant selection, or by breeding from seed. Here it may be mentioned that the whole of the crop in Africa has been produced vegetatively from a few dozen surviving plants originally brought to Africa in 1893. The Agave plant is extremely tenacious of life, and is reproduced either from suckers from a parent plant or from "bulbils," as they call the plantlets that come from the efflorescence, several thousand in number, as each plant matures, making its last supreme effort in life before perishing. Seed is seldom produced, and its use is confined to plant research at the Biological Institute at Amani.

The London Sisal Association centralizes the control of the industry, much of the recent capital having been raised on the London market. During the last few years the Experimental Station at Lambeg, Northern Ireland, has been investigating means of extending the uses of sisal, following on work initiated by the Imperial Institute some years ago, when tests made at Southend pier exploded an old prejudice that sisal was ill-suited for marine ropes. It may be admitted that sisal absorbs more water than Manila, but other points favour sisal. Anyhow, the war has afforded an opportunity of applying this finding on a large practical scale, as it has been found expedient to curtail the imports of Manila fibre, displacing this with a mixture of 33½ per cent.

sisal in 2nd and 3rd grade rope and 25 per cent. in 1st grade. This change should make sisal less dependent on the vagaries of demand for fibre for binder twine and should help to adjust the balance between supply and demand. Stable prices are most necessary if an industry is to avoid periods of depressed prices, which throw losses on producers and thus disarrange the normal development to the detriment of all concerned, and this is the aim of the Association.

All the same, although over the last twenty years prices have fluctuated between £13 and £52 per ton, the production has rapidly increased, and consumption has kept pace with it, without any undue accumulation of stocks. But it must be admitted that Africa has pushed Mexico into the background, exports there having declined from about 200,000 tons in 1916 to 90,000 or 100,000 tons in 1939.

Notwithstanding the attempted planning of industry in dictator States, economists lag far behind any scientific solution of the co-ordination of supply to demand, development taking place spasmodically without a statistical guide upon which any value can be placed. We continue to live in a world where survival of the fittest is the ruling influence, and it may indeed be doubted whether the best laid schemes of mice and men will not continue to "gang agley" until a central world statistical bureau is able to supply accurate figures of consumption and demand. A useful beginning was made by the inauguration by the King of Italy many years ago of the International Bureau of Agriculture in Rome. In the case of sisal, much of the crop is used for spinning binder twine for harvesting grain crops. Crops naturally vary considerably from year to year and country to country, scattered over both the northern and southern temperate zones, so it would be ambitious to expect a reliable figure concerning consumption for this purpose, hence the difficulty of reliable forecasts.

Lambeg has extended the field of research by joint work between the rubber and sisal interests, and valuable results have accrued. Sisal for sacking, for carpets of excellent durability, for mattress filling, for road beds, plastics, cushions after rubberizing sisal kraft, and other uses, all contribute to extend consumption. Various experiments have been made to soften sisal to permit spinning into finer yarns for weaving sackcloth and for finer ply twines. It may be gathered that steady progress is being made all along the line, thanks to the far-sightedness of those engaged in the industry, who at an early stage have engaged in profitable research work, whose fruit will certainly mature in course of time. In short, it may be claimed that the East African sisal indus-

try is well organized and holds promise of steady progress in future. With suitable conditions of climate, soil and labour, well organized to operate constantly improving plant, and with the world-wide distribution, prospects are bright. Africa may indeed come to be the world's main supplier of so-called hard fibres, with a steadily expanding production.

It can be readily perceived how important a place the British Empire occupies in the supply of hard and soft fibres.

There are already indications of a reversal after the war of the mistaken economic policy of past decades. Such changes, to be beneficial, must be wisely considered as part of a broad policy, freed from the stigma of sectarian interests. The change must be gradual and carefully studied from an international point of view. If each stroke of the artist is correct his picture may become a masterpiece.

"Coming events cast their shadow before." Do we not all feel that after the termination of present hostilities, in this war which may decide the fate of Europe for many centuries, we shall enter a period of reconstruction in the field of finance, economics and industry which will bring men closer together towards the era of association and co-operation, displacing the unregulated, one may almost call it anarchic, competition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries? Let us all frame our thoughts so that each may contribute a crumb to the great task that faces us. Then we can look forward to the future with serenity, confidence and hope that we shall accomplish the great task before us, and thus fulfil the destiny of the British Empire, that cradle of freedom.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will agree with me that we are very much indebted indeed to Mr. Wigglesworth for a most interesting paper. He was set an extremely difficult task in being asked to describe Empire fibres in general, and I am glad to see that he has taken the wise course of specializing on one or two of the more prominent Empire fibres rather than trying to cover the whole field. I am going to follow his example in opening the discussion on this paper.

Jute came first in Mr. Wigglesworth's paper; and here, of course, we must remember what a tremendous advantage jute has in the very large area in which it is cultivated. When you consider that Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam all grow jute, and that their area is just about the same as that of France, Belgium and Holland combined, you will see that variations of the monsoon between one district and another

simply even themselves out, especially in a province like the Bengal Presidency which has so good a reputation from the monsoon point of view. That, I think, is the first reason for the success with which jute has held the field.

There is a competitive fibre, which Mr. Wigglesworth just mentioned—namely, Rozelle—which is being grown in the Dutch East Indies, and which has the distinction of being grown not only for its fibre but also for the flower, part of which can be used for a decoction which, I believe, is rather pleasant to drink; so that it looks as if Rozelle combines the advantages of jute and tea—but that, perhaps, is going rather far! Certainly Rozelle has so many real disadvantages in the costs of its production that it cannot be held to be a serious competitor of jute in the world's markets.

With regard to sisal, Mr. Wigglesworth has made some complimentary remarks about the activities of the Imperial Institute in stimulating the demand for sisal and the development of the fibre, and I should like to retort by reminding Mr. Wigglesworth that, although we took up the investigations of sisal at the Imperial Institute in 1925, it was only a year later that the Consultative Committee on Vegetable Fibres was formed at the Institute in 1926; and that Mr. Wigglesworth was and still is its first Chairman, so that he has been serving with us now as Chairman of this Committee for fourteen years. I do congratulate him on his public spirit in having given up so much valuable time to this work.

We certainly have been able to do a good deal for sisal at the Imperial Institute. Our first report was published in 1927, and our latest only a couple of years ago in 1938. The Admiralty have been able to extend very considerably the naval uses for which sisal is employed in competition with manila, and that is a great step forward.

There are one or two points which I hope Mr. Wigglesworth will be able to elucidate in his reply to the discussion. The first is this. I should like to know what in his view is the effect of Government controlled prices on cultivation, and whether the question of bulk purchases by Government is having a satisfactory effect on the prospects of the industry. I think he will probably be able to answer that question in regard to both jute and sisal. The prices of jute in particular make rather lamentable reading. I should like to quote them, if I may. They are quite easy to remember if stated in percentages of the price in July, 1914.

The price of jute was 100 in 1928—*i.e.*, it had reverted again to

exactly pre-war price : 1929, 95; 1930, 63; 1931, 49; 1932, 45; 1933, 41; 1934, 39.

From 100, representing the price of jute in 1928, it had dropped to 39 in 1934, a drop to just over one-third of what it had been. That is a rake's progress indeed, and I think it was as a result of that decline that Government stepped in and controlled to some extent the cultivation of jute.

There will probably be other problems of similar interest attaching to sisal prices, and perhaps Mr. Wigglesworth will kindly take up those points when he comes to reply.

Mr. ALEXANDER HOLM : I am very glad indeed to have the opportunity of attending this meeting and of hearing my old friend, Mr. Wigglesworth, give this address. You, Mr. Chairman, referred to his high standing in the fibre world. I should like to confirm that and to tell you that many years ago, when I happened to be concerned in the advancement of the sisal and flax industries, I often appealed to Mr. Wigglesworth here in London when I was in East Africa. He never failed to give me accurate information, and I found that I could rely entirely upon his advice.

The first point I would like to make on his very valuable and informative address is in connection with the production of jute. I know not India, though I know a little about jute. Mr. Wigglesworth quite accurately stated that the reason why West Africa could not compete in the production of jute was that the wages were too high. There is another way of looking at that, and it is that the wages of India, where jute is produced, are too low, or the reward to the cultivator is inadequate. I have expressed the view for some considerable time past that the primary producers in the Empire have not been getting a "square deal," and that they have been expected and called upon to and in fact do produce a lot of raw material for the home and other industrial markets at far too low a price, at so low a price that they do not give a sufficient reward to the primary producer for his efforts. The cultivator of jute might reasonably be expected to get a higher reward—not that the wages in West Africa or other parts of the world are too high.

Mr. Wigglesworth referred to the policy of production having been very carefully thought out. I would say that a great deal remains to be done with regard to the policy of marketing, and I am going to relate this view to the preparation and marketing of sisal. Some years ago, when the producers in East Africa put their sisal on the market,

each one used his own estate mark. There was no agreement with regard to standards of grades or anything of that kind. Each grower had his own grades. Again, Tanganyika and Kenya had different grades. There was an entire absence of uniformity to the detriment of growers as a whole.

That could not go on from the point of view of the trade nor from the point of view of the needs of the trade. I know that you yourself did a great deal to remedy that position, and I hope and believe that the Sisal Growers Organization which has recently been formed and centred here in London will achieve a great deal more.

There remains a great deal to be done. I have had experience for more than thirty years in the grading and marketing of Empire products produced overseas for the European markets, products which have been officially graded and which have been sold on a grading certificate interchangeable in the trade. I see no reason why the same principle cannot be applied to sisal. There is a good deal of prejudice, in my opinion, on the part of growers. Their first attitude is to say that it cannot be done, and "we will never allow Government to do it." I do not care whether Government or an independent authority does it; it ought to be graded on standard grades which can be recognized in the trade throughout the world.

Think of the position of the big buyers of sisal and users in the United States of America, who want to buy or enter into contracts for the purchase of 1,000 or 5,000 tons of sisal. Let me repeat that the position has during quite recent years been improved, but formerly they could not buy more than 50 tons or something like that at a time of the same grade or quality of sisal. They could not enter into contracts of the kind needed for industrial concerns on a big scale. I therefore suggest that a great deal remains to be done in that connection.

I hear that it has been decided to close down the Fibre Research Institute at Lambeg in Northern Ireland. If that is true, in my opinion it is a definitely retrograde step. It is a comparatively easy matter to close down this sort of organization, but a very difficult matter indeed to build up. The establishment of a research institute takes years. We have all along expressed the view that continuity in scientific research work is of great importance. I do not know the facts of the case, nor what Ministry was responsible, but on the face of it I think it has been an unsound decision. It seems to me to be somewhat inconsistent with the policy of Government recently declared. You

will remember that the Secretary of State for the Colonies said that the policy of the Imperial Government was to speed up the process of development for the Colonies, and for that purpose he was authorized to provide two funds, one of £5,000,000 a year and another of £500,000 a year for research work in the Colonies. The work at Lambeg was very definitely linked up and associated with production in the Colonial Empire. It is very difficult to make the two things agree, but perhaps Mr. Wigglesworth will be able to give us more information.

Mr. E. F. HITCHCOCK, C.B.E. (Chairman of the Sisal Growers Association): I should like very much to add my thanks and the thanks of those with whom I am associated to Mr. Wigglesworth for the trouble and knowledge which he has put into this paper to-day. I think Mr. Wigglesworth is one of the most remarkable young-old men that I know. I do not know whether his age is a tender point with him or not, but I believe he is several years over seventy. He is a versatile man, who has a young, active, versatile mind and personality, and I think we are very fortunate indeed to have him addressing us to-day on this subject.

I do not propose to say much on jute, but to indicate the main difference between jute cultivation and sisal cultivation. The annual production of jute is something like 2,000,000 tons, and the sisal output of East Africa is about 150,000 tons, although, of course, that does not comprise the whole of the world output. But even the world output, when you take in the Dutch East Indies and Mexico, is not very much in relation to the cultivation of jute. But there is this difference between them. Jute, as Mr. Wigglesworth has said, is a family cultivation. It is a seasonal crop, and you do not have to take very long views.

Sisal takes a very long time to grow to maturity—in Mexico seven or eight years, in East Africa three or four years. It also requires very large capital for its large-scale agricultural cultivation, and very considerable factory and transport organization. In order to extract the 130,000 tons output of Tanganyika and Kenya, 4,500,000 tons of leaf have to be cut, transported and decorticated, so you will see that the general basis of the sisal industry in relation to the capital involved and the unit of production is a very different proposition from that of jute. We have to take long views, and very often, when you start producing to-day in the Colonial Empire for a return which matures in four or five years' time, the whole price basis of your commodity may have entirely altered when you come to market your product. The

result is that the producer of sisal has in the past always faced the maximum of uncertainty and insecurity and on the whole poverty.

I do not here wish to refer to the more general point Mr. Holm raised, and that was the economic organization of the Colonial Empire, which is a subject which I have no doubt will come more and more to the fore. We certainly cannot do it on the lines at present suggested.

With regard to the sisal industry, I think the Chairman referred to bulk purchase by the Government. There is no bulk purchase by the Government. The arrangement at present is that the industries of East Africa have agreed to quota their output, without any guarantee, for the British and the French Governments up to roughly 70 per cent. of the output, but purchases are made in the ordinary way by the trade under arrangement with the Hemp Control. The price has been fixed, which gives a bare economic return to the grower, but only just that; but it is a return very much higher than the immediate pre-war price. That was negotiated with the British Government and the Sisal Growers Association here, and the two Associations in East Africa. The London Association includes all members of the Kenya Sisal Growers Association and the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association, and some even of Portuguese East Africa and, in addition, those who finance, import and look after the interests of the industry here in London. A very large part of the control of the industry is centred in London and so is the marketing.

We are very concerned about the future of the sisal industry. With regard to Lambeg, this question was considered with very great care, and the decision come to close it down was taken by the industry as a whole and not dictated by any Government Department. The sisal growers decided on a line of policy for very good reasons.

That does not mean to say that research has been stopped and it is our hope to expand it on more adequate lines in the future. Research is going on in East Africa and in Kenya and also in London, more particularly economic research. We have plans for the future, embracing not only an expansion of scientific research but economic research as well. Growers pay, by means of a levy on every ton of sisal they export, something over £20,000 a year for organization and research in connection with our industry, and we intend in the future, if it is possible, to tackle this question of an economic and more stable price level.

In one important economic respect sisal is very different from almost any other main primary commodity. In spite of what you may have

heard of the combine and the decline in the market for binder twine, the fact is that although the production of sisal has increased every year, and during the last ten years has doubled, there is never at any given time any carry-over worth talking about. It is a commodity which is not competed with by lower priced articles to any great extent, and its increasing production has each year all gone into consumption.

There is one other factor, and that is the question of labour. Mr. Wigglesworth was kind enough to send me a copy of his address before this meeting, and I read it with care. He very rightly referred to the question of labour in East Africa. That is a deplorable position; compared with the Dutch East Indies we have no organization of labour. In Tanganyika, although 50 per cent. of the able-bodied males never do any work, the industry has to recruit its labour from the Belgian Congo, from Portuguese East Africa, from Nyasaland, from Rhodesia, anywhere it can; in fact, something like a million sterling is going out of Tanganyika each year on this account alone.

Java sisal commands a premium of £2 to £3 a ton over African sisal. Therefore, if we sold our East African sisal at the same price basis as Java, the consumer would have to pay over a quarter of a million sterling more for it. I doubt very much whether that extra appearance is really worth while. Meanwhile, East African sisal is each year becoming an increasingly important Empire asset, and we are doing our best to improve the conditions of the industry. (Applause.)

Major AINGER: There is one point I would like to stress. Mr. Wigglesworth was talking about the dollar exchange, the question of hemp and the work of the Imperial Institute in helping on sisal. There was one figure which I think is interesting—that we imported in 1937 one and a half million pounds' worth of Manila hemp alone from the Philippine Islands. Had those experiments been carried out there successfully at an early date, we should be in a far better position to be using Empire materials now and not be so dependent on the United States.

That brings me on to my second point about sisal and about the dollar exchange, which is the United States market in sisal, because I am given to understand that East African sisal could be delivered c.i.f. in the United States port to compete with Yucatan sisal from Mexico. I would like to know, if that is correct, what is the reason that the East African product is not making so much progress as it might. Is it a matter of bad marketing, and is it possible that bad marketing is in

part concerned with the different prices of production in the different areas in East Africa? Portuguese East African sisal can be produced at about £9 a ton, whereas in Tanganyika it is £13 and in Kenya £20, so that it is very difficult to get your producers working together and working in organization.

The lecturer said that there had been a disagreement between the Indian manufacturer and the British manufacturer about production in Calcutta some years ago. I would like to ask one question about that. Was that dispute a matter of purely local sectional interests fighting each other, or was it a matter of general policy? If the latter, is there any way in which the producers, both Indian and British, can be got to think from a Commonwealth point of view and not exclusively from the point of view of either Great Britain or of India?

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH: Sir Harry Lindsay asked what effect Government control on prices might have on the cultivation of sisal. That is a difficult question, but I think I can only answer it by saying that any control of prices, if it means paying a higher price, is likely to encourage the production. Government does not as a rule, especially at present, go for high prices. There was indeed rather an argument as to what price they would fix for sisal under the present control. They thought, if they gave £19 a ton, they would be generous. I undertook to present figures which showed that the pre-war average was nearer £26, and £26 was fixed.

One point of great interest to me was where it was shown by one speaker that Indian jute prices were just where they were before the war. I assume he meant the Great War. By coincidence it is the same with sisal, the pre-war averaging about £26 taking the years 1926 to 1938 inclusive.

Sir Harry also asked if bulk purchases by Government would help the industry. That was answered by another speaker, that they are not making bulk purchases. Their organization is making purchases, but that is on account of the consumers.

Mr. Alexander Holm spoke about the primary producer not getting a square deal. I could give you a whole lecture on that, but I do not intend to inflict it. I am absolutely in favour of that statement. In fact, you may take it that this war is largely due to that particular fact. There is a battle going on between the two economic interests, that of productive goods and that of raw materials. There is no organization to support the small man who grows his material on his field and has to sell it at best. There are thousands of organizations for supporting

the prices of manufactured goods, and thousands of manufacturers willing to back tariffs and other policies calculated to keep prices up. I for one maintain that a whole new economic order will have to be brought about in the world after this war. There must be fair play to the grower. Every child knows that to bankrupt your customer is not going to pay you in the long run, yet that is what is being done.

Mr. Holm spoke about the policy of marketing being organized. I really do not think in regard to sisal, or jute either, that there is very much complaint about the marketing. Mr. Hitchcock explained that in spite of very bad markets at times, there has never been any accumulation of sisal. That is correct. Therefore you cannot say that the marketing is badly organized. The fluctuations in price I cannot explain. I have often thought that at times certain powerful interests in America helped to bring the price down when the production suddenly expanded. There is a certain amount of speculation too. That does not depress it below the economic level for long, so it must be a question of supply and demand.

Mr. Hitchcock showed that we doubled our output in a few years. That is true, and it takes a gigantic effort to double output. The best way of finding a new market is by a low price. Although these low prices have been very trying, especially to the producer with small capital, they may have been a blessing in disguise, because, firstly, they have helped growers to economize in the cost of production, and, secondly, they have offered so attractive an article at so low a price that sisal has been introduced for many things for which it was never used before. To-day many of your mattresses are covered with sisal. The most comfortable beds made to-day contain sisal pads. It is being made into all kinds of fine twine, into sisalkraft, into plastics, for silage and other uses.

Mr. Holm referred to grading. I am in agreement with him that uniform grading is of the greatest value, but I fail to see why graders when employed in the industry itself are going to do better work when engaged as Government officials.

We have had examples in New Zealand where the grading has never been entirely satisfactory, and in Manila where twice the system has had to be remodelled. I think if the industry organized the grading, on proper technical lines, that more satisfactory progress would be made.

Mr. Ainger stated that East African sisal could be sold cheaper in America than Mexican. That is not the case. No one has any in-

formation on fibres from Mexico worth heeding. They sometimes issue a price list, but deals are frequently carried through at entirely different prices. They generally sell at considerably below the price of East African sisal and their quality is lower.

Major Ainger referred to the cost as Tanganyika £13, Kenya £20 and Portuguese £9. I am sorry to say that these figures are quite inaccurate. The Portuguese sisal costs no less than the British production when all charges are met, and its best product sells at the same price.

Another question was about the Calcutta dispute. It was distinctly sectional. I think the lesson has been learnt. The Government had to interfere, and I question whether such a quarrel will take place again.

LORD LAMINGTON: The immediate object of my rising is to ask you to show your gratitude to Mr. Wigglesworth for having delivered so very interesting a lecture from his vast store of knowledge of Empire fibres. It was very interesting indeed to those of us who knew nothing about it, and he described the subject most lucidly.

Two particular points pleased me. One was the reference to the United States of America, in which he forecast a freer system of trade between our two countries. That I thought very satisfactory. Also his concluding sentence, which was hopeful that in the reconstructed Europe we could come to a better method of carrying on our lives. I am certain that if we do not find some alternative to what is going on now, it means absolute annihilation of civilization. Therefore it is to be hoped that this reconstructed Europe will be on a sounder basis.

Then we are very grateful to our Chairman. We regret that Mr. Hudson was prevented from coming to take the Chair, but I am sure you agree with me that Sir Harry Lindsay, with his knowledge and experience, has filled the position admirably, and we are very grateful to him for having undertaken to come here at short notice and act as our Chairman. I will ask you to show your thanks in the usual way. (Applause.)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE RECENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By DR. A. BONNÉ

I.

THE following paper is an attempt to deal with certain fundamental aspects of the contemporary socio-economic changes in the Middle East, with special regard (a) to those countries of the Orient bordering on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and having a common cultural basis—the Islamic culture, and (b) to the peculiar position of Palestine in the general process of Eastern transformation. Not that there has been any lack of descriptions and reports on the subject of the changing East, but most of these treat results or symptoms only. Who has not been impressed, for instance, with the sight of the slick chauffeur, not long ago a typical desert-bred nomad, or of the attractive modern girl attending the school of medicine at the Cairo State University, to say nothing of the imposing array of figures for industrial production in the newly established factories of Oriental countries! These are certainly important features of a far-reaching transformation process, a process which is seen under way in almost all Oriental countries in our time and in all branches of economic, political and cultural life; here accelerated, there retarded, at times pronounced and even provocative, at times hidden and groping. Yet in order to interpret these manifold signs of a passing world, a world in dissolution, and the emergence of a new one more in keeping with Western models, it is as well to have some clear idea of the underlying causes of this transformation and of the driving forces behind it. To this end it is perhaps easier to approach the problem from the rear, so to speak, and to seek, firstly, for an explanation, not of the present changes, but of the former stagnation.

The first point, then, which calls for consideration is the following: Why has the most fundamental phenomenon of the new economic and social history, the rise of modern industrial capitalism, not touched the Oriental countries which until a short time ago re-

mained in a state of social and economic stagnation? For generations the Occident has been the scene of socio-economic changes, increasing in strength from decade to decade, uprooting the peasant from his village, the artisan from his bench, changes culminating in the introduction of mass-production, engineered by speculative *entrepreneurs* and capitalists co-operating with the authorities under the connivance of the State, whilst, apart from a few tentative beginnings restricted in time and scope, almost nothing of this kind occurred in Oriental countries.* This phenomenon of time lag must first be explained before one can draw any conclusions as to the character and trend of present-day changes in the Middle East.

There are a number of avenues to be explored when seeking a possible explanation of this backwardness. New historical epochs are not engendered or brought to a close by one factor alone.

It would be idle, for instance, to attribute the stagnation to racial qualifications alone. Every Oriental people has among its different sections an economically gifted and a non-gifted strata. There seems to be no reason to stress an interpretation from this particular angle. Far more weight attaches to certain other factors, although it may be difficult to determine their respective importance; it is also obvious that some of them are closely interwoven, as the following considerations show :

In view of the far-reaching influence of Islam as the dominating religious system in vast territories of the East, one may well take as a starting-point the religious conception of the majority of the population of those areas. Without in any way deprecating the effect of other, and more especially natural conditions in this connection, we recognize to-day the necessity of considering the motives arising from the religious inheritance of the population when we seek to explain the driving forces of social history.

Max Weber's significant thesis as to the rôle of Protestant and Calvinist ethics in the development of the capitalistic spirit can be applied conversely to certain characteristics in Oriental history. It is in just those circles in Europe which adopted the said religious systems that the ethical glorification of intense business activity, the interpretation of economic success as the visible proof of predestination has given an impetus to economic activities. Here we see one of the sources of

* The enterprises founded and managed by *foreigners* cannot be counted here. We will refer to them later.

that rationalistic and expansive frame of mind which endeavoured to penetrate all spheres of life, a movement conspicuously absent not only in the Catholic but also in the great Asiatic religious systems.

In close correlation with those spiritual features we find a definite ascetic attitude which turned against the ingenuous enjoyment of life, at the same time glorifying the ethics of labour. Islam declines any such ascetic attitude towards life. True, it too has known ascetic monastic movements; but Islamic asceticism is different in its aspects and effects from the Puritan version with its innate striving for success in practical business life.

According to the general Islamic conception, the believer should enjoy the good things given by the Creator, provided always that the believer complies with the prescriptions of a not over-stringent law. This law takes into consideration and makes allowances for the circumstances of human nature. It is a rationalistic system of self-sufficient contentment, a harmony of interests and needs, and it has formed the mentality of Islamic society. The striving for the possession of property is to be curbed, the accumulation of wealth deprecated, no matter whether it refers to the spoils of war or to fortunes acquired in the ordinary way of business.

These assertions do not mean that the Islamic practice of life was always in accordance with such claims of social equilibrium. It is, however, just the somewhat liberal interpretation of man's disposition towards the demands of God which has been largely responsible for the intrusion of comfortable compromises into the life of the individual. But the difference in principle and its practical effect cannot be overlooked. The aversion to all forms of exertion which in the economic field tends to change the equilibrium of social forces and to shift them, the lack of every motive conducive to increase of production as evidenced in the above religious systems would in itself have been sufficient to give the economic development of the Islamic Orient a different character to that of the Occident.

A second avenue of explanation lies obviously in the different trends of *urban* development in the West and the Orient. Whenever one begins to consider the origin of our present economic system in the West, one immediately visualizes the social background and structure of the later medieval town, a corporation of free, self-conscious citizens who produced those features of the economic process which we call early capitalist development. It was essentially a product of the free burgher who after a long struggle had gained complete independence

from the overlordship of rural despots, princes and big feudal landowners, whose influence on the urban life was systematically and steadily reduced until the municipal body became sovereign of its destiny, able to foster the spirit of enterprise among its citizens and to breed all those citizen-virtues which, to the best of our knowledge, are the prerequisites of our modern industrial-capitalist development. In order to make this point clear it is necessary to enlarge somewhat on the differences between urban structure in the West and in the East.

In Occidental cities, as modern scholars of social history have pointed out, the individual obtained citizenship in his *personal* capacity, and in that capacity took the oath of civic allegiance; it therefore followed that by personal membership in the local community he assured himself of his legal rights as a citizen. In the Oriental community, however, the status of the individual depended preponderantly upon his connection with a clan or family organization. If, for any reason whatsoever, he severed that connection, he thereby forfeited his social status and with it the claim to protection or help. The sheikh (or the successor to the functions of the sheikh), as the representative of the powerful family, determined the social rank of each man in his locality, since society was so constituted that the individual, whatever his personal merits, had no standing outside its confines; the peasant who fell out with his clan and came to the city as an individual—*i.e.*, without the backing of his family group—could only with difficulty work his way into a position from which, like a European of similar origin, he could later rise in the world. At best he would have to make shift with the humble employments which were all that an outsider of no rank had any right to expect. Thus, one of the stimulants of migration to the town in the West barely existed in the urban spheres of the East.

Even a cursory comparison of urban development in the Occident and in the Orient must take account not only of the predominance of the clan, and the integration of the individual within the clan, but of the artisans' corporations which played so important a part in moulding the character of the European cities. The independent artisans, organized in guilds, became a very considerable political factor in the municipalities of Europe. Neither the feudal lords of the rural districts nor the aristocratic classes of the cities could undermine their power; as a matter of fact, they were not seldom obliged to yield to the demands of the guilds and to renounce many of their privileges. At times the independent artisans obtained complete control of the Euro-

pean municipalities and exerted through them a decided influence upon the central Government itself.

The contrast is striking between the European guilds, which had the proud status of public corporations and enjoyed privileges granted by their municipalities, and the Oriental guilds, which were, as a rule, merely associations of weak and sometimes oppressed elements whose open or veiled distrust of the municipal and central authorities was heartily reciprocated. Here we have one of the reasons why the artisans of the lower middle-classes in Europe have for the most part been loyal and submissive supporters of the State, turning a deaf ear to revolutionary slogans, while in the Orient it is just the artisans and small traders who are most responsive to Socialist and Communist propaganda.

Even without drawing detailed comparisons between the respective inner structures of Occidental and Oriental guilds, it is obvious that the key position of the powerful European guilds (whose members were all employers) necessarily enabled them to exercise very great influence on the social and economic development of their cities, while the barely tolerated position of the unions of Moslem artisans (composed of both employers and apprentices) could gain them no such privileges.

The factors that have shaped the evolution of the Oriental cities since the Middle Ages are partly identical with those which were at work in the social history of the East as a whole. The particular conditions that prevailed in the Oriental cities were due, in the main, to the fact that most of the feudal families took up their residence within the city and that their activities were not such as contributed to the benefit of the population in general.* In the Western countries, Italy excepted, the feudal lords usually kept to their castles in the rural areas and were thus unable to affect the internal affairs of the cities to any great extent. The implications of the urban domicile of the feudal families of the East can still be traced in the spirit and the methods of municipal administration. Even in recent decades this has been tantamount to a struggle for power between old-established, ruling families whose authority has always rested and still rests on the rents derived from real property, both urban and rural. When paid posts

* Also in another respect many of these big landowners are not comparable to the aristocracy of European countries, from whose ranks the public-spirited men were frequently drawn; in many cases a foreign element, they failed to identify themselves with the State.

were instituted in the municipalities, the dominant families seized additional power by possessing themselves of these posts as sinecures for their own members. In many Arab cities it is still regarded as quite natural that numerous officials of the same name—*i.e.*, belonging to the same clan—should serve in a single municipality. Similar conditions prevail in regard to ecclesiastical affairs, in the management of mosque property and Wakf endowments and in any other connection where there are fat pickings in the way of benefices and perquisites.

This peculiar position governing the division of municipal and political power within the local administration in Ottoman territory is a phenomenon which students of foreign affairs have ever been wont to stress. Temperley, the eminent historian of Near Eastern policy in the nineteenth century, tells of the composition of the local and provincial councils :

“The members of the Mejliss are always the rich (Turkish) landed proprietors. . . . They are *de facto* the governors of the country for their own benefit, and they always combine together when any matter is proposed inimical to their collective interests, however secretly inimical they may be to one another. ‘We keep the people ignorant and oppressed, in order to be able to govern them, for otherwise how could we govern them?’ was told us by Haji Halef Aga, one of the leading members of the Mejliss at Antioch. We could relate many cases of extortion, injustice and violence by this man, always under the legal sanction of the ‘Mazbatta.’ ”*

Not that it is necessary to go as far back as the middle of the last century. The report of the Palestine Royal Commission, referring to conditions in Palestine under Turkish rule at the outbreak of war, states :

“Turkish government in Palestine before the Great War was in effect a despotism modified to some extent by the delegation of authority to the leading families in Syria who held estates in Palestine.”†

Quotations of this kind could be given without end; all of them confirm this picture of the rural overlord supreme in his sway over townsfolk and peasant alike.

* Temperley, *England and the Near East: The Crimea*, p. 238.

† Palestine Royal Commission, 1937 Report, p. 150.

The régime of the Oriental State was thus, in its most typical form and during most periods of its existence, based on the domination of the big landlord over small landowners or those who did not own land at all. The extraordinary extent to which the land was in the hand of the big landowner gave the Oriental State the character of a class State. In this respect the structure of the Oriental State resembled that of the European State in the early medieval times. This similarity is thus seen to be due not only to the analogies in their spiritual foundations, as exemplified by the unity of State and Church, but also in the lack of all political influence, and the absence of all cultural and economical representation on the part of the landless class. But this state of affairs was not peculiar to the relations between the ruling strata in the provinces and the local population; it applied even on a much more comprehensive scale to the relations of the central Government and the "State" to its subjects as a whole. And here it must be remembered that the modern State (in the pre-war sense of the word) is of a very new growth in the Orient. The idea as such took shape only in the middle of the nineteenth century; it was intended to supersede the old conception bound up with the despotic régime which, in spite of all reforms, still lingered on until the outbreak of the war. It is, indeed, a significant fact and not at all accidental that the Arab language does not contain a special word for "State"—there are only the words "hukuma" and "daula" which really correspond to our term "government"; also the word "citizen" or "burgher" has no proper equivalent in Arabic.

What, then, was the effect of this peculiar condition in Oriental countries? The despotic régime in the East, with its oppression and extortion of the rural classes, produced, in the course of time—and this is the reverse of the medal—among the mass of the population a certain well-defined attitude towards Government and its institutions, which we may appropriately call "a-politism." This attitude on the part of the "fellaheen," workers and artisans towards the State is characterized by the utter lack of all those features which are the stock virtues of the citizen in the modern national state. Nowhere among these classes is there to be found any strong personal attachment to the State, or a sense of personal and collective duty towards Government and its institutions. On the contrary, one is struck by the attitude of complete indifference of these people, who regard the State only as an apparatus for the collection (or extortion) of taxes, and by the profound distrust, and even disgust, which is shown towards any kind of

Governmental activity. It is relevant to quote in this connection one particularly interesting remark because it refers to events in very recent times. The report of the Registrar of Co-operatives in Palestine for the period 1921-1937 states, in explaining the extraordinary difficulties of gaining the sympathy of the fellaheen for the idea of co-operation :

“ . . . the fellah has no trust in any Government. Every action of the ‘ hukuma ’ (Government) is regarded by him as a trick to extort more taxation or to attain some other malicious end ” (p. 11).

True, the attitude of the urban strata was somewhat less indolent, but it, too, was surely far from being sympathetic or friendly towards the demands of the Government. The co-operation and devotion demanded by the modern State from its subjects who form a homogeneous loyal population on the territory of the State, could not be expected in an Oriental State organized, as it was, on the principle of “ personal status.” This implied the recognition of separate and independent spheres of national life for the different communities, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, etc., according to the *millet* system.

Against this background, with its lack of the most important element in modern economic development in the West—*i.e.*, the free citizen—and in face of a despotic State régime and its counterpart, the a-politism of the masses, the pre-conditions of modern capitalism could not be bred; security of rights, equal protection by the law, freedom to engage in any kind of commercial enterprise, an economic régime built on a rational basis enabling reliable calculations of supply and demand to be made—all these elements of modern business had no chance to develop in the genuine Oriental world. Where the “ clan remained, family or clan responsibility formed the sole basis of credit.” When a despotic ruler could interfere at any moment, forbidding commercial activities and confiscating property without legal grounds, there was no room for the joint-stock company and the other forms of modern enterprise in the West.

And yet, it may be asked, how can one account for the fact that the latter half of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of a fairly ambitious economic development in certain Oriental countries, more especially in Egypt, but also in Turkey and Syria, where even before the 1914 war the number of joint-stock companies was on the increase and investments of capitalists from abroad were drawn into the orbit of the expanding Egyptian and Turkish economy? The answer to this is surely not far to seek. The conditions for the development of these

capitalistic enterprises which the internal régime failed to offer were artificially created from without by the *transplantation*, so to speak, of the desired conditions of economic security from abroad in the form of the Capitulations and the régime of the consular and mixed courts.

This aspect of the question has, of course, nothing to do with the abuse made of the system of Capitulations, a common phenomenon in Eastern countries; nor is the detrimental effect on the native economy to be ignored; but the creation of this extraneous régime was, in fact, the only way under the then existing conditions to induce foreign *entrepreneurs* to interest themselves in Eastern countries. It is likewise significant that the founders, promoters and shareholders of the new enterprises inaugurated under the Capitulations were, as a rule, foreigners from Western countries; in the management and among the principal shareholders before 1914, the absence of local members was conspicuous. It may be added that the local accumulation of wealth seeking investment, massive capital equipment from local sources ready to spring into action the moment the necessary effective demand comes into operation, was completely lacking.

And here we have to deal with another point which constitutes one of the pre-conditions of the industrial economy in modern states—*i.e.*, the mass-character of the demand for consumption goods and the mass-production required to cover this demand. The production of non-agricultural goods in the East was until recently limited in scope. For this there are many reasons. The demand was necessarily restricted because the price of hand-produced goods was rather high and did not encourage consumption. On the other hand, what was needed in order to cheapen prices was mass-production, which, prior to the introduction of modern mechanical means of production, was not possible. The lack of traffic facilities was also a serious hindrance to the development of consumption. The expensive rates for goods-transport raised prices that were already too high for the limited purchasing power of the poorer people. According to the figures for that period, the volume of goods-traffic was surprisingly low. Incidentally the low standard of life was not felt as a heavy burden by the mass of the population. The climate under the Oriental sky allowed them to exist quite well for the greater part of the year with their primitive housing and clothing. Moreover, the bulk of the commodities needed was produced in the immediate neighbourhood of the consumers, a fact which obviously tended to maintain an equilibrium between local consumption and production.

II.

Returning now to the actual subject under discussion, the nature of the present-day changes in Oriental countries, we can thus better understand the aims envisaged by the general and economic policy of the new régimes. Seeing that the stagnation of the Oriental economies was due primarily to the absence of that element responsible for the economic expansion in the West, the free citizen with his initiative and devotion to a common cause, it was clearly the task of the new leaders to pave the way for the formation of this type of individual or, failing this, to take over his functions for the time being. This policy meant a complete reversal of the former attitude of the State and its institutions towards the individual, but was, nevertheless, clearly recognized and adopted by some of the far-sighted statesmen of the independent Oriental countries.

Thus we find the present-day independent Oriental States—Turkey, Iran and to a certain extent the Arab countries—concentrating their efforts to transform the silent, passive and a-politic masses into ardent followers of a political movement, to make them into mouthpieces of political ideologies, able to express themselves in favour of socio-political aims and ideas. The means which the leaders of the Oriental States adopted in their efforts to achieve this policy assumed at times grotesque forms, exaggeration and distortion of historical fact being by no means the gravest. Cases of oppression and suppression were also not uncommon to attain the goal—viz., the establishment of a National State and the nationalization of every section of society. It was also unavoidable that one of the most prominent features of the old régime, the Capitulations, should be abolished and with them the privileges of foreigners, so often abused. The measures of regaining national homogeneous states by transfer of minorities to their mother-countries likewise come under this category.

The transformation of a people so long passive into a dynamic force of active nationalists, to be sponsors of new economic activities, is not a short process. In spite of all efforts to accelerate it, it will take decades to complete, and even then we are not sure whether the newly formed strata of society will fulfil the economic functions of the citizen class of that early capitalist period. Therefore, in order to strengthen and reinforce the structure of the new State, especially from the point of self-sufficiency, Government itself stepped in and filled the gap. Furthermore, industrialization became a primary aim in view of the

growing surplus of population and the fact that, to a considerable extent, the industrial absorptive capacity exceeded that of agriculture. Thus, it was the *State* that initiated in the post-war period the movement of industrialization, the transport enterprises, the new banking institutions, it was the *primata* of politics in the widest sense of the word, which dominated the whole economic development of the independent Oriental countries. The results are the feverishly developed industrial sectors in Turkey and Iran, a net of state banks, state railways and other transport enterprises, and a high degree of autarchy in the national economy of both countries. Tendencies similar to those described are visible in Iraq and Egypt, although less decided. From one standpoint, that of achieving economic independence without calling in foreign capital, this policy has been most successful, but regarded from a purely economic point of view the results up till now are not very convincing.

The standard of living has risen since 1919, although the special efforts in this direction were not very outspoken on the part of the Government. The raising of the standard of living may be achieved through several means :

(a) Increase of national income by increasing production and advantageous exchange of goods with abroad.

(b) Better distribution of income between the various strata of population.

In both directions remarkable progress has been made in Oriental countries. The process of industrialization, together with the improvement of agricultural methods and the increase of cultivated areas, contributed to this increase of national income, notwithstanding the fact that the principal aim has been to attain a higher degree of economic independence.

The introduction of income-tax in Turkey, Iraq and Egypt means a certain corrective as regards the existing distribution of income, but does not essentially change the former division of wealth in favour of the poorer classes.

III.

Now it seems to be of no small interest to throw some light on the post-war development of Palestine which, perhaps more than any other country in the Middle East, is in a stage of turbulent transformation. Certainly it cannot be dealt with here more than very summarily; moreover, the general aspects of its economic and social development

have found their appraisal in numerous comprehensive books and monographs. Here attention is drawn to the position of Palestine from the point of view of its similarities and diversities as compared with other Middle Eastern countries.

To begin with, a conspicuous example of immediate contact between East and West presents itself in this country: the co-existence of two economies within the borders of one State, economies belonging to two communities distinct and separate in many respects.

Between the structure of all the newly created Oriental States there exist, it is true, certain common features: the most important is that here also a *primat* of politics dominates the greater part of the social and economic development. It is not the degree of economic efficiency and profitability alone which serves as the criterion for economic expansion, but in many cases social and political expediency are the determining factors.

As regards the Arab sector, the transformation of the passive peasantry, indifferent to political movements, into an active factor in the struggle of recent years needs no further comment. From the logical point of view it is immaterial whether this stirring-up of political feeling is done by self-appointed national leaders or by a central Government. So too the Jews are certainly no less inspired by a strong political will and determination to achieve political aims.

As to the general economic trend, Palestine, like its neighbours, is rapidly becoming an important centre of high production capacity. The part which Palestine, and more especially its Jewish sector, plays in raising the agricultural as well as the industrial output of the Oriental zone, in comparison with its scope before the war, is undoubtedly striking, and the rôle of the country as a domain of capital investments from abroad resembles or even exceeds in intensity that of any Oriental country since the last war. But leaving on one side these common aspects, our attention naturally tends to be focussed also on the distinguishing features between development in Jewish Palestine and its neighbours.

Here again, in analysing the phenomenon of the westernization of the East, it is not sufficient to stress such points as the adoption of modern technical apparatus for the purpose of mass production, the similarity of habits of living and of new devices of commerce and transport. One may find the identical signs, and even effects, and yet there is an entirely different outlook and background. Thus, in no other country of the Middle East do we find such strong ideologies at

work as in the Jewish sector of Palestine directed towards a limitation of the returns from all forms of unearned income, in contrast to the usual form of capital income in the Oriental world based on rent from rural and urban estates.

This is not due to the influence of the socialistic "Histadruth"* alone; other strata of the Jewish population share this ideology and idealization of labour as being the most desired means for securing a livelihood and a certain preference for collective forms of activity. This new collective approach has nothing in common with the old notion of clan collectivism characteristic for the Oriental outlook in this field or with any form of an enforced communistic system. The Jews developed their own system of collectivism. Thus we find as a counter-balance against the overweight of capitalistic institutions a very highly flourishing co-operative system, covering practically all fields of economic enterprise and even the mode of life itself. Incidentally, there are also signs of what might be called a new social conscience; expressed in such apparently small things as, for instance, the ban on the members of "Histadruth" to employ labour for domestic purpose.

The development of municipal administration within the Jewish sector is unique. There is probably no other place in the Middle East where citizenship has, on a genuine representative basis, rallied to the needs of the community as in Tel-Aviv. This does not refer to the budget alone. Suffice it to say that figures of expenditure in the town of Alexandria, for instance, barely exceed those of Tel-Aviv, although its population is six times as great, and that the capital of the biggest town in the East, Cairo, has until this day not yet established a municipality but is under the direct administration of the Government. And even the more developed, Europeanized Alexandria only established a municipality in 1890 and counts among its twenty-eight councillors no less than fourteen who are members *ex officio* only or nominated by the Government.

In contrast to conditions in the Arab economy the capacity of the Jewish sector to produce and to consume, though not so comprehensive in the aggregate, is very high judged on a *per capita* basis. The ratio is perhaps 3 : 1. Given normal conditions or only those prevailing in other autonomous countries, this sector would be able to supply a big part of the Middle Eastern industrial needs and buy a corresponding

* The word "Histadruth" is the Hebrew name for the Central Trade Union of the country; its English name is General Federation of Jewish Labour in Palestine.

part of their agricultural surplus. Already to-day the purchasing strength of the Jewish sector is felt by its power of absorption of large quantities of agricultural produce of neighbouring countries; as regards the potentialities of supplying Oriental markets with industrial products, juridical and political difficulties prevent it for the time being from getting its share in the general economic and industrial reconstruction of Middle Eastern lands.

The function which a flourishing Jewish community in this part of the world could fulfil was described by a man with a deep insight into the social fabric of the Oriental world. None else than T. E. Lawrence wrote, twenty years ago, on the future of Palestine and the task of the Jews there, as follows :*

“ . . . They hope to adjust their mode of life to the climate of Palestine, and by the exercise of their skill and capital to make it as highly organized as a European state. The success of their scheme will involve inevitably the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level, only a little after themselves in point of time, and the consequences might be of the highest importance for the future of the Arab world. It might well prove a source of technical supply rendering them independent of industrial Europe, and in that case the new confederation might become a formidable element of world power. However, such a contingency will not be for the first or even for the second generation, but it must be borne in mind in any laying out of foundations of empire in Western Asia. These to a very large extent must stand or fall by the course of the Zionist effort. . . .”

There has been a considerable change since those days, but in point of fact the words of T. E. Lawrence have their meaning as never before.

Whatever our attitude towards the intrusion of Western ideas and methods—economically, socially or politically—into the East, it is a process which cannot be stopped. Our conclusions on this process of transition, more especially in the light of the experience in Palestine, can be summed up as follows :

The transformation of the East is possible only with—

(a) The existence of a human element in a fairly large number, acting as the bearer of this process, or

* Recently published in the collection of the miscellaneous writings of T. E. Lawrence, *Oriental Assembly*, London, 1939, pp. 92-93.

(b) A definite policy on the part of the State aiming at economic and social reconstruction. This again presupposes an autonomous and honest régime capable of carrying through an independent economic policy.

(c) The supply of capital, either by way of import through newcomers or by way of State financing, but in no case by indebtedness to foreign powers leading inevitably to impairment of political sovereignty.

The dynamics inherent in modern nationalism tend to dissolve the former static structure of Oriental society which was decidedly knitted and supported by essential parts of the religious system of the Islam, favouring an equilibrium of society. Yet the dynamic forces of nationalism by themselves would not suffice in bringing about the establishment of a modern State. For the time being they merely succeeded in a number of cases in presenting a picture of contradicting and sometimes chaotic demands and currents trying to shape the form of the future commonwealth.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE ASSYRIANS ON THE KHABBUR

By BAYARD DODGE

Origin of the Assyrians

WHILE thousands of people are being turned out of their homes in Europe, the League of Nations is completing a project to make new homes for nine thousand Assyrian refugees in Syria. Before the World War these people lived in Northern 'Iraq and Azerbaijan, which at that time belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

The Assyrians are the descendants of tribes which may have moved out of Mesopotamia during the Scythian and Persian invasions of the sixth century B.C., but more likely moved north during the Tatar raids of the Middle Ages. They sought refuge in the impregnable mountains, on both sides of the Greater Zab River, between Lake Van and Lake Urmia, in the Hakkiari province.

It is certain that they are a Semitic people, who use a written language closely related to the Aramaic of Jesus Christ's time, and who speak a dialect akin to Syriac and Aramaic. When Christ, hanging on the Cross, cried out, "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani," he was using words which a modern Assyrian can readily understand. The alphabet resembles Syriac more than either Hebrew or Arabic.

It is probable that the Assyrian tribes became converted to Christianity at an early date. Their school of theology was first at Nisibin and later at Edessa, or Urfa. Their leading prelate was the Catholicos of Seleucia, and they suffered severe persecutions during the Sassanid régime of the fourth century. Because of the influence of refugees, who were warm friends of Nestorius, they accepted the idea of that famous heretic. Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was condemned by the Council of Ephesus in 431 A.D. Although he seems to have been more tactless than heretical, his followers were expelled from the Orthodox Church and obliged to form a separate sect of their own. The sect grew rapidly, and by the eighth century there were Nestorian communities as far east as China. A large branch of the sect also sprang up on the Malabar coast of India.

The same Tatar invasions which drove the Assyrians into the mountains of Azerbaijan wrecked the great Nestorian Church. The people of Malabar either joined the Syrian Church or became Muslims or were absorbed by more fortunate Christian sects.

The tribes became so isolated that their patriarch served as a temporal as well as a spiritual leader. He was independent, except for an annual payment of tribute to the Sultan. The title of the patriarch came to be Mar Shimun. His residence was at Qudshanis, a village about 7,000 feet above sea level near the Kurdish town of Julamerk.

In *The Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, page 80, Dr. Frederick J. Bliss wrote in 1912: "Their numbers are estimated at one hundred thousand. The Persian branch, estimated at from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand members, formally joined the Orthodox Church of Russia in 1898. Since 1450 the patriarchal dignity has been hereditary, passing from uncle to nephew, not according to age, but following the choice of the family. The candidate must be a celibate. Not only should he never have eaten meat, but his mother should have followed a vegetarian diet during her pregnancy and nursing. The episcopate, too, is quasi-hereditary, and Nestorian bishops of twelve years and younger may be found. Priests may marry even after ordination."

Anyone interested in learning more about the customs of the Church will find it profitable to read the excellent article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* under the heading "Nestorians." There is also a little book entitled *The Oldest Christian People*, written by W. C. Emhardt and G. M. Lamsa and published by Macmillan Company, which tells in an interesting way about the people and their Church. Probably the best account of the early history of the people is *An Introduction to the History of the Assyrian Church*, by W. A. Wigram, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1910.

In 1552 A.D. a dispute over the succession of the patriarch led many members of the Nestorian Church to form a uniate body, allied to Rome. This became known as the Chaldæan Church, presided over by the Patriarch of Babylon. At the present time most of the members of this community live in 'Iraq. Less than three hundred have emigrated to Syria.

The Period before the World War

The Assyrians, who lived in the mountains and herded their sheep in isolation and independence, became famous when the war began. They belonged to five main tribes: the Tiari, which was divided into the "Upper" and "Lower" branches, the Tkhuma, Baz, Jilu and Diz. These tribes were able to furnish ten thousand soldiers, skilled to handle both the dagger and the gun.

Instead of using the word "Shaykh" to designate the chief of a tribe, they used the word "malik," which in Arabic means "king." These mountain people were shepherds, supported by their goats and sheep more than by agriculture. They had few cows and very primitive villages. During the warm season they led their flocks to high pastures, where the men collected fodder, while the animals grazed on grass, watered by the snow of lofty peaks.

When winter came the men went up to the place where the fodder was stored and sent it down the icy slopes on sleds. As there was little work to do in the villages, the people amused themselves with all sorts of social entertainments.

This out-of-door life developed a race of strong, healthy men and women, who were inured to physical strain, courageous to face danger, fond of excitement and always ready to defend themselves. The three things which the Assyrian mountaineer cherished were his sheep, his dog and his dagger.

On the other hand, the Assyrians did not fight their fellow Christians, they readily submitted to military discipline, and they were unusually moral in their habits. Brigadier-General J. Gilbert Browne, who commanded Assyrian troops for eight years, testified to the fact that he never knew of a single case of venereal disease among his Assyrian soldiers, and that they were very clean, both with regard to their bodies and in their homes.

Although the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission was founded in 1886, and the Presbyterian Board, as well as several Catholic orders also started work among the mountaineers, they remained ignorant and backward. Some of them still cross themselves when they see the sun or moon, and at least one tribe does not eat the meat of the once-sacred cow. The priests and even members of the higher clergy are little better educated than the laymen.

The World War

When the World War began in 1914, the Assyrians refused to join the "Jihad," or crusade, which was proclaimed by the Caliph of Islam. The governors of Mosul, Bitlis and Van led armies against the rebels, who were rapidly driven to the east side of the River Zab. For six days the local hero, Lazar of Achita, and seven companions prevented the Turkish army from crossing the river. The Abbé Paul Bedar has supplied information about this event and many of the incidents which followed.

All of the tribes except the Tkhuma sought the protection of a Russian army to the north. The Tkhuma tried in vain to defeat the Turks, but were crushed and massacred. In the meantime the Russians organized Assyrian regiments, which promised much.

Unexpectedly, the Communist revolution took place. The Russian army collapsed, leaving the unfortunate Assyrians a prey to fierce bands of Turks, Kurds and Persians. Mar Shimun, the Patriarch, was caught in an ambush and killed, leaving a twelve-year-old boy as his successor.

For a time the mountaineers held their own. They even conquered numerous wealthy towns and organized a little Assyrian kingdom. Inspired by Agha Petros of the Baz tribe, they held in check nine Turkish army divisions which were aided by German officers.

During the summer of 1918 an American missionary named Dr. Shedd flew over to the Assyrians in a British aeroplane. He brought a request from the British army in Persia, asking them to send troops so that the British could join them.

As supplies were becoming scarce, the Assyrians responded gladly and sent Agha Petros himself at the head of twelve hundred horsemen. But before Petros could return with the British troops, the Turks and Kurds made a violent assault on the Assyrian base at Urmia. In August, 1918, bereft of their leader, the people fled towards Hamadan, driving their flocks before them. They left many of their valuables and some of their children with Dr. Packard in the American Mission, but the Kurds killed the guards, looted the mission and seized many Assyrian girls. The two hundred and seventy miles trek across the Persian mountains, with enemies on all sides, was a veritable Valhalla. Only half the Assyrians reached Hamadan alive.

The British forces disarmed these refugees and took charge of their herds. The Assyrians themselves were sent south to Baquba, which is a provincial town thirty-five miles north of Baghdad. Tents were

pitched for them beside the Diala River, and the British authorities cared for them with great kindness. An excellent health department was organized, schools were started and business became active.

In 1920 Agha Petros wished to make an Assyrian buffer state along the Turko-Persian frontier, but the plan failed because of an Arab revolt in Southern 'Iraq, which resulted in a different organization of the country.

The Post-War Period

The British Army organized seven battalions of Assyrians, which were known as the "Levies," and which were employed to quell a dangerous rebellion in the Kurdish region of 'Iraq. Shaykh Mahmud was defeated at Sulaymaniyah and other chiefs were humbled by the Assyrian troops. Many of the Assyrians were employed to guard the British aerodrome near Baghdad and to operate the Government-owned railroad in 'Iraq.

As long as the British were in charge the Assyrians were safe, but when an autonomous kingdom was established in 'Iraq a new situation developed.

As it was clear that an independent Arab state would not wish to employ the Assyrian levies, these troops were demobilized. The soldiers were allowed to carry home ammunition and guns, which frightened their Arab neighbours. Rather than permit the Assyrians to form a centralized minority in any one place, the Government scattered the tribes in villages throughout the country.

Over 8,000 of them returned to their old life in the inaccessible mountains on the northern frontier of 'Iraq. Nearly 10,000 were supported by work in the regions of Baghdad, Kirkuk and Mosul or placed in villages, mostly in the Mosul region. As they had so recently helped to subjugate the Kurdish and Arab chiefs, they were far from popular.

The British urged the Assyrians to settle down quietly and to give up all thought of establishing a national home in 'Iraq. Mar Shimun, the new Patriarch, was too young to serve as a successful diplomat and to obtain special treatment for his community. On July 10, 1933, Colonel Stafford called together a hundred Assyrian chiefs at Mosul and explained to them that unless they left 'Iraq they must consent to live as the members of other minority races.

By this time 'Iraq was an independent kingdom and King Faysal was unfortunately in Europe. An unsympathetic officer was in charge

of the troops in the north. Fearing trouble, 533 Assyrians fled across the Tigris, in August, 1933, hoping to find refuge in French Syria. As the French authorities could not permit them to cross the frontier in this informal manner, they were obliged to recross the river at Faishkhabur.

The 'Iraqi troops met them with gunfire, killing many. This event started a massacre of 600 Assyrians in the Simmel and Dohuk regions.

Migration to Syria

The French arranged for a number of the refugees to enter Lebanon and Syria. Many of them found work in Damascus and other cities. For two years these people were aided by Monsieur Georges Burnier, who was the representative in Syria of the Nansen International Office for Refugees. The League of Nations established a credit of £86,000 sterling so that the work could progress.

In the meantime Mar Shimun sent a petition to the League of Nations, which led to the appointing of a Committee of the Council of the League for the Settlement of the Assyrians of 'Iraq. This Committee was made up as follows: J. López Oliván (Spain), Chairman, William Borberg (Denmark), Vice-Chairman, Renato Bova-Scoppa (Italy), de Panafieu (France), J. C. Sterndale Bennett (England), Gonzalo Zaldumbide (Equador).

The League Committee made inquiries throughout the world, in hopes of finding some country that would offer asylum to the Assyrians. Finally the authorities of the territories under French Mandate in the Levant invited the Assyrians to find a new home in Syria.

The refugees already in the French territory established temporary quarters on the Khabbur River near Ras al-'Ain, and many of their countrymen, including women and children, moved from 'Iraq to join them.

In May, 1935, the Chairman of the Committee, Señor López, visited Syria and 'Iraq. At that time three projects for a permanent settlement were under consideration: First, to settle the Assyrians on the upper stretches of the Khabbur, between Ras al-'Ain and Hassetché; second, to build a dam and utilize the lower Khabbur; and third, to construct a large dam north of Hama, so as to settle the Assyrians in the Ghab, or valley of the Orontes.

The Government of 'Iraq offered to contribute £125,000 sterling, and Señor López was assured that 24,000 Assyrians would wish to

leave 'Iraq. The refugee camp at Mosul had recently been abandoned, and it seemed certain that a large migration was about to take place.

At this same time Captain G. F. Gracey, D.S.O., of the "Save the Children" Fund and the Lord Mayor's Fund, published an *Enquiry into the Assyrian Situation*, which made it clear to the British public that the League of Nations favoured the alternative of placing the refugees along the Orontes River.

In August, 1935, the French authorities sent the League Committee a detailed plan for settling the Assyrians in the Ghab of the Orontes. The project was to settle the refugees on state-owned domains for a period of several years while they were helping the Government engineers to build a dam across the Acharné Plain, and to drain forty thousand acres in front of the site where the great city of Apamea flourished in Roman times. As soon as the land was drained, the refugees were to leave the state domains and build permanent villages in their new national home.

On December 16, 1935, the League Committee asked the Government of 'Iraq to transmit a message to the Assyrians. It described the Ghab plan, and stated that the refugees would be expected to reside as foreigners in the places assigned to them until they could be granted Syrian naturalization.

The message included the following paragraphs :

"It is now essential for purpose of making definite arrangements to know how many Assyrians desire to take advantage of the proposed scheme of settlement in Syria, and a careful count of all such persons will at once be made by the Local Committee under the Presidency of Major D. B. Thomson."

"There will be complete freedom of choice for each adult Assyrian to decide whether he will remain in 'Iraq or elect to go to Syria."

"Every adult Assyrian will be consulted individually or through the head of the family, and it must be understood that when a choice has been made it is final."

The Trustee Board

In order to make sure that the work would be managed properly, the League, in co-operation with the French authorities in Syria, established a Trustee Board for the Settlement of Assyrians of 'Iraq, with its headquarters at Beirut. The Board was composed of three mem-

bers, two of whom were appointed by the League, and the third by the French Haut-Commissaire. One of the League members was to serve as Chairman.

The Board began its work January 1, 1936. Monsieur Henri Cuénod was appointed as Chairman, and Juan de las Bárcenas was asked to serve as the other League member until a more permanent appointment could be made. Commandant Duprez was appointed to represent the Haut-Commissaire.

For three years and a half Monsieur Cuénod directed the Assyrian Settlement. He was a Swiss engineer, who had administered industrial work in Russia, and experienced exciting times during the Communist revolution. At the end of the World War he conducted important refugee work in the Far East, and then assisted Major Thomson and the 'Iraq Government in supervising the Assyrians in 'Iraq. He established an office at Beirut, with an experienced Armenian, Mr. P. Topousian, in charge.

March 1, 1936, Bayard Dodge, President of the American University of Beirut, was appointed to take the place of Señor Bárcenas, with Professor Walter H. Ritscher, of the same university, to serve as a substitute in case of his absence.

It was agreed that the expense for the settlement of the Assyrians was to be borne as follows: England and 'Iraq were each to pay 42.61 per cent. and the League of Nations 14.78 per cent.

During the spring of 1936 the Syrians became very much agitated over the question of independence. A radical Cabinet in Paris was sympathetic with their demands, so that the Haut-Commissaire, the Comte de Martel, initialed a treaty, which contemplated the organization of Syria as an autonomous state on the same lines as 'Iraq.

As the Syrians were not anxious to have a large group of foreign refugees settled north of Hama, they made it clear that they would not favour giving state domains to accommodate the Assyrians while the Orontes valley was being drained. It was learned that to rent private lands for the purpose would be exceedingly expensive, and that the valley of the Orontes was full of springs, which it would be necessary to drain in order to control malaria. Unless malaria could be overcome, it would be impracticable to place refugees in the valley.

In view of these facts the Council of the League voted (July 4, 1936) to abandon the plan to place the Assyrians in the Ghab of the Orontes.

In the meantime, a national appeal was launched in Great Britain to raise funds for the Assyrians. His Grace the Archbishop of Canter-

bury acted as President, the Right Hon. L. S. Amery as Chairman, and Sir Ronald Storrs as Vice-Chairman. The Lord Mayor of London sent out invitations to the inaugural meeting, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Anthony Eden, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Amery were the speakers.

At the same time that these events were taking place, Major D. A. Thomson was asking the Assyrians in 'Iraq how many of them wished to move to Syria. He learned that there was an average of 4.12 persons in the village families and 3.9 in those of the towns. Six thousand persons had already emigrated to Syria, and he estimated that there were 22,000 others left in 'Iraq. Approximately 5,600 of these were near Baghdad, 930 near Kirkuk, 1,100 near Mosul and 5,700 in the villages. The others were in more remote places to the north. Over 11,000 persons definitely expressed a desire to leave 'Iraq, only 1,500 of whom were incapable of supporting themselves.

The summer of 1936 was an especially difficult time, as the settlement along the Khabbur River was still looked upon as temporary, as the harvests failed because of the drought, and as 2,500 more Assyrians moved from 'Iraq to the Khabbur. Because of lack of rain the herdsmen were obliged to lead their sheep far north and many animals died from lack of water.

The Trustee Board drew up a budget for 1937, which demanded an expenditure of two and a half million francs, which at that time was roughly equivalent to nearly twenty-five thousand pounds sterling. A large part of the expense was to provide rations for people who had no other means of support. By the end of 1937 the conditions at the Khabbur had become so greatly improved that it was possible to reduce the budget for the following year to approximately £14,000 sterling.

The French authorities very generously helped to limit expenses by freeing the Trustee Board as well as the individual refugees from taxation.

As Commandant Duprez was transferred to another position, the Haut-Commissaire appointed Capitaine Vuilloud to take his place on the Trustee Board. For over ten years Capitaine Vuilloud had served as a *Conseiller Administratif* among the simple Alaouite peasants of the Latakiya State. When the treaty of Syrian autonomy was initialed, and the Alaouite people were placed under the Arab Government at Damascus, he resigned. It was a stroke of good luck for the Assyrians when he was asked to take charge of their affairs.

Capitaine Vuilloud was not obliged to live at the Khabbur, but he

immediately transferred his residence to the village of Tell Tamer and gave his entire time with extraordinary devotion to the refugees. He regarded his work more as a matter of philanthropy than as a Government job. He was tireless in helping the people with their problems and most conscientious in making economies and administering the funds.

Settlement on the Khabbur

Finally, in September, 1937, the League Committee recommended that the Assyrians should be permanently settled along the Khabbur, between Ras al-'Ain and Hassetché. The immediate result of this announcement was that the Assyrians wished to return to 'Iraq. They feared the beduin, the supposedly unsympathetic Government at Damascus and the constant threat of Turkish expansion.

When it was explained to them that the Government of 'Iraq would not permit them to recross the Tigris, they finally settled down to make the best of a bad bargain. The skilful management of Capitaine Vuilloud and a satisfactory harvest during the summer of 1937 brought them new confidence.

The next three years were a period of reconstruction. The fear and misery of 1936 slowly but surely changed into comparative prosperity.

Tents were set up along the Khabbur River until mud-brick houses could be constructed. Animals and agricultural equipment were purchased, irrigation pumps installed, churches and schools erected and a hospital established.

Fortunately there were unusually good crops during the summers of 1938 and 1939. The herds thrived and the cultivated areas yielded splendidly. There was such a large demand for men to harvest the fine crops throughout the country that many Assyrians received double the wage normally paid to labourers.

These favourable conditions made it possible to discontinue giving rations, except in the case of persons who were too old or sick to work. Life in the Baquba Camp and the early years in Syria had pauperized many of the people. As they had come to believe that the foreign Powers owed them a living, it was a tremendous step in advance when rations could be stopped and the people inoculated with an ambition to work.

On the other hand, they were worried by the political situation.

They feared the time when an autonomous Arab Government was to take charge of their affairs, and they witnessed with great misgivings the transfer of a neighbouring province from Syria to Turkey.

During the summer of 1939 several events gave them new optimism. It was announced that the French authorities would continue to administer the district where the Assyrians were located.

Very large new tracts of land were purchased by the Trustee Board, which made it possible to move the refugees fifty kilometres from the Turkish frontier. The four northernmost villages were vacated and a group of new villages was established further south. Over fifteen thousand nine hundred pounds sterling were spent for buying this new land, and twenty-seven hundred pounds for building the new villages.

When war was declared at the beginning of September, 1939, five hundred Assyrians immediately showed their appreciation of what the Allies had done for them by expressing a desire to enlist in the army.

In spite of the growing prosperity of the settlement, new emigrants did not continue to come to the Khabbur. Over two-thirds of the people finally decided to stay in 'Iraq, where they were able to make a living.

At the end of September the work of the Trustee Board was overshadowed by unexpected sorrow. The President of the Board, Monsieur Cuénod, had just recovered from a period of illness in the hospital. As he was leaving the building, supposedly cured, he fell down with an internal hæmorrhage. He died soon afterwards and was buried in Beirut. Less than four days later Major Thomson unexpectedly died in 'Iraq and Professor Ritsher was killed by an explosion at Beirut.

After a very strenuous and useful life, Monsieur Cuénod was looking forward to completing the Assyrian Settlement and returning to Switzerland. It is impossible to estimate the value of his technical knowledge, his breadth of vision, his sound common sense and his sturdy integrity. It was largely due to his experience and good judgment that the Assyrian Settlement proved to be a success.

Capitaine Vuilloud was appointed President of the Board, as well as representative of the French Haut-Commissaire. This was a wise move, as it placed the burden for completing the programme on the shoulders of the one man who was capable of carrying the responsibility.

During the year 1940 there are two important tasks to accomplish. In the first place, it is necessary to complete the formalities of obtaining

Syrian citizenship for the heads of 2,386 families. The authorities at Damascus are co-operating with Capitaine Vuilloud to finish this work as fast as possible.

In the second place, it is necessary to transfer the title-deeds for the property from the name of the Trustee Board to the names of the different householders. It is expected that both of these undertakings will be completed by December, 1940.

Al-Jazirah

During long centuries of Assyrian and Persian rule the tributaries of the Euphrates were used for irrigation, and the vast steppes between the Tigris and Euphrates served as a home for great flocks of sheep and troops of war horses.

Even the wars between the Romans and the Sassanides did not seriously affect Northern Mesopotamia, and during the period of the Damascus and Baghdad Caliphates the region became immensely prosperous.

All along the rivers there are large mounds or "tells" at intervals of several miles. They were formed as old clay houses were torn down and new ones built on their foundations. These "tells" and also the remains of old dams and canals, prove how prosperous the land was in ancient times.

Some of the "tells" must have been Jewish villages. In 2 Kings xvii. 6 and 1 Chronicles v. 26 it is stated that the Assyrian conquerors settled Israelites along the Habor, which is almost certainly the Khabbur. In the first verse of Ezekiel, as well as in other parts of the same prophecy, mention is made of "the captives by the River Chebar," which is evidently another way of spelling the Khabbur. Commandant Müller in his authoritative book, *En Syrie avec Les Bédouins*, mentions on page 101 that certain of the Muslim members of the Bu Sha'ban tribe on the east bank of the Euphrates admit their Jewish origin.

The horrible Tatar invasions of the Middle Ages laid waste these villages of Upper Mesopotamia. Even during the Ottoman period the country remained desolate.

This region "Between the Two Rivers" is known by the Arabs as the "Island"—Al-Jazirah. For many decades the principal occupants of this region have been a number of nomadic and semi-nomadic

tribes. The great Shammar tribe is the most powerful, with some 2,400 tents. There are also less important tribes, such as the Bu Khamis, Ujaydat, Jaybur, Baggara, Sabkha (or Sab'ra), Afadli, Walidi, Dalim, Bu Sha'ban, and the Circassian Tchatchani.

After the World War, when the Christians were obliged to leave Turkey, many refugees established new towns in the Jazirah district.

Deir el-Zor has become the principal Government centre. It is a rapidly growing city of over 20,000 people, on the Euphrates River just north of where the Khabbur joins the main stream. The 'Iraq Petroleum Company has recently obtained a concession to exploit what will probably prove to be important oilfields, so that the future of the region seems to be a bright one. A handsome bridge crosses the Euphrates at Deir el-Zor, which is the gateway to the Jazirah.

The largest town of the district is a mushroom growth refugee settlement known as Kamechlié. It is in the north, on the Turkish frontier near the railroad station of Nissibin. There is a smaller town named Hassetché, which is located where the upper Khabbur and Jaghjagh Rivers meet. To the north-west is a beautiful refugee village known as Ras al-'Ain, which is the old Mitanni capital. It is an important station on the Aleppo-Mosul railroad, with a famous fountain, which is the source of the upper Khabbur. The Assyrian settlements are between Ras al-'Ain and Hassetché.

In the January, 1940, number of the Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Mr. Eliahu Epstein has given an excellent account of "Al-Jazirah."

The Assyrian Settlement in 1940

The upper Khabbur winds its way through a flat plain below Ras al-'Ain. Far away to the south is Jabal 'Abd al-'Aziz, a ridge of blue mountains rising out of the steppe. Except for a few low hills and the ancient "tells," nothing breaks the monotony of the landscape.

The river is a wide muddy torrent, which makes great bow-shaped turns through the plain. As its source is only thirty miles away it is comparatively free from infections, so that the people bathe in the stream and drink the water.

The League of Nations has purchased strips of land twenty-five miles long and over three miles wide on both sides of the river, and built thirty-one villages. The following list shows the size of these villages and the tribes which live in them.

<i>Village.</i>	<i>Sub-Tribe.</i>	<i>Houses.</i>	<i>Inhabitants.</i>
Tell Teouli	Upper Tiari	101	331
Tell Omrafa	” ”	76	280
Tell Om-Keff	Timar	30	113
Tell Kefdji	Liwan	43	140
Tell Djémaa	Halamoun	113	489
Tell Tamer	Upper Tiari	339	1,244
Tell Nasri	” ”	143	503
Tell Chamran (Upper)	Eill	55	223
Tell Chamran (Lower)	Marbichou	92	356
Tell Hafian	Kotchani	69	243
Tell Talaa	Sarra	91	371
Tell Maghas	Gawar	133	463
Tell Massas	Barwar	123	390
Abu Tiné	Jilu	40	155
Tell Goran	”	47	184
Fouédate	Chams id-Din	98	363
Dimchij	Kotchani	23	72
Kabar Chamié	Diz	49	145
Tell Balouet	”	65	200
Tell Baz	Baz	30	133
Tell Rouman (Upper)	”	45	158
Tell Rouman (Lower)	Tkhuma	46	177
El-Kharita	”	28	111
Tell Chamé	”	72	272
Tell Wardiat	”	40	147
El-Makhada	”	63	266
Taal	”	75	283
Tell Sakra	”	68	268
El-Breij	”	29	103
Arbouche	”	73	258
Tell Hormiz	”	87	303
	Total	2,386	8,744

Each village has a small petroleum pump and two irrigation wheels. Several of the pumping stations have excellent machinery, but most of them are just large enough to irrigate the gardens alongside of the river. If powerful enough pumps could be used, almost the entire area might be irrigated. For the cost of about £75,000 sterling a dam could be built which would enable the people to irrigate an even larger area.

All of the villages on the south bank of the river have ferries, which can be pulled across the river by cables. Only the big village

of Tell Tamer has a ferry that is large enough to carry a motor-car. There are no bridges north of Hassetché.

Most of the houses are built of dried clay bricks, in accordance with the old custom of Mesopotamia. Square walls are built up to the height of the shoulder and then a dome is made to form the ceiling. The dome is made by placing one circle of bricks on top of another, each circle smaller than the other. Each dome usually constitutes a room. Windows in the walls and an opening at the top of the dome provide ventilation. No wood or metal is needed, unless the family can afford windows and a door. Most of the Assyrian homes have several good-sized rooms and a number of small out-houses.

The new schools, the store-houses, and some of the more ambitious dwelling houses have flat roofs. As the people can grow poplar trees along their irrigation ditches, they can easily use the wood to make ceilings and substitute flat roofs for domes. Although flat roofs leak during the rainy season they are convenient in a hot climate, because it is pleasant to sleep on them at night.

During the winter of 1940 the people planted 2,960 hectares, or 7,314 acres. The most extensive areas were planted with wheat and barley, but some of the irrigated land was also planted with corn, melons and grapes. Along the edge of the river the people made gardens for vegetables and fruit trees. The average family has about 7 acres of arable land in addition to almost unlimited space on the prairie for grazing.

They have already planted 22,500 grape vines, 2,540 fruit trees, 13,800 willows, 17,000 poplars and 2,150 trees of other varieties. The people have been given nearly 600 ploughs, 157 four-wheeled carts and 18 carts with two wheels.

In January the Assyrians possessed 16,373 sheep, 9,429 goats, 902 oxen, 1,272 cows, 407 donkeys and 17 mules or horses.

There are several large metal store-houses, as well as a number of flour mills and a cement bath for cleaning infected sheep.

The settlement has been organized as a "Mudariyah," which is similar to a "canton" in France or a small county in England. Malek Loco, Chief of the Tkhuma tribe, and Malek Yaco, Chief of the Tiari tribe, have been elected to represent the district on the administrative council of the *arrondissement* of Hassetché.

Well-ventilated school-houses are being erected in the sixteen most central villages. Already there are 21 teachers and 867 pupils. The boys and girls attend school together. When the League of Nations

terminates its programme, it is hoped that these schools will be developed and improved by the Syrian State. At the present time the teachers are not properly trained, as there are few well-educated people in the settlement.

Most of the villages have very small churches, which are poorly ventilated and of a temporary nature. All of them are Nestorian, except for one or two which are Chaldæan Catholic. Both the Nestorian and Chaldæan priests are uneducated and lack power to lead the people. As the young Mar Shimun was unable to carry on negotiations with the Government authorities successfully, he has been living in Cyprus and Europe, so that his people have lacked the leadership of a patriarch. One of the greatest needs of the settlement is for well-constructed churches and a well-educated priesthood. Unfortunately it will require several decades to train both teachers and priests.

At the present time few of the people know foreign languages. It is essential that they should all learn some Arabic and that as many as possible should learn French. It will also help them with their trade if at least a few men in each village can learn English.

There is a central hospital at Tell Tamer, with seventeen beds, a conveniently arranged clinic, operating-room, laboratory and dispensary. There is a very unselfish and capable Russian physician in charge, assisted by several nurses and orderlies whom he himself has trained. There are as an average 40 patients a month in the hospital. During January there were 519 consultations in the clinic, but during the warm weather there are about 400 a month. Most of the clinic patients have respiratory diseases or malaria. Eye infections, skin ailments and venereal diseases are rare, which is a great contrast to the conditions among the Arabs of the region. Malaria is much less of a problem than it is in other irrigated sections of the country, and typhoid is rare.

During the first three months of 1940 there were 111 births and 63 deaths. In many parts of the Jazirah more than half of the children die before they reach the age of two. Among the Assyrians only 20 per cent. die in infancy, chiefly from dysentery.

Even though the people are to pay taxes after January 1, 1941, it is not likely that the Syrian Government can continue to support a health programme which is more expensive to operate than the programmes of the neighbouring Arab villages. For that reason it is important that some philanthropic organization should help the Assyrians to maintain their hospital. It would be especially valuable if a well-trained health nurse could teach Assyrian girls to carry out a programme of

preventive medicine, and instruct the young mothers how to care for their infant children.

In the summer the children help their parents or swim in the river, but during the other parts of the year they attend school. The men plough in the autumn, harvest in the summer and work in their irrigated gardens during the spring. They use oxen for ploughing instead of tractors. It will greatly increase their wealth if they can keep bees and also find some indoor handwork for the idle winter season. They can also gain added income by fishing and hunting.

The women have their houses and children to care for. They look after the chickens, bake bread in clay ovens alongside of their houses, spin the wool, make clothing and help the men in the gardens.

The principal sources of wealth come from the sheep. The flat prairie, which is overgrown with grass during the winter and spring, provides unlimited ground for grazing. When the land is green near the villages the children help to care for the sheep, but when the dry weather comes shepherds with huge sheepskin coats lead the sheep to distant grazing places.

The one serious fear of the Assyrians is lest the Baggara beduin will attack their herds. At one time 1,200 sheep were stolen and five men killed, in spite of the gendarmerie station at Tell Tamer. Only the vigilance of Capitaine Vuilloud has prevented further trouble.

The sheep provide wool and can be sold for meat. Their milk is brought to the villages, where the women churn it in skins. The sour butter is sold as "samn," which is used for cooking throughout Syria and Palestine.

In all of the villages there are donkeys, chickens, goats, fierce shepherd dogs and innumerable cats, in addition to the herds of sheep and cattle. Capitaine Vuilloud has enlisted the aid of the chiefs and gendarmes to keep the villages clean. Every few days the women are required to sweep away the animal filth and accumulations of straw, paper and other forms of dirt. It is splendid to see how clean the settlements are, as cleanliness and health go hand in hand. One of the principal sources of infection in the Arab villages is the human ordure spread over the ground, but the Assyrians have provided at least a primitive latrine for almost every house.

The people gather thorns and shrubs from the prairie, but they still depend upon cow dung for most of their fuel. As the dung is carefully placed in piles some distance from the houses and dried in the hot sun, it is not a serious obstacle to good health. As time goes on it will

mean a great deal if the people can grow enough trees to provide fuel, as the winds on the steppe are severe during the winter months, when the temperature is sometimes below freezing point.

The people have some old garments left over from their Turkish life, but most of their clothing is modern. Although the domed houses are usual, the villages are built with broad, straight streets, and the carts and farm utensils are of a modern type. Only the old-fashioned cradles for the babies and odd pieces of wearing apparel give the new colonies a picturesque appearance. If the people will plant trees between their houses, the villages will become pretty and pleasant, even in hot weather.

All along the river there are fertile gardens. The irrigation wheels turning beside the stream are the prettiest feature of the landscape. A "nā'ūrah" is a large wheel, made either of poplar poles or iron. Tin cups are fastened to its rim. The river current enters the lower cups, causing the wheel to turn. As it does so the cups scoop the water up to an irrigating ditch as high as the top of the wheel itself.

Some of the wheels are over twenty feet high, and as the people have more money they can construct even larger ones. Although a "nā'ūrah" is not as efficient as a crude-oil pump, it is far cheaper to operate, as it requires no fuel and very little attention.

Unfortunately the people have never learned to work together, so that it will be a long time before they can form co-operatives for purposes of credit, purchasing and marketing. Each village contains a sub-tribe, with its own chief or "malik." Although the Church is unified, it is not strong enough to teach the people how to conduct their practical affairs with a spirit of partnership. On the other hand, the necessity for mutual protection and trade in an isolated place will undoubtedly cement the groups into a united community.

Conclusion

At a time when so many parts of the world are suffering from jealousy and savage aggression, it is encouraging to visit the Khabbur. Conditions are still primitive, the families are poor and their morale is low after years of refugee life. Only a start has been made, but fortunately it is a good start.

Great Britain has made a generous effort to care for people who fought and suffered for the Allied cause during the World War. In spite of weakness in military matters, the League of Nations has shown

itself strong to do philanthropic work. When other nations turned a deaf ear to an appeal to aid the Assyrians, France offered a kindly hospitality and contributed an administrative officer of rare ability and devotion. France and Syria together have solved many difficult problems in connection with citizenship and the ownership of land.

When there is so much disregard for the rights of minorities and so much brutal exploitation of the weak peoples of the world, it is heart-warming to feel that Great Britain and France have made such a determined effort to obtain justice for the Assyrians. The people at the Khabbur are responding by trying to make their new colony succeed.

At a time when thoughtful persons are dreaming about some form of co-operation to replace national conflict, it is reassuring to feel that France, England, Iraq, Syria and the League of Nations have been able to work so well together. Although the Committee at Geneva and the Trustee Board have included members of numerous nationalities, speaking different languages and accustomed to varied methods, there has been an excellent *esprit de corps*.

The Assyrian Settlement is a striking example of what might be accomplished in the world as a whole if social justice could become a guiding principle in national affairs and if international competition could be superseded by a new spirit of team work.

For more detailed information on the Assyrians, see also the following papers and discussions published in the ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN JOURNAL :

- The Ashiret Highlands of Hakkiari (Mesopotamia), by Edgar T. A. Wigram. 1916. Vol. III., p. 40.
- The Assyrian Adventure of 1920, by Lieut.-Colonel F. Cunliffe-Owen, C.M.G. 1922. Vol. IX., p. 86.
- The Assyro-Chaldeans, by Major F. F. Rynd, D.S.O. 1923. Vol. X., p. 241.
- The Assyrians, by Major A. W. D. Bentinck. 1924. Vol. XI., p. 85.
- The Assyrians. A further paper by Major A. W. D. Bentinck. 1925. Vol. XII., p. 123.
- Reflections on the Mosul Problem. 1926. Vol. XIII., p. 350.
- Non-Arab Minorities of Iraq, by A. Hormuzd Rassam. 1931. Vol. XVIII., p. 564.
- Kurds, Assyrians, and Iraq, by Captain P. Mumford. 1933. Vol. XX., p. 110.
- Iraq and the Assyrians, 1932-1933, by Ernest Main. 1933. Vol. XX., p. 664.
- The Assyrian Problem: A discussion opened by Ernest Main, Dr. W. Wigram, and others, Lieut.-Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson in the Chair. 1934. Vol. XXI., p. 38.

- The Assyrians in the Mosul Vilayet, by Lieut.-Colonel R. S. Stafford. 1934. Vol. XXI., p. 237.
- The Assyrians in Iraq: A summary of their history from 1918-1933, by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E. 1934. Vol. XXI., p. 255.
- The Assyrian Refugee Camp, by Major D. B. Thomson. 1934. Vol. XXI., p. 269.
- An Enquiry into the Assyrian Situation, May to June, 1935, by Captain G. F. Gracey, D.S.O. 1935. Vol. XXII., p. 646.
- Installing the Assyrians in the Orontes Valley, by M. Maurice Bérard. 1936. Vol. XXIII., p. 477.

IMPRESSIONS OF THAILAND

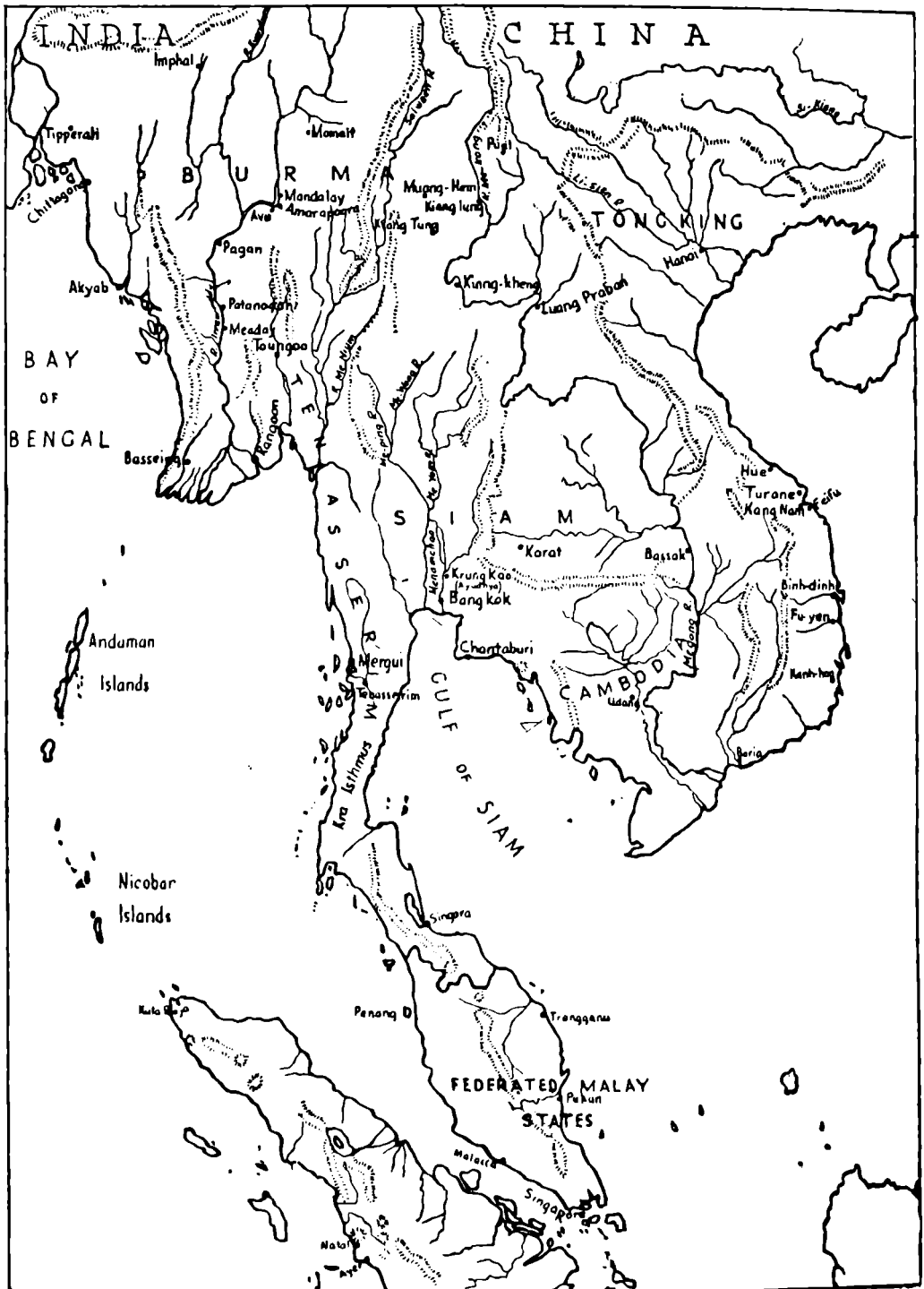
By J. E. L. PEPYS

Lecture given on April 17, 1940, Sir Charles Wingfield, K.C.M.G., in the Chair. The lecture was illustrated with excellent slides, the coloured ones being specially beautiful.

THAILAND is by no means a new name for Siam. The Siamese have always called themselves the "Thai," or Free People; they have always called their country "Muang Thai," the Land of the Free. And when you look at the position of Thailand on the map you can see that it is a title to be proud of. It is a remarkable fact that this curiously shaped little country, tucked away in the farthest corner of South-East Asia, sandwiched between the British in Burma and Malaya and the French in Indo-China, should have retained her independence for at least six hundred years. Ever since the fourteenth century, when the capital was set up at Ayudhya, there have been attempted invasions from both East and West; but Cambodian and Burmese conquerors were driven off and French and British intrigues were parried. On two occasions at least Siamese independence was very seriously threatened by the French. But the Thai, in spite of all these dangers and difficulties, managed to hold their own, and are now busy completing the creation of a modern nationalist State on the Western model, without relinquishing their own heritage and traditions.

That this experiment has been so far successful is due, to a great extent, to the wisdom and ability of the present King's grandfather, King Chulalongkorn, or Rama V., who reigned from 1868 to 1910. During his long and successful reign the gates of the country were once more opened to the foreigner, European experts and advisers were invited to give their assistance in reorganizing the State, communications were opened up, slavery abolished and a large part of the essential paraphernalia of Western civilization introduced. King Chulalongkorn himself set the example in the education of his very large family by sending his many sons to English public schools and to European and American universities, and by encouraging some of them to serve in the armies and navies of the Great Powers. Most of the royal princes

whom I met in Bangkok had been educated at public schools or at Oxford or Cambridge. The present Government still sends picked students abroad every year to study in Europe, America, and Japan.



During the reigns of King Chulalongkorn's successors, King Vajiravudh, or Rama VI., and King Prajadhipok, this modernization or Westernization continued apace. The logical result of all this came

in 1932, when, by a *coup d'état*, the absolute monarchy was ended and King Prajadhipok was forced by the leaders of the "People's Party" to grant a Constitution. Three years later, in 1935, he abdicated, and his nephew, Ananda Mahidol, a little boy of ten, came to the throne. It was as King Ananda's private tutor that I had the honour and the privilege to visit Thailand eighteen months ago.

Before I tell the story of that visit I think we should be well advised to look once more at the map. Thailand is about the size of France—that is, about 200,000 square miles. But the population is only about 14,000,000, and most of these are peasants. The country can be split up into four natural divisions—north, south, east, and central. In the north are the mountains and forests (it is from there that the teak comes); in the south there are rubber plantations and tin mines, and there is a good deal of fishing on both sides of the Isthmus of Kra; in the east is a large barren basin, parched in summer and swamped during the rainy season, where a meagre population of very poor peasants scratch a living from the soil as best they can; while the central area, the heart of the country, provides nine-tenths of its wealth. This central area, as flat as a pancake, under water for three months in every year, is almost entirely given over to rice cultivation. Some of the finest rice in the world comes from Thailand. Right through the middle of this vast rice-field flows the Menam Chao Phaya—Royal Mother of Waters—near the mouth of which is the present capital, Bangkok.

Above all, Thailand is a country of water. Half the population lead amphibious lives. There are four railways leading out from Bangkok, with roads only at the railheads. The rest of the country's communications are entirely by water. Like Holland, it is a land of rivers and canals.

My story begins in September, 1938, when the Czecho-Slovak crisis was working up to its climax. On the day on which Mr. Chamberlain flew out to that fateful meeting at Munich I crossed to France to join His Majesty King Ananda in Switzerland. He was then thirteen and lived with his mother on the shores of the Lake of Geneva, going to school every day with his little brother and bringing back homework in the evening like any other little boy. He had already spent three years of his reign in this way and had not seen his own country since he had left it five years before. The Council of Regency and other authorities in Thailand thought it was high time that the King should see his people and the people see their King. A State visit was accordingly arranged. Though it would interrupt his ordinary studies at school, it

was none the less a golden opportunity for His Majesty to learn English, a language which as yet he did not know. It was my job to teach him.

The voyage was for me full of interest. A party of about twenty of us altogether set sail in a small Danish motor-ship from Marseilles. At each port of call the King was received by the Governor and shown the sights of the town, while reporters besieged the King's tutor for exclusive details of His Majesty's private life. The days at sea were spent very pleasantly, playing deck games, swimming, teaching English, and getting to know two delightful young pupils.

After one month's voyage we reached the island of Koh Si Chang, off the south coast of Thailand. Our first glimpse of the country was a row of low grey gunboats manned by sailors in white, lined up against a background of low green hills. We boarded a small battleship, the H.M.S. *Ayudhya*, and, escorted by other warships, torpedo-boats, and aeroplanes, we crossed the bar and steamed up the river to Bangkok. The reception which the King received, both at the mouth of the river and at Bangkok, was simply tremendous. For warmth and spontaneity nothing could beat it. Boats of all sorts and sizes had come down from the capital and clustered round the battleship, decked with flags and bunting and crowded with people in brightly coloured clothes, waving rattles and cheering "Chai-yo!" The noise of rejoicing lasted on and off for the whole of our three-hour journey from Paknam to Bangkok.

The State entry and arrival at the Royal Landing-Stage must have been as impressive as the reception was moving. The sight of the cheering crowds on wharves and jetties and at windows and on roofs of business buildings impressed me, but the procession which followed the landing did not seem quite in keeping with the atmosphere of an Eastern capital. Elephants and palanquins, as of old, would have struck a more natural note than open carriages and outriders and postillions. When the crowds dispersed, however, there was a really picturesque procession, a multitude of shifting patterns and colours—all the colours of the rainbow reflected in the beautiful silks worn by men and women alike in the form of scarf or *panung*. The *panung*, front view, looks like a pair of splendid silk plus fours on the men, and like voluminous bloomers on women. Back view, you see the tail. White coats, white trousers, shorts, Chinese pyjamas, long silk skirts, and brightly coloured blouses and shirts added to the moving picture, while tricycle-taxis, cars, bicycles, sampans, and canoes congested the streets and canals in all directions. For all its density and gaiety, how-

ever, it was a quiet, orderly crowd; traditionally the Thai are an orderly people.

What struck me most about Bangkok, the only part of Thailand I got to know well? First of all, the immense distances in the city itself; it took me half an hour at least every morning to drive to the Palace to give the King his lessons. The streets were always full—trams, cars, taxis, triangle-taxis, and pedestrians crowded the roadways. In the middle of the city was the Palace, a haven of peace in the garish noise of a large Eastern town. The King had two hours' lessons in the morning, but was continually interrupted by deputations, presentations, individuals demanding favours, and pages coming in and out with orange crush, coloured drinks, and cigarettes wrapped in lotus petals or banana leaves. Both His Majesty and his brother, H.R.H. Prince Bhumipol, are very mechanically-minded, and His Majesty has his own electric car, canoes, and toy boats. The Court pages' heads must never be higher than the King's, and they experienced some difficulty when His Majesty and his brother lay on the floor reading Micky Mouse! The remainder of the day was always mapped out for me; generally there was some function—a Scout jamboree, a sports rally, a garden party or theatre or military display, or an air or Yuvachon (O.T.C.) display. And there was sightseeing with the excellent guide provided by the royal household. The temples were full of beauty and colour; the priests in their yellow robes contrasted with the modern dress of so many in the streets. Every Thai enters the priesthood for at least three months as we go to the university, and it is due to the training there that the Thai have such stable, reasonable, and peaceable characters.

My main impression was of a city of contrasts; amphibian life of old Siam, shopping on the canals, and the crowds in their lovely colours on the waterways, against a background of hotels, of cinemas, hospitals, parks, and Government buildings, mostly in the European style.

Bangkok is not typical of the whole of Thailand, and I made an effort to see something of the country. Two roads lead out of the city, each running for about fifteen miles and then stopping. They lead one to a country of numbered canals, along the sides of which the villages cluster, to the rice-fields and buffaloes, to the more primitive type of wooden house built on piles. There is good fishing in the canals, and the main method of travel is by boat.

I saw Ayudhya, the ancient capital of the country, which is now a straggling village with some picturesque ruins of palaces and temples; and I also went to Lopburi, another ancient city, now the Aldershot of

the country. I was also able to go to the Eastern frontier by train on the way to Angkor in Cambodia, but to my great regret I was not able to see the north or the south of the country.

After all too short a stay the time came to leave Bangkok and Thailand. The King had to return to his studies, had to go back to school in Switzerland. His first State visit was over. There was no doubt of its success; all the people I met were agreed on that. His Majesty had made a tremendous impression. He had carried out a strenuous programme extremely well.

The last day arrived. The Court Brahmins chose the auspicious hour for departure—four minutes past seven on the morning of Friday, the thirteenth of January. Once more people lined the quays, once more officials crowded the Royal Landing-Stage. The sun was hardly up. A cold wind was blowing. A grey sloop awaited the King. The atmosphere of this solemn departure was altogether sad. In silence the King drove up and boarded the sloop; in silence the sloop moved off; and, except for one mighty shout which rolled and rippled along both banks of the river, it was in the same sad silence that we left Bangkok behind and made for the open sea.

ANNUAL MEETING

THE Annual Meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society was held on June 19, 1940. In the unavoidable absence of Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, the Chair was taken by General Sir John Shea.

The CHAIRMAN called on Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes to read the Report of the year 1939-40 for the Honorary Secretaries.

Brigadier-General Sir PERCY SYKES: The last Anniversary Meeting was held in June, 1939, at a time of great activity for our Society, and lectures were carried on until the end of July, in which month a very successful dinner was held. At the outbreak of war it was a little difficult to know what should be done, for the October lecturers were recalled to duty. A satisfactory autumn programme was, however, arranged with the co-operation of the East India Association and the Royal Asiatic Society. Sixteen Lectures have been given and three films have been shown. Five Luncheon Meetings were arranged. These were a new departure of Miss Kennedy's, because many members found it easier in war-time to attend in the middle of the day. The Dinner Club, which had its first meeting in October, has held some very successful dinners, until, with the increased pressure of the war, it seemed wiser to postpone further meetings. The Turkish Ambassador and the Egyptian Ambassador were guests at a dinner, with Lord Lloyd in the Chair, held on the most snowy evening of the winter. Nearly one hundred members attended with a reckless regard of their difficulties in getting home. Our thanks are due to Colonel Newcombe for his work as Honorary Secretary of the Dinner Club.

Sixty-five new members have been elected to the Society during the year. There has never been a meeting without a few elections—a remarkable testimony to our vitality. To-day there are 1,827 members. Major Ainger has been a most successful Honorary Treasurer at this difficult time, and our members have responded well to the appeal to raise the subscription to 25s. (25 per cent. now pay 25s., and we appeal to other members to follow their good example). There were seventy-three resignations, and the Society suffered very heavily by deaths: Among them, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, General Eustace, Sir Hugh Barnes, Sir George Forbes, Sir Trenchard Fowle, Sir Charles Yate, Professor Margoliouth, Major Thomson (whose work among the

Assyrians will be long remembered), Colonel H. Wood, Sir Malcolm Seton, Mrs. Alec Tweedie, Sir Felix Ready, Mr. Baddeley; also Colonel V. C. Brown, killed in France in action.

The death of Professor Margoliouth has left a vacancy in the honorary membership, which the Council has invited Field-Marshal Baron Mannerheim to fill, an invitation which has been accepted. We welcome this great soldier, who is also a noted Central Asian traveller.

Finally, a brief account of the tragedy at Caxton Hall on March 13 is called for.

I had given a lecture on "Afghanistan: the Present Position," at which Lord Zetland presided. Sir Michael O'Dwyer had made a brilliant speech, and Lord Lamington had brought the proceedings to a close.

Suddenly shots were fired in rapid succession and I saw Sir Michael O'Dwyer fall on the floor. I charged at the flashes, but, partly owing to the smoke, I could not see the assassin, who apparently fired his last two shots at Lord Zetland past me. He was bravely tackled by Miss Bertha Herring and brought to a standstill, upon which Mr. Riches leaped on his back and, aided by Captain Binstead, brought him down. In falling the assassin hit a chair with his right hand and dropped his revolver, which Major Slee handed to me. Police, summoned by the prompt action of Miss Mary Rowlatt, soon appeared on the scene and took off Udham Singh.

Unaware of any other casualties, I was shocked to find Sir Louis Dane who, standing next to the murdered man, had pluckily attempted to snatch the revolver and had, in consequence, been shot in the arm. Next to him was Lord Lamington, wounded in the wrist.

Further on, I saw Lord Zetland lying motionless on the floor, and at first feared the worst. Miss Sarell, with laudable promptitude, seeing him fall back in his chair, had aided him to lie down on the ground and applied first aid. Colonel Reinhold, late I.M.S., was examining him as I arrived, and finally declared that he had escaped with two severe contusions on the ribs. It remains to add that most fortunately the cartridges were thirty years old and of a slightly smaller calibre than the heavy Smith and Wesson revolver.

The members of the audience were perfectly calm, rendering help in every possible way.

At the trial the Judge commended Miss Herring with the words: "I think you were very plucky." I carefully followed the proceedings and formed the definite opinion that Udham Singh had decided to kill

Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who was standing with his back within a foot of the assassin's outstretched revolver, and also Lord Zetland.*

The CHAIRMAN said a few words of appreciation of Mr. Riches and Miss Bertha Herring's action. Miss Herring had been awarded an M.B.E.

The adoption of the Report was proposed by Air Commodore W. F. MacNeece Foster, seconded by Colonel J. K. Tod, and carried.

The CHAIRMAN called for the Honorary Treasurer to read the financial statement for the past year.

Major EDWARD AINGER : Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have a copy of the accounts for the year ending December 31, 1939, before you.† Considering the difficulties that we have had to contend with I think you will agree with me that they make a fairly satisfactory showing.

When we considered last year's accounts I told you that we were budgeting for an expenditure of £2,020 and we have, in fact, spent a little over that sum. Our revenue has remained fairly stable, but owing to receipts from the Commissioners of Inland Revenue for reclaimed tax we are able to show this year an excess income over expenditure amounting to £54. You should not think from this, however, that the financial position in your society at the end of this year is certain to be equally favourable. We must anticipate considerable loss of income owing to resignations, and this can only be met either by increased membership or if a greater number of members are willing to sign a covenant to subscribe to the Society for seven years. I would point out to you that in the case of members signing a covenant, they do so at no additional cost to themselves and only commit themselves to a total payment of £7 in all. The very fact that the Inland Revenue has made us this concession shows that in the opinion of the Government your Society is doing valuable work, and is, in fact, aiding the national effort. It is for this reason that I feel justified in asking as many members as possible to join in signing the covenant.

As regards expenditure, we are committed to the rent of our present

* By order of the Council, letters of appreciation were sent to Miss Bertha Herring, Mr. Riches, Captain S. T. Binstead, and Flight-Lieutenant W. V. Emanuel, who seized the assassin. To the doctors, Colonel C. H. Reinhold, I.M.S., Dr. M. R. Laurence, and Dr. Grace MacKinnon. To Miss Sarell, who rendered first aid, to Sir Louis Dane, and finally to Miss Mary Rowlatt, who, upon realizing what had occurred, immediately ran down into the street and brought up a policeman.

† Attached at pp. 384, 385.

premises and the landlords have agreed to a small reduction, for which we should be grateful to them. Steps have been taken to procure sufficient supplies of paper to enable us to continue the publication of the Journal at least throughout the coming year and probably through 1941 also.

To sum up the position, therefore, I think we can face the coming year with confidence. We are as prepared as we can be to meet all eventualities on the financial side, and we have great hopes that we shall be able to continue to provide information of value to our members both at home and abroad by the continued publication of the Journal, even if circumstances make it impossible for us to continue lectures and other activities in London.

The adoption of the accounts was proposed by Air Commodore W. F. MacNeece Foster, and seconded by Mr. Geoffrey Stephenson, who added a word of warm praise for the Honorary Treasurer, who had brought the Society so successfully through a difficult financial year and had given it so satisfactory a financial position.

The following proposals for the Honorary Offices and Council of 1940-41 were put by the CHAIRMAN :

The following Honorary Officers retire in accordance with the rules and are eligible for re-election : Chairman of Council, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, Bart, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O.; as Honorary Secretaries, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., and E. M. Gull, Esq. The Council proposes these gentlemen be re-elected.

The two senior Vice-Presidents retire and are *not* eligible for re-election : General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., and Sir Ronald Storrs, K.C.M.G., C.B.E.

As Sir Philip Chetwode is extremely busy and not able to be present at every meeting, the Council proposes that General Sir John Shea be appointed Vice-Chairman.

The following three members of Council retire in rotation : Admiral Sir Howard Kelly, G.B.E., K.C.B., C.M.G., M.V.O., Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., D.Litt., and Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., D.S.O.

The Council has nominated Admiral Sir Howard Kelly and Sir Kinahan Cornwallis as Vice-Presidents to fill the two vacancies, and as members of Council the Council proposes : Vice-Admiral C. V. Osborne, C.B., C.M.G., Major D. McCallum, M.C., M.P., and Major-General S. B. Pope, C.B.

These names were put to the meeting and elected.

The CHAIRMAN then proposed that Field-Marshal Baron G. Mannerheim be elected as an Honorary Member of the Society, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Professor D. S. Margoliouth. The world, said Sir John, was unanimous in their admiration for this great man, who was not only a great patriot and statesman but a very great soldier. The election was made with much applause.

This ended the proceedings.

NEPAL

FIELD-MARSHAL SIR PHILIP CHETWODE, Chairman of Council, took the Chair at a film of Nepal which Lieutenant-Colonel F. M. Bailey showed after the Anniversary Meeting on June 19. The Chairman said :

I apologize for being late and unable to preside at the Annual Meeting. I am very busy at the Red Cross and have only just managed to get here in time for the Lecture.

It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you my old friend, Colonel Bailey, whom I knew so well in India. No one is better qualified to speak on Nepal than he is. He was British Minister there, and knows the whole country intimately.

Colonel BAILEY said that he had been able to take the film through the kindness of H.M. the Maharaja of Nepal when he was British Minister at the Court of Nepal, living at Kathmandu. He believed it to be the first film to be taken in the country.

After showing a view of the High Himalayas, a picture was shown of the curious way in which the Nepalese take ducks out to feed in the wet rice-fields all day, bringing them back at night in large baskets. The Nepalese will not eat tame animals. The duck is a wild bird which has been tamed and so may be eaten. Young wild pig are caught when very small and kept until fully grown, when they are eaten, thus conforming to this custom. Fish are caught in circular nets, which are thrown in shallow water. Another method of fishing was seen. A man sat patient and motionless on a kind of jetty built out into a still part of the river. He let down a small net on to the floor of the river. If a fish passed over this the net was quickly lifted and the fish was thus caught.

Though important buildings are made of ordinary baked brick, many houses in Nepal are made of sun-dried bricks. The clay is puddled and packed into wooden moulds, which are removed, and the brick allowed to dry in the hot sun.

The land in the Nepal Valley, in which the capital of the country is situated, is considered so sacred that no plough may be used. When still damp the soil is dug by hand with a curiously shaped hoe. The clods dug are placed alternately to the right and the left. The sun soon

hardens them, and they are then broken with wooden hammers. The fields are afterwards flooded, and the rice plants, which have been sown separately in a nursery, are put in by hand—a hard and back-breaking business in the hot sun, usually performed by the women.

Wheat was shown being threshed by beating on a large stone. Winnowing is accomplished by tossing the grain up in the wind; in the absence of wind it is fanned by large bamboo trays. In some of the warmer valleys sugar-cane is grown. Sections of the last year's crop are placed in a shallow trench and copiously watered.

Numbers of pilgrims come to visit the holy shrines of Nepal from all over Asia. Here was shown a picture of Tibetan pilgrims dancing, while another picture showed them turning prayer-wheels at the sacred shrine of Bodnath.

Gambling is not allowed except on special days. This rule is strictly observed, even by the royal and ruling families. The most popular game is played by throwing cowry shells on to a cloth and betting on the way they fall. The croupier holds sixteen shells in his hand, and, to give a slight advantage to the bank, he is allowed to put one down as he wishes. This shell is held between his thumb and forefinger and placed on the cloth, while the other cowries in his hand are thrown down at random.

Pictures were shown of the pilgrims walking under the twenty-two carved stone pipes which lead water from the sacred springs of Balaji. A stone image of Vishnu was shown lying in water, supported on coils of snakes. At first some royal princesses were seen visiting this image, and after they had left the crowd was admitted. There are two such images in the neighbourhood of the capital. For religious reasons H.M. the King may not visit the oldest of these, which is said to be of supernatural origin. Centuries ago a King of Nepal had another similar image made so that he could also perform this act of worship.

Several pictures were shown of the jubilee celebrations on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of His Majesty's reign. These included a review of the splendid army of Nepal, a large portion of which is now in India, relieving our own troops who have gone to the war. A picture was shown of the feeding of 16,000 poor; care had been taken not to mix the different castes on this occasion.

An important annual ceremony is the consecration of the colours of the various regiments. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief dips his hand into vermilion paint and impresses it upon a white circle in the centre of each flag.

Several processions in the streets of Kathmandu were then shown. These included pictures of H.M. the King seated in a silver howdah on an elephant, while his loyal subjects showered flowers on him from the roofs and carved balconies of the houses. We also saw His Highness the Prime Minister and many generals wearing their famous jewelled helmets, surmounted by plumes of birds of paradise, riding in these elephant processions.

General SHINGHA SHUMSHERE JUNG BAHADUR RANA, the Nepalese Minister in London, attended the film as a guest of the Society.

In closing the meeting the CHAIRMAN said: I am sure you will wish me to thank Colonel Bailey very much indeed for the interesting talk he has given us and the beautiful photographs he has shown us.

They were particularly interesting to me as, when I was Commander-in-Chief in India, I paid a visit to Nepal at the invitation of the then Maharaja in order to make him a General *à la suite* of the British Army and to hand him a decoration on behalf of H.M. the King.

In return I was honoured by being made a General of the Nepalese Army, and I actually have the right to wear, and possess, not only the uniform, but the magnificent official headdress which you have seen in the photographs, with the beautiful emeralds round it and the Bird of Paradise plume.

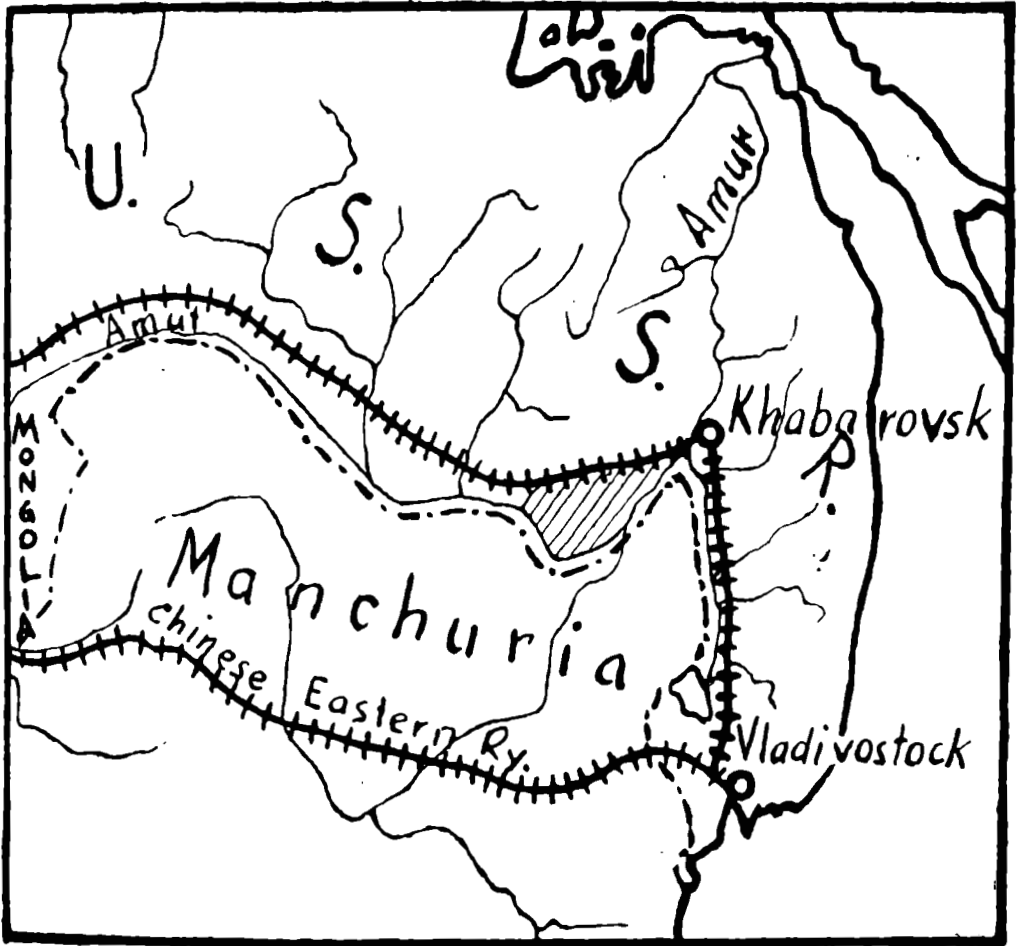
In the war of 1914-18 H.M. the Maharaja at once offered the help of the State of Nepal to the King, and a very large number of Gurkha troops in India relieved British troops for other duties, and were, at the time, available for the defence of India. I can hardly describe how great that help was to those who were responsible for the defence of India.

I need hardly say that H.M. the Maharaja again in this great crisis has placed the whole resources of Nepal at the disposal of His Majesty, and there are again thousands of Gurkha troops in India ready to help in the defence of the British Empire when they are asked to do so.

I hope everybody here realizes how great that help is and how much we are indebted to H.M. the Maharaja for placing these forces at our disposal. (Applause.)

BIROBIDJAN

By E. S. BATES



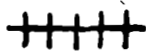
Birobidjan



Boundaries



Railways



Rivers



IN a far corner of Asia lies a triangular pocket of land in a bend of the Amur river, the apex of the triangle pointing southwards, and a base for the triangle formed by the Trans-Siberian Railway running through the north of it. There is nothing Central Asian about it: it is Far-East. But it is Soviet border-land, and what goes on there has much in common with other Soviet border-land-business: enough in common for it to be typical of the whole Soviet Asian border-land, Central and otherwise, of which we need to know everything, and

would like to know everything, but, in fact, can ascertain next to nothing.

Accounts of events and of the state of affairs there are so contradictory that it would be impossible to arrange a narrative, or to compose a picture, of either what has happened or of what is happening there. At the same time, details drawn from various more or less authentic, or authorized, sources are so typical of what is met with when endeavouring to ascertain the truth about the U.S.S.R. that it may be worth while taking these witnesses one by one and seeing what they say.

The *Statesman's Year-Book* speaks of Birobidjan as containing 36,490 square kilometres and 60,000 people (1935). The census of 1939 gives 109,000.

Charles Steber spent much time there in 1935, traversing the whole area from end to end and side to side; and from above, by aeroplane, as well: all with his usual diligence and enthusiasm, the more so since the ideas, the aims, the methods, the prospects, struck him as epitomizing all that is most characteristic of the Union. He tells its story (in *La Sibérie*, 1936), how, in 1928, 600 Jews arrived; how 28 of them went out pioneering and settled on uncleared land, naming their new home with a German name, Waldheim, and how, in 1935, he found 85 families in occupation, with their hospital, communal nursery, library, telephone and telegraph. And so with many other settlements, each one specializing in some branch or other of elementary necessity, agriculture, stock-raising, mining, aviation, all linked up with satisfactory roads; likewise a sanatorium which certainly looks most attractive in a photograph. The chief town, also named Birobidjan, is on the railway, endowed with a library which was insufficient for a town which is developing so rapidly, although in receipt of 250 periodicals. It also possesses a theatre, completed in 1933. The mineral-exporting centre, Stalinsk, began with 100 colonists in 1930 and had grown to 10,000 by 1935. Not that these people had an easy time, Steber says; the Amur is frozen from November to April. Summer brings clouds of mosquitoes. The land consists mainly of marsh and forest. None are suited to it but hardy and hard-working pioneers. There is no synagogue, but plenty of sport. Steber seems to have gone about freely and talked to all he wished to talk to, coming away with beliefs confirmed that the whole place promised well, symbolizing, too, the construction of something new and true and better, both physically and spiritually, and likewise the destruction of the bad old myths which create the misery we see around us, and

only require to be disbelieved in order to vanish and leave us happy and in peace. He specifies the area of Birobidjan as 38,950 square kilometres as compared with 23,000 for Palestine. The *Statesman's Year-Book* gives 25,168 for Palestine.

Marc Slonim apparently did not visit Birobidjan: a pity, for he is a dependable person. He describes it (in his *Les onze républiques soviétiques*, 1937) as consisting of 73,000 square kilometres, and thinks that some years hence will be time enough to take stock of results. Kalinin, the president of the Union, was also reserved in speaking about it in 1934; but in the "Chronicle" of the *Slavonic Review* for 1938 (p. 228) there is reference to the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the settlement, when the Jewish population was reckoned at 20,000. Later official information is to be gathered from a pamphlet issued at Moscow by D. Bergelson in 1939. He reckons the size as 90 million acres, which works out to about ten times the size of Palestine. He describes the town of Birobidjan as seen from the top of a four-story building, whereas as late as 1933, he tells us, the town contained no building which could be considered as of self-respecting height. Then it was difficult to cross the street; now there are paved paths and good roads, lined with trees. It owns a cinema, a machine-and-tractor station, a theatre, a sports-ground, factories for clothing and furniture. The actors and the furniture are celebrated all over the Far East. People who live there include people who gave birth to the town. Furniture is being made by the first furniture-worker; one actor is Birobidjan's first actor; the barber its first barber; its photographer its first photographer. In the same way, at Birofeld, another German-named settlement, 30 miles from the capital, there are men and women who had never handled a horse nor milked a cow before they went thither, and now are expert farmers. The district had no newspaper in 1928: now it issues six dailies. In 1928 its post amounted to 3 million letters and telegrams: by 1938 the total had risen to 10 millions. It contains 10 radio centres, 15 cinemas, 12 clubs, 9 libraries. Yet in 1928 the settlers who set out to build a decent house had first to discover clay, then construct a road along which to bring the clay, then construct a kiln for baking it, and to import horses from Siberia and trucks from anywhere before they could start building.

Bergelson gives no detail to show how Jewish the region is supposed to be.

Tomaso Napolitano would not endorse this version. He is a somewhat vindictive controversialist, but draws on Russian and Soviet-

Jewish publications. Writing in the *Nuova Antologia* for May, 1939, on "Razzismo sovietico," he describes Birobidjan as twice the size of Palestine, and affirms that the first contingent of Jews did not arrive there till 1929; 650 persons in all, coming from Kazakstan, Minsk, and Smolensk; by the end of that year the number was increased to 1,000. Another 500 arrived in 1930, and by the end of 1931, three years after the institution of the Colony, the number of Jews amounted to 3,000. There was by that date no official information as to what was actually going on; but Moscow joked about it all as a concentration camp for Jewish "kulaks." In 1932 the number of Jewish immigrants was raised to 19,000, but in that same year Genesis had turned to Exodus. By the end of 1933 the number was down to 3,500. What, Napolitano asks, had happened to the other 15,500? He has not been able to find an answer to this query, but surmises that these people could not have gone elsewhere except by means of official consent or by deportation. By 1934 official opinion had come to the conclusion that the scheme could not be carried through otherwise than by violence, although two years later Lazar Kaganovich, the Union's chief organizer, was stating publicly that this new Hebrew State would naturally attract Jews from all over the Far East. In 1934-35, 200 families arrived; in 1936, 129 families; in 1937, 2,950 persons were expected, 361 persons arrived—these figures he takes from *Emes*, the organ of the Russian Communist Jews, which paper adds that these were Jews who had never seen the earth close to before, were unprovided with advice or necessaries, and were under an obligation to supply vegetables to towns which were not connected with their settlements by any road. Animals died from exposure from want of stables: grain perished from want of barns. No efficient work could be done for want of organization. Two hundred families which had come from Lithuania had been exterminated either by typhus or the G.P.U. Dissensions amongst the Jews themselves had been repressed by the Soviet authorities with the utmost severity. The paper *Emes* has been suppressed; the president of the organization for Jewish agriculture has been arrested. Seventy per cent. of the Jews who had been conveyed to Birobidjan had perished; the rest were under the charge of the G.P.U.

Considering all this contradictory evidence, some queries arise. Why, when there are about 3 million Jews under Soviet rule, have not more been induced, or compelled, to settle in Birobidjan? Why have those who have been taken thither been never more than a minority, never more than one in three of the total population, when there is room

for so many? A glance at the map may suggest an answer to these queries, and, at the same time, put the whole business on a different footing. The above-quoted enquirers have concerned themselves with Birobidjan as a self-contained region; the map suggests some interpretation based on the surroundings being taken into consideration as well. A great gap has been driven into what used to be Tsarist dominions by the Japanese; a gap which leaves Vladivostok in an isolated and perilous situation. Moreover, the district north of Birobidjan is scheduled to become the fourth largest metallurgical area in the Union. It would seem a most risky spot to choose for what would primarily be munition works—asking for trouble. But consider further the geography of the surroundings. The tributaries of the Amur are big rivers, and those more or less under the control of the Japanese are the biggest: the basin of the Amur forms not only a geographical whole, but also an economic one: all these tributaries constituting a network of trading routes which, furthermore, link up railways, both constructed and planned. Viewed from this point of view, Birobidjan appears no longer as an outpost of an important but defenceless region, but the centre of a region which the Russians once controlled and which the Union intend to regain, thereby restoring Vladivostok to its former importance as a naval base on the Pacific. If thousands of people, Jews or others, are left there to sink or swim, something will come of it which will facilitate the process of rendering this region more easy to improve on from the strategical point of view in the future.

Amongst living people who allow their knowledge of both banks of the Amur—and not of one bank alone—to get into print, there is probably no one who knows more than Bruno Plaetschke. His experience of this geographical unit is incorporated in an article in *Petermanns Mitteilungen* (vol. 82; 1936), based on journeys round about 1932-33. His estimate of the number of Jews brought to Birobidjan is 18,000 between 1928 and 1933, and 7,000 remaining by the end of 1933. He adds that these Jews are not so very Jewish: tending to atheism, in fact: not only doing without rabbis, synagogues, and beards, but specialists in pig-breeding. On the other hand, there are many strict observers of Jewish custom and ritual roundabout these parts; but they are all Russian peasantry, belonging to the sect of "Subbotniki," whose affinities with Jewry are well known. Perhaps it was their presence there that originally suggested the "Jewish State" idea?

Altogether, does not the evidence suggest that while the planning

nominally (and, perhaps, at one time, seriously) mooted is well calculated to assist both friends and antagonists to continue along the lines that their respective pre-conceptions predispose them to, the Union continues organization there along the lines of well-laid plans of a totally different kind which will quietly mature for its benefit to the ruin of its opponents—in time? At any rate, it was not advisable to make any further move until Japan had finished paying for the Chinese Eastern Railway. The final payment was made on January 4 last.

SYRIA AND THE JEZIRAH

ON February 15 a Group Meeting was held, at which Mr. Kadmi Cohen spoke on the Near East, with special reference to the Jezirah of Syria. Mr. Cohen's paper may be given in the next Journal. The break-up of the Turkish Empire, he said, had left many problems difficult of solution, and he proposed a federation of States, beginning with those on the Eastern Mediterranean—Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Trans-Jordan, to which he hoped Iraq and other Muslim States might later join themselves. These States were to be “neutralized”—an indefinite term, as Sir Ronald Storrs, who was in the Chair, suggested. A disarmed State is no longer one which cannot be invaded. The core of this federation was the Syrian Jezirah, where all the roads from North, South, East, and West met.

Those members who have read President Dodge's account preliminary to his paper on the Assyrians will realize that at one time the Jezirah was a most fertile, productive, and highly populated province, as the archæologists are now proving. Mr. Cohen's thesis is the more interesting in connection with the withdrawal of the French from Syria, for in the last weeks the problem has so changed that it must be examined entirely anew. The French attitude may be better understood by the following paragraph from the paper :

“For France the alternative is less affecting. She went into Syria more easily than she can honourably and advantageously withdraw. Since then she has seen Mosul excluded, Cilicia evacuated, the Sandjak of Alexandretta restored to Turkey, and she realizes that Syria has ceased to be the great road of penetration into Central Asia and become merely a dead end, a trust laden with numerous responsibilities without adequate compensation.”

REVIEWS

Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran. By Henry Field, Curator of Physical Anthropology, University of Chicago, December, 1939. Vol. 29, No. 1, 508 pp., 22 text figures, 1 map. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. \$5.50. Vol. 29, No. 2, 198 pp., 4 text figures, 144 plates. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. \$2.25. Maps A and B, Distribution of Tribes in Iraq and Western Iran. $10'' \times 24\frac{1}{2}''$, with list of tribal names.

The above series is a study on the origins of the Iranian race which will pave the way for further more decisive investigation into the beginnings of a people who have so far baffled the anthropologists. How did mankind come into being and develop in this gateway between East and West? So far anthropometry and even excavation has been to a large extent limited by the suspicion attaching to foreigners carrying out research in a country where civilization and law and order were not as yet ready for such investigations.

The report (p. 13) is based on data obtained in August and September, 1934, but the measurements and photographs obtained are followed up by a scholarly effort to indicate the position of the modern Iranians in relation to the peoples of South-Western Asia. A valuable collection of historical references (pp. 36 to 158) summarizes the writings of various authorities on Iran, from Herodotus in B.C. 445 to Sir Arthur Keith in the new internal divisional census of 1938. The whole evidence leads up to the author's belief on p. 507 that "the ancient *Homoiranicus*, the anthropological enigma 'Q,' was closely related, perhaps a full brother, to the original *Homo Sapiens*, who developed physically and culturally somewhere within that area, designated broadly as South-West Asia, the nursery of our direct ancestors, and it may well be that in due time we can with justification paraphrase the quotation, 'Fair Iran, thou nursery of Man.'"

The general arrangement of the two volumes after a short description of the country and the historical references referred to, is first a discussion of the characteristics of the inhabitants of the various provinces, and then 150 pages on the physical and comparative anthropology of the various types, always with a background of the Mediterranean Man and what is known of the earlier prototypes of the supposed westward migrations before historic times. These pages can only be analysed by the professional anthropologist.

The second volume defines present thought on this Mediterranean *Homo* (Appendix A) and specifies (Appendix B) the method the author and his advisers agree might be followed in carrying out the much-needed anthropometric survey now possible in the more settled conditions brought about by the present Shah. Appendix D, on the prehistory of Iran, shows the nakedness of the present anthropological data, but it does clear up the falsity of the assumption of earlier investigators, that Iran had no palæolithic

or neolithic history before the age of metal. Indeed, organized study under the new conditions shows promise of remains which may yet bring about important revisions of our present views on the cradle of our race.

The bibliography is important, and will be a valuable help to future students.

We might here remark that there is a noticeable absence of books by Iranians themselves. It is probably true that experts on comparative anthropology can obtain such evidence as they require from what has been compiled by native scientists by studying the works of writers like Malcolm, Wilson, Curzon, and Sykes, who have embodied such sources of information. Yet it is, the reviewer feels, a fair criticism of this very valuable treatise that the philological angle and the evolution of language as collateral evidence on the basic anthropology only appear in this work in a few quotations from well-known authorities. Yet the language problem in Iran is of absorbing interest. The development from the Sanskrit to Zend and Pehlewi, the Arab influence and the various attempts at purifying the ancient tongue have no parallel in any country, and might form in future editions a separate Appendix prepared by experts.

The Index of fifty pages on tribes and racial groups referred to in the chapter on historical references will form a useful take-off for further anthropometric studies, as also the 144 photographs of Iranians taken mainly in the somewhat restricted routes so far traversed by the author.

One wonders if the change of climate, the desiccation first referred to on p. 20, as deduced by Sykes and Huntington, are adequately stressed. While no doubt denudation of forests is largely responsible, it is possible that the process has been helped, especially in Central Asia, by other geophysical phenomena. Such causes must naturally affect the development of the race (*cf.* map, p. 35).

These volumes are, of course, compiled from the angle of scientific study. The text, however, is far from being unduly technical, and the layman interested in this centre of the ancient world will find pleasant reading in almost every chapter.

G. M. ROUTH.

Once in Sinai. By J. M. C. Plowden (Madame Charles Jullien), with a foreword by Major C. S. Jarvis. 9" x 6". xxv. + 302 pp. 18 Illustrations. 7 Sketch Maps and 1 fold-in Map. Methuen and Co., Ltd. 1940. 12s. 6d.

This is a story of a solitary wandering in Sinai made by J. M. C. Plowden (Mme. Jullien) in 1937, and, as it does not pretend to be a tale of exploration, of first-white-womanhood, nor of incredible dangers from raiding Beduin, it may be regarded as almost unique for a woman's book of travel. It is a most engrossing and fascinating book, and the writing is of a particularly high standard so that it is no exaggeration to say that it is infinitely better written with a far more attractive style than nine-tenths of the travel volumes of to-day. Mme. Jullien has the happy gift of imparting

the atmosphere of the country of which she writes, and southern Sinai, strange though it may seem, has some of the grandest scenery in the world.

The author set off from Suez alone with a party of Beduin and some very expensive hired camels, and trekked southwards to the Monastery of St. Catherine's in the 8,000 feet mountains of the Peninsula. From St. Catherine's she passed over the divide and wandered eastward through the deep winding and deserted valleys to the Gulf of Akaba; at times making her way along the seashore and at others turning inland where the track along the rocks was too narrow and perilous.

Mme. Jullien, owing to the fact that she travelled by camel, was able to absorb at her leisure all the delights of the journey, and to appreciate and depict for us the beauty of this land of highly coloured granites, vivid green scrub, and cobalt and emerald seas. This ability to see and enjoy the scenery in comfort the ordinary occupant of a motor-car misses. Either he is moving too quickly to take in the full joy of the wild scenery, or is too concerned with the roughness of the track to think of anything but the possible contact of his head with the struts of the hood.

Mme. Jullien had decided before she started not to spoil and simplify her adventurous trip by studying any of the recent volumes on this area that might have helped her on her way. Early travel books on the Peninsula such as Burckhardt (1816) and Laborde (1828) were her stand-by, with occasional references to even earlier editions such as Exodus and Numbers; but my own 1931 attempt to assist the Sinaitic traveller was not brought to her notice until after her return. I am not certain if this is my fault, Mme. Jullien's, my publisher's, or the book trade's, but I am sure it is very salutary and bracing for an author to discover that there are people who have never heard of him or his book. If she had studied it her journey would have been far more comfortable and far less expensive, but her own volume would not have been half so amusing or interesting. She would, however, have discovered that there was in existence a 1/500,000 map of Southern Sinai, compiled by my friend Mr. Murray of the Desert Survey, which has every waterhole marked on it, and which I have always regarded as most accurate.

She engaged to take her on her journey, not a respectable Sinai *sheikh* guaranteed by the government, but one of those dreadful myopic dragomans that lurk in the vicinity of the Mena House Hotel, and as the Beduin of Sinai had never seen anything of this nature before it says much for Mme. Jullien's determination, tact and resourcefulness that she won through at all. The local Beduin naturally resented the presence of these baksheesh-hunting tribesmen from the Pyramids, and Musa, the dragoman, got "cold feet" and tried to call the journey off on arrival at the Monastery. At this stage she claimed relationship with the present Governor of Sinai, and later, meeting an old friend of mine, Suliman Rubaya of the Mezeina, she engaged his services as guide and antidote to Musa, and all was well. I would have given much to have overheard the conversations and arguments over the camp fire in the evening between Suliman of Sinai and Musa of Mena. On the one hand a natural born financier and exploiter and seizer

of opportunities of pure desert upbringing, who had experienced little contact with the outer world; and on the other the skilled expert who from childhood had been trained to extract the uttermost farthing from the tourist; the impact of the desert on the town as it were. Suliman, however, was playing on the home ground, which counts for so much both in football and finance, and knowing him as I do I feel that Musa met his match.

A most dramatic and thrilling bit of writing is that describing the author's experience with a big shark when fishing by night. The boatmen had left the oars behind purposely to avoid being asked to row back—and, knowing these Arabs, how implicitly I can believe this—and the shark, a reputed man-eater, circled round the small cranky boat for an hour or more, drawing closer and closer, until a breeze sprang up and they were able to sail to safety. I know that shark; he is not a permanent resident of the Gulf, but pays it periodical visits, and I should put his length at over 12 feet. Whether he would actually overturn a boat or not is a moot point, but I would prefer not to put the matter to the test. It must have been a grisly experience, but happily Mme. Jullien was ignorant of her danger at the time.

I notice in the photographs that Mme. Jullien wore on patrol the Arab head-dress, the *agel* and *kufiayah*, and this is not the first time I have seen English ladies wearing this kit, but I have often wondered what the Beduin make of it. The *kufiayah* is essentially a male headgear and not a woman's, and I imagine it must have much the same effect on them as an Egyptian woman would have on us if she came to England and wore the latest thing in Paris frocks with a black bowler to set it off.

Of all the encounters with the mendacious Musa, the artful Suliman, the romantic Radwan, and wayside Beduin, the author writes in a fascinating, humorous and human manner, and the book, which is well illustrated, is a delightful companion in these days of turmoil and worry.

C. S. JARVIS.

La Turquie, Centre de Gravité des Balkans et du Proche Orient.

By Gerard Tongas. Préface de S. E. M. Suad Davas. Pp. 276.

7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Paris: Geuthner. 1939.

This book consists of a series of articles which Monsieur Tongas has contributed to the Press during the years 1936-1938. They deal with the foreign relations and political economy of Turkey and the Balkan States, and include also three articles devoted to Iraq and Iran. In his Preface the author claims the views he expresses have been fully justified by events. He deplores the lack of interest taken in Near Eastern affairs by the French Press. It appears the surrender of the Hatay or Sanjac of Alexandretta to the Turks, which the author so ardently advocated in his brochure, "Atatürk et le vrai visage de la Turquie moderne," has not met with unanimous approval in France. Nor are the native Christian elements in that region likely to welcome the change. But in these troublous times

lesser issues have to give way to greater, and there is little doubt that this solution of a question which has long been a bone of contention between France and Turkey was a necessary condition of the Franco-Turk Agreement of June 23, 1939.

The author writes with enthusiasm of the Balkan *Entente*, formed at the instigation of Turkey, as a bulwark of Balkan peace. He does not mention, however, that this *Entente* was originally directed against Bulgaria. How far the members of the *Entente* are capable of holding together in face of the external pressure to which they are being subjected, events, no doubt, will soon determine, but the fact that Bulgaria still remains aloof is, in the writer's opinion, a serious handicap to Balkan unity. It is a pity the author does not deal more fully with the Bulgarian question.

How rapidly events change in this part of the world is shown by Monsieur Tongas' article on Albania, written as late as February, 1938, in which he describes the progress of the country under King Zog, but hardly mentions Italian penetration. Yet King Zog is now in exile and the Italian rules Albania in his stead, a fact which may have serious repercussions in a future conflict. Yugo-Slavia, sandwiched in between Germany and Italy, is not quite the free agent she was when Austrians and Albanians were her neighbours.

In his articles on Turkey, which form the greater part of the book, the author gives a valuable account of the political and economic development of that country since the Revolution. Writing of her mineral wealth, he points out that this was exploited in very ancient times :

“C'est dans cette contrée que le célèbre Crésus fit sa fabuleuse fortune. Le ‘fer du Nord’ dont parle le prophète Jérémie était extrait par les Chalybdiens des mines du ‘Pont.’ L'Asie mineure a été le berceau de la première industrie minière. C'est à Sardes, près d'Izmir, que fut appliquée, pour la première fois, l'idée de faire fondre le métal par le feu.”

Turkey possesses a surprising number of minerals which have hitherto been little worked. These include gold, iron (which was worked centuries ago by the Hittites), copper, argentiferous lead, silver, mercury, zinc, manganese, chrome (providing 33 per cent. of the world's production), antimony, arsenic, emery, sulphur and the rare mineral boracite.

Turkey possesses a world monopoly of meerschaum, found in the neighbourhood of Eskichehir, while a glance at the map will show that Turkey is almost surrounded by oil-bearing regions, and many traces of its existence in that country have been found. Much money has been spent on oil boring but without definite results. It probably exists but only at great depth.

Monsieur Tongas gives an excellent account of the astonishing progress the Turks have made in the industrialization of their country, but is not concerned with its effect on the intellectual and social life of the people. A too rapid progress in this direction can bring many evils in its train, as we were to discover in this country.

In an article entitled “L'Anatolie, Berceau de la Civilization,” the

author writes of the Congress assembled in Istanbul in September, 1937, under the Presidency of the late Atatürk. The Congress was attended by delegates from every country in Europe. The result of their labours and of the Turkish *savants* who have studied the question for many years is to show that the Turks, to quote the words of the author—"Sont en réalité les descendants directs d'une même race qui, sous les noms d'Hittites, de Seldjouks, d'Ottomans et enfin de Turcs, a pendant plus de 6,000 ans vécu en Anatolie, où elle a laissé les vestiges de remarquables civilisations, dont l'influence bienfaitrice s'est répandue sur le monde entier." The writer has not seen the arguments on which this theory is based, but, if correct, they certainly, to quote Monsieur Tongas again—"Bouleversent radicalement toutes les données historiques, depuis longtemps établies et profondément erronées, sur le peuple turc."

Mention should be made of an interesting article on the renovation of Greece and one on the economic situation of Roumania—a matter of great importance at the present time.

The author adds a postscript to the effect that he has been prevented by circumstances from including several other articles he had previously communicated to the Press.

The Turkish Ambassador in Paris contributes a Preface.

F. F. R.

Gelawêj (Sirius). A Kurdish literary and cultural monthly magazine. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$; each number about 64 pp. Baghdad: Najah Press, December, 1939; January and February, 1940.

Ever since September, 1920, there has been published at Sulaimani, with tolerable regularity though under various names, a Kurdish weekly newspaper of four to six pages. A short account of this paper between August, 1922, and April, 1923, will be found in an article entitled "A Kurdish Newspaper," which appeared in Part I. of the Journal for 1925. The present name is *Jiyan* or *Jiyn* (Life), as which it has flourished since January, 1926, and reached (March 21, 1940) its 593rd number.

The history of Kurdish magazines has been more chequered. *Diyariy' Kurdistan* (Gift of Kurdistan), editor, Salih Zaki Sahibqiran, published in Baghdad, lasted just fourteen months, from March, 1925, to May, 1926; although it was described as a "weekly," only sixteen numbers appeared, some combined as double numbers. *Zar y Kirmanciy* (The Kirmanji Tongue), editor, Saiyid Husain Huzni, "the Kurdish Caxton," published at Ruwandiz, a "monthly," appeared twenty-three times in the four years between May, 1926 and June, 1930, and had a final flicker with No. 24 in July, 1932. *Rhuwnakiy* (Light), a "weekly," published at Arbil by the same editor, appeared eleven times in the eight months between October, 1935, and May, 1936. Each of these ventures was largely personal to the editor, who himself paid all the costs (only a fraction can have been recovered from the "subscribers" if the present reviewer knows them as well as he thinks he does), wrote the greater part of the contents, and, in the

case of the last two, did the printing as well. These pioneers, working in the face of difficulties and disappointments of every kind, rendered great service to Kurdish letters; it says much for their enthusiasm and persistence that their magazines lasted as long and appeared as regularly as they did.

The editor of this latest enterprise in Kurdish journalism has secured the collaboration of some of the leading writers of to-day. Amin Zaki Beg, Minister of Economics in the Iraqi Cabinet, has three interesting articles on Kurdish history from a new work now in course of preparation, and two on the language. Tewfiq Wehbi Bey, a scholar whose reputation has spread to Europe, contributes the first three of a series of learned articles on Iranian philology, with special reference to the derivation of Kurdish. "Goran," the most delightful of modern Kurdish poets, whose work has attracted attention in Syria and even Egypt, is represented in all three numbers. Other poet contributors of note are "Piyre Mêrd," the veteran editor of *Jiyn* of Sulaimani, Shaikh Salam (with renderings of *The Ruba'iyyat* of Umar Khayyam), and Shakir Fattah. Some chapters of Baillie Fraser's *Travels in Koordistan* (1834) have been translated by "Feramurz" from the English, and an article entitled "The Crusaders come to Kurdistan," by Rafiq Hilmi, Inspector of Education, from the French. Other articles of topical interest, there is one, for example, on Finland, go to make up the sixty-four pages of each issue.

The printing and the paper are good. Apart from a note of the principal contributions on the outer cover which will disappear in the binding, there is no list of contents, and in the body of the magazine the authorship of the articles and poems is not always clearly shown. The editor would do well to remedy these defects in future issues.

Sirius is the brightest star in the heavens. The ancient Egyptians believed that it heralded good harvests. The quality of the first three numbers encourages the hope that *Gelawêj* will justify its name.

C. J. E.

Rome and China. By F. J. Teggart. Pp. xii, 245; 14 Maps. 9½" × 6½".
University of California Press. 1939. 18s.

After a close and carefully documented survey of the wars of the Roman empire during the critical years from 58 B.C. to A.D. 107, the writer of this arresting book feels himself justified in stating that "the adherence of Augustus to a policy of interference in Bosphorus and Armenia was responsible for most of the wars fought during his reign on the Danube and the Rhine"—and after a careful perusal of his book his readers will probably agree with him.

In the course of this survey it is clearly shown that in the period considered barbarian uprisings in Europe were in all cases preceded at no long interval of time by wars on the eastern frontiers of the Roman empire or by disturbances in the regions west of China, whether in the Tarim basin or north of the T'ien Shan. Furthermore, there were no wars in those regions of the East that were not soon followed by outbreaks on the Danube

or the Rhine, or both. Wars beget wars, and the cause of the phenomenon, the writer points out, is simply the effect on ordinary life of war conditions; in other words, the interruption or diversion of trade. Though several of the wars in Armenia, Bosphorus and Parthia appear at first sight to have been wars of succession wherein Rome endeavoured to place her nominees on the thrones of the Eastern kingdoms, the underlying cause was in actual fact the Roman struggle to release her trade with the Far East and India from the stranglehold of the Parthian middleman. From the time of Pompey there was a continual endeavour to secure a route north of Parthia by way of the Caucasus and Caspian Sea and to strengthen that by ship through the Red Sea and to the Indian ports, thus avoiding Parthian territory. Similarly, the struggles between the Chinese and the Hsiung-nu to control the silk routes through the Tarim basin, and the less well defined fur routes north of the T'ien Shan, had their repercussions further and further afield.

The author sums up his conclusions in this pregnant paragraph: "Wars which were undertaken by the Governments of China and Rome in pursuit of what were conceived to be important national aims led inevitably to conflicts among the peoples of northern Europe and to invasions of the Roman empire. It is of some note that the statesmen who were responsible for or advocated the resort to war . . . were entirely unaware of the consequences which this policy entailed. The wars of the Chinese, indeed, were initiated only after lengthy discussions at the imperial court by ministers who were well versed in Chinese history and who reasoned from historical experience no less than from moral principles and expediency. But the Chinese emperors and their advisers were unconscious of the fact that their decisions were the prelude to conflicts and devastations in regions of which they had never heard. The Romans were equally in the dark with respect to the consequences of their wars in Bosphorus, Armenia and Syria."

These are striking statements—and to be taken seriously to heart in the present troubled condition of the world. The author follows them up with this emphatic warning: "The conduct of affairs by Augustus is typical of statesmanship in every age. In justice, it must be said that rulers have been and still are dependent upon the state of knowledge in their own generation. Their concern is always with an immediate present, and the decisions called for in a crisis give no opportunity for prolonged and exacting investigation"—and here we might recall that the arch-disturber of the world's peace to-day knows no language but his own—"The hope of the future, therefore, is dependent upon the efforts of individuals in private life; for, if the actions of those in positions of authority are not to continue to be a major cause of misfortunes to the world, some new form of knowledge must be elicited from the experience of man."

Though these ideas have already been voiced in other forms, this is, none the less, an inspiring book, for the statements in it are based on definite, closely reasoned observations and research. A brief tabulation of dates and events, it might be suggested, would help to clarify the main points of the

argument, and there is a certain amount of repetition such as the frequent recurrence of the word "disturbances" which is at times irksome to the reader. But its method might with advantage be applied to the study of other phenomena in the life of man.

In addition to its general thesis, it should be added, this book gives a lucid account of conditions in the heart of Asia, the so-called "Western Regions" of China, during the period under examination. On this score alone, it should make a close appeal to this society, which is happy to include among its members Sir Aurel Stein, the great explorer of Central Asia, to whose valuable work the author of the book makes frequent reference.

D. M. M.

Mohammed and Charlemagne. By Henri Pirenne. Translated by Bernard Miall. Pp. 293. Allen and Unwin. London. 1939. 10s. 6d. net.

The late Professor Henri Pirenne, of the University of Gand, left this book at his death, not in its final, but in a preliminary draught, of which we have here a translation from the tenth French edition. The author's son tells us in the preface that it was "the climax of many years of research," "the crowning achievement of his last years of work"; and the book is, in fact, so important that he did well to publish it, even though it has had to appear without the author's final touches.

Mohammed and Charlemagne is not a narrative history. The general facts of history, from the time of the barbarian invasions of the Roman Empire to the establishment of the Carolingian dynasty, are taken as data and treated as the basis for a thesis developed with great skill and supported at every point by a careful marshalling of the evidence. And this thesis is the supreme importance in this period of European history of the rise of Islam; its rapid conquests had the widest effects, and this in a much wider sphere than merely the countries actually conquered by the Muslims. Briefly, our author maintains that, though there were decadence and barbarism, yet for all that the world of the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms, and finally that of the Merovingian kings, was in no essential sense different from the Roman world which preceded it. The barbarians had nothing new of their own to put in the place of what they found; they built as well as they could, but always on the ruins of the past. The Mediterranean was still a lake central to the civilization created by the Roman Empire. But what followed in the eighth and subsequent centuries was most widely different. The centre of Charlemagne's power had nothing to do with the Mediterranean; Aachen was far from its shores, and Charlemagne was not a Roman but a Germanic ruler. This view of the case is supported by a mass of evidence, social and economic, and the whole book is essentially an answer to the question of why events worked out in this way. Pirenne's answer is that between the barbarian invasions into the Roman Empire and the day when an imperial crown was set at Rome on the head of Charlemagne the whole condition of the Mediterranean basin had been fundamentally altered by the conquests of Islam. The

old unity of the lands round that sea had been broken; the east and south were in the hands of a power which differed from the barbarian kingdoms in the essential point that it brought with it a way of life entirely its own, an exclusive culture which could assimilate much from the conquered, but of such a nature that the fusion which had operated so easily between the Roman and the barbarian was entirely impossible. This incompatibility, according to Pirenne's view, proceeded directly from the very cause of rapid victories of the Arabs; they were warriors exalted by a new and vigorously living faith. Between these two forms of life the sea, which had once been a bond of union, became a frontier of division, and the Orient was most effectively cut off from the Occident.

The book, therefore, has, in fact, very little to say of Islam, except to point out its novelty in the world and its irreconcilability with what had been before it. Islam appears in the author's scheme as the explanation of, or at least as the greatest factor in, the profound change which he sees dividing the period of which he treats. What went before was the old integrated world of Rome; what came after was a new European world, taking shape under Charlemagne in an area far away from the old Mediterranean centre. A brand-new power occupied much of the Mediterranean basin; the Roman Empire shrank to the always defensive rule of the Basileus of Byzantium, and in the west it was substituted by the new conception of the Holy Roman Empire, whose history we all know from the pages of Bryce.

The translation runs easily, and the missprints seem to be very few. I note "proceeded" on page 236, an awkward missprint for "preceded." "Pelustum" on page 258 must surely be "Pelusium." When I have remarked that I do not like "iconoclasy" on page 218 for "iconoclasm," I have done with fault-finding. All readers of history will be interested in this masterly work on what M. Jacques Pirenne, in the preface, well calls "the close relation between the conquests of Islam and the formation of the medieval Occident."

R. M. DAWKINS.

Jenghiz Khan. By C. C. Walker, Squadron-Leader Royal Canadian Air Force. 10" x 6½". Pp. 215. 7 Maps in Colour. London: Luzac. 1940. 17s. 6d.

We welcome the appearance of *Jenghiz Khan*, which has been written by a member of the Royal Canadian Air Force. The author has studied the various authorities deeply and has then utilized his military education with much success. Did not the late Professor Margoliouth remark that the best historians were soldiers, since history was, generally speaking, a series of wars?

The author begins by describing the extremes of climate in Mongolia which produced remarkable hardihood. He continues with an account of the nomad and his wonderful pony, which lived entirely on what the steppes could provide, and in winter used its hoofs to reach the scanty herbage buried beneath the snow. In this connection, when John de Plano

Carpini, the Franciscan monk, visited the Great Khan at Karakoram in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Mongols in Russia advised him to exchange his European horses for Mongol ponies who alone were able to reach the dead grass below the snow. It is also noteworthy that these Mongol ponies could "carry their riders for sixty to eighty miles a day when it was demanded of them, and perhaps provided the rider with some of their blood at the end of the day's ride." No ponies could have stood such work indefinitely, and since each horseman possessed more than one mount, this made all the difference. The author remarks that when Prince Edward of England in 1264 marched from Nottingham to Rochester, "a mere hundred and fifty miles in five days, he ruined many of his horses," and claims that a Mongol commander would have covered the same distance in three days and fought a battle at the end of the journey. This comparison is hardly just, since the English war-horse had to carry a heavy weight and resembled a cart horse rather than a pony, while the tracks led through marshes and forests quite unlike the bare dry steppe.

To turn to the tactics of the Mongols, their first principle was deception of the enemy. For instance, they would ride up to a city and when its garrison charged out they retreated and led it into a prepared ambush. Or again in battle they feigned defeat and then suddenly turned on the enemy. Actually, until they met the disciplined cavalry of the Mamelukes, they were practically never defeated.

The rise of Jenghiz Khan is described in an interesting manner. After a youth full of vicissitudes he became the acknowledged chief of a confederacy of tribes and at first attacked the Kin dynasty of Northern China and starved Yenking, the capital, into surrender. The troops of Jenghiz also raided south of the Yellow River, but only annexed the provinces to the north of it. Of special importance to his future conquests was the organization of a siege train, manned by Chinese engineers.

The prelude to the westward march of Jenghiz was his despatch in 1218 of a caravan of Mongol traders to the empire of Central Asia, which was ruled by Ala-ud-Din Mahommed Sultan Shah of Khwarazm. These merchants, who were seized at the frontier town of Otrar, were rightly considered to be spies, and were put to death. Using this as a pretext, Jenghiz in the following year invaded this Moslem empire, and our author, in his careful description of the campaign, shows alike the strategical and the tactical ability displayed by the Mongol leaders. Mahommed, who lacked courage and decision, was ignominiously hunted out of his empire, which was captured by Jenghiz. His son, Jalal-ud-Din, however, saved the honour of the dynasty by the valour he displayed; albeit, it did not affect the ultimate result.

The Mongols, under Subutai, carried destruction through Northern Khurasan. Rei, situated a few miles to the south of Tehran, the present capital, was not defended owing to religious disputes, but unaffected by any theological doctrines, the Mongols, whose policy was to leave no occupied stronghold in their rear, massacred and destroyed it. Later, having just failed to capture Mohammed, who ended his miserable life on an island in

the Caspian Sea, the Mongol leaders penetrated as far west as Georgia, where the Georgian army was destroyed. This amazing campaign reached its limit on the Volga, not far from what later became Serai, the headquarters of the Golden Horde. Did not Chaucer write :

“ At Sarray, in the land of Tartarye,
Ther dwelte a King, that werreyed Russye ”?

The Mongols, everywhere victorious, now commenced their homeward march crossing the steppes between the Caspian and the Sea of Aral and marching for 1,600 miles regained Mongolia.

The other expeditions of Jenghiz Khan to the valley of the Oxus and in China cannot be referred to in this review. The author sums him up as follows: “ Considered as a soldier, he towers head and shoulders over those other great Captains whom Napoleon ordered military men to study.” If this somewhat sweeping pronouncement apparently sets Jenghiz above Alexander the Great, I certainly cannot agree with it.

To conclude, this work is certainly the best that I have read on the subject since the author has not only studied the subject, but understands the point of view of the nomads whose policy was to turn all the countries they conquered into empty pasture lands for their flocks. A special praise is due to the excellent maps, which are clearly the result of deep study.

P. M. SYKES.

What are the Jews? Their Significance and Position in the Modern World. By Rabbi Israel I. Mattuck, A.M., D.H.L.

7½" × 5½". Pp. 256. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

This book might have been called “The Jewish Case against Zionism,” but such a title would have given the appearance of a political pamphlet to a study of much wider and deeper scope—an attempt, as the author describes it in his preface, “to explain the non-Zionist interpretation of Jewish history and non-Zionist aims for the life of the Jews in the present and future.”

In the first part of the book the author discusses in considerable detail three questions: Are the Jews a race? Are the Jews a nation? Are the Jews a religious community? And in each case the answer is “Yes and No.” They are not a race like other races, though they have a sense of unity which resembles that of racial kinship; nor are they a nation, though their remote history “has left memories that have a national tinge”; and their intense solidarity and the influence of historic memories on their corporate life differentiate them from other religious communities. The definition which finally satisfies the author is “A people of religion.” It is their religion alone that unites the Jews; racially, politically and socially they have become assimilated to the several environments in which they are scattered.

Having established this position, the author proceeds to a critical examination of the Zionist aims—to establish a Jewish national homeland in Palestine and to develop a Jewish national consciousness in Jews of all lands. He points out that on the most sanguine estimate Palestine can only accommo-

date about one-sixteenth of the Jewish people, and that in fact so far only about one-quarter of one per cent. have gone there. To develop a Jewish national consciousness in Jews who must perforce continue to live outside Palestine is not calculated to improve their lot, and has in fact given to anti-semitism a political and racial impetus which it formerly lacked.

But the author's main quarrel with Zionism is that it is a political and not a religious movement. Not only does it seek to develop national and political aspirations, which even in the remote period when the Jews were a nation were never the Jews' strong suit, and which are now bringing them into conflict with the people of their adopted countries as well as with the Arabs, but it actually neglects and ignores the religious quality of Judaism which is the peculiar genius of the people. "Not all the Jews working for the establishment of a Jewish nation in Palestine are a-religious, but secularism has been largely responsible for the modern Jewish nationalist movement; those wielding the greatest power in it are secularists, and to most of its adherents the movement is secularist in its ideology and aims. . . . Jewish nationalism may be a good secular movement, but its secularism is the negation of the historic character of the Jews as a people of religion."

What future, then, does the author hold out for the Jews? He admits that he can offer them no certain promise of escape from the difficulties, dangers and suffering which have always been their lot. But he holds that the Jewish contribution to the life of humanity is dependent upon their dispersion and on their religious distinctiveness, and that in consequence their future must be bound up with that of humanity at large. In a striking passage he refers to the Jews as the barometer of civilization. "Civilization is measured by the treatment which the weak and defenceless receive from the strong and powerful. . . . When nations relapse into barbarism, the Jews suffer first and most. . . . The 'Jewish Problem' is part of humanity's problem, and the hope for the Jews lies in the hope for humanity."

Some of the author's assertions, particularly those about the Jews' racial characteristics—or lack of them—are very upsetting to one's preconceived ideas. Here are some samples :

"There is clear evidence that the Jews do not have a common ancestry."

"If ever there was a Jewish race, it must long ago have lost its racial homogeneity through intermarriage and conversion."

"There is no biological trait that can be found among all Jews."

"The psychological differences among Jews are as numerous and large as the biological differences."

But it must not be supposed that these are bald and unsupported statements; they are, on the contrary, sustained by a wealth of argument. In fact, the author tends to invite criticism from the opposite quarter—he is inclined to protest too much, and the reader has at times a suspicion that a horse which has to be flogged so mercilessly is not after all entirely dead.

But the book is undoubtedly one that should be read by anyone interested in the Zionist question. It expresses views so little advertised that they may be novel to many, and if it is true, as the author claims, that "professing Zionists constitute but a minority of the Jews in Europe, outside Poland, and

in America," these views, expressed as they are here with so much authority and conviction, fully deserve to receive the wider publicity which this book will undoubtedly give them.

R. S. M. S.

The Throne of the Gods. By A. Heim and A. Gansser. Translated by Eden and Freda Paul. 22 Plates, 18 Sketches in text, 11 musical items, and Relief Map. 233 pp. of text. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{4}''$. Macmillan. 21s

This book, written by two Swiss geologists, Dr. A. Heim and Dr. A. Gansser, is of very great interest both to amateurs of travel, who revel in picturesque description, and also, and perhaps chiefly to scientists. The title, so the authors say, was chosen after their visit to those sections of the Himalayan mountains which Indians and Tibetans, Hindus and Buddhists all regard with great veneration, because it is there that the Gods live and reign. Towards Kailas and to Badrinath, where the Ganges, the sacred river, has its source, are directed the yearnings of several millions of Asiatics. As votaries of science the authors approached these stupendous hills with no less reverence. Little is said of their geological researches, but they recount their experiences, the lives of men, animals, and plants, so that the work differs from those publications of Himalayan expeditions whose main work is the ascent of unscaled peaks. Such a book, therefore, is an important contribution to the considerable work of the official Survey of India, geographical as well as geological.

Dr. A. Heim is one of the best-trained geologists, and has spent twenty years in research work in the Alps, and has also travelled in the Sino-Tibetan ranges and mountain chains bordering on Siam, so comparative studies by him in the Himalayas have a good chance of solving some of the basic problems of mountain structure.

He started from the province of Kumaon and entered the forbidden lands of Nepal and S. Tibet, little known regions. Remarkable results were achieved in central Himalaya and beyond. To the knowledge of glaciation in both earlier days and now, the Swiss scientists' researches contribute a number of interesting data. How far down the glaciers may have extended in former times is of importance. In the Kali valley on the Nepal Frontier the outer moraine was found at 7,050 feet and in the Alaknanda valley at 6,650. Now the foot of the Nampa glacier (in Nepal) stands at 12,675 feet, of the Milam glacier (Almora district) at 12,675 feet; the Bhagat-Karak 12,317 feet.

In Eastern Tibet the glaciers which I observed stood at about 15,925 feet and the moraines not below 12,700.

As regards the structure of Central Himalaya and Trans-Himalaya, the Swiss geologists, finding that the crest of the chains are often composed of metamorphic rocks, were forced to assume that the stratification is inverted, and so to infer that the outer chains consist of gigantic superposed folds thrust down from the N.E. over the Siwaliks. This inverted stratification is evident in the Kali Gorge. Further northwards, below Joshinath,

the geologist Auden had previously observed such a super-position of gneiss with granite upon sedimentary formations as in the Kali Gorge. The geologists have also found evidence that the Himalayas are *rising*, while the Indian plain is sinking. From certain data, also, they state that it is difficult to deny the bold hypothesis that, since the appearance of man on the earth, the passes leading from India into Tibet have become harder to cross owing to a rise of 3,000 feet or more in the height of the mountain ranges.

A German geologist assumes that this rising has caused the gradual desiccation of Mongolia. His deduction—a rather rash one—is that the decline of the Mongol Empire in the Middle Ages was due to that phenomenon. But the armies of the Mongol conquerors were composed of tribes of nomads scattered over large areas, not limited to Mongolia, but including Manchuria, Chinese Turkestan, and even Southern Siberia and North-West China. In the Chinese annals there is no mention at all of any Mongolian exodus through desiccation of the land. If the Turks migrated westwards, the reason was a crushing defeat beyond their recovery in the sixth century A.D. Driven by hostile tribes, they crossed the Kan Su, the Sin Kiang and, crossing the present Russian Turkestan, through Persia, later on stormed Constantinople.

But, coming back to the Swiss geologists' survey, their patient researches enabled them to discover very interesting fossils, a number of which were quite new and unknown. These fossils gave a clue to the age of strata not yet identified.

The botanical results are also of great interest. The specimens, for the greater part, have come from high levels of more than 13,000 feet. They give a vivid picture of the flora of those Alpine belts hitherto least known. On the northern slopes grow familiar trees: maple, horse-chestnut, walnut, elm, hornbeam. This belt extends to 10,000 feet, being replaced by another rich in conifers such as fir, silver fir, and juniper. The highest zone of forest trees is the birch-belt. Above is a shrub zone, and, still higher, the Alpine steppe.

In Eastern Tibet and in the mountains of the Chinese Far West, I met a great number of the plants or trees noticed by the Swiss Expedition, but a few species were lacking. For instance, that conspicuous tree, the horse-chestnut. Nor have I noticed the gorse, so well known to me as a Breton, or that tiny beautiful plant, the myosotis, often met by the Swiss expedition. As to shrubs, for instance rhododendrons, the different species that I noticed were as abundant as any growth elsewhere. The bamboo (*A. gracilis*) is met everywhere, mainly as underwood, as well in Eastern Tibet and the Chinese Far West as in the Himalaya. The spring shoots are picked by the Chinese as a delicacy.

As to herbaceous plants, one, rheum or rhubarb, is very abundant in both the regions considered. The youth of the poorer Chinese families come up in summer time to pick this rhubarb, which, however, is not the rhubarb of European commerce.

It is in the Alpine meadows that the scientists found the wonderful

display of colours which come as a revelation, flowers of all shades, and making a picture of impressive beauty; primulas, gentians, rattles (*Pedicularis*), corydalis, and poppies (*meconopsis*) make a carpet of marvellous beauty. The edelweiss that I collected there were the size of the palm of my hand and of a beautiful milky colour, and all these flowers were noticed by Dr. Heim and Dr. Gansser as well as by myself. This book is worth the close attention of all who are interested in Himalayan research. The authors travelled in one of the most difficult regions of Asia, suffering great hardships but carrying out their arduous task with admirable patience and devotion to science. Their photographs and sketches are noteworthy, and there are sketch maps and a large map which enable the reader to follow the way taken by the scientists. The results of their expedition are of great importance.

A. LEGENDRE.

(A note in the next Journal gives the observations made and the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Legendre on the racial types met in the districts covered by this book.)

Cultural Relations on the Kansu-Tibetan Border. By Robert B. Ekvall. University of Chicago Press. Pp. 87. \$1.50.

In eighty-seven pages of close print Mr. Ekvall has succeeded in giving the reader a record number of interesting and informative snapshots of life in a part of the world of which very little is known. Writing of people who live at an altitude ranging from 5,000 to 14,000 feet above sea-level, he divides them into the four clearly defined groups of Chinese, Moslem, and the Sedentary and Nomadic Tibetans.

The cultural impacts that these four groups make upon one another forms the main subject of the book, and in this review one cannot do better than quote some of the author's experienced observations. Describing the results of such intercourse as the Chinese and Moslems have had, he declares :

“The Chinese living in a region where there are large numbers of Moslems seem to take on a certain hardihood and daring. The natives recognize this fact and say that the constant friction brings out the hardness of one's make-up” (p. 27).

And again :

“Traditionally the Chinese have always been dominant in general politics, but they have hardly known what to do with the high-spirited, restive, and turbulent Moslems who were always a defiant minority, impossible to assimilate” (p. 15).

The author's final impression is :

“The degree of segregation (between Chinese and Moslem) appears to be greater at present than it was thirty years ago” (p. 24).

Mr. Ekvall then discusses the culture contacts of the Chinese and Sedentary Tibetans and makes the following statements :

“In contrast to the violent incompatibility existing between the Chinese and the Moslems, we have between Chinese and Tibetans a mutual tolerance in matters of religious belief and practice” (p. 33).

Other factors, however, than mutually tolerant attitudes are responsible for the infiltration of Chinese culture into Tibetan centres. “Once a number of Chinese families,” writes the author, “are established in a village, simply as a matter of the difference in the birth-rate of the two groups, the Chinese are sure to gain; and bit by bit the community becomes more and more like a Chinese village” (pp. 43, 44). Again : “The village oil-press or grist-mill sooner or later passes into the hands of a Chinese if, as is generally the case, he has not started it himself. So by superior intelligence and initiative the Chinese members of the village community forge to the front.”

Culture contacts between the Moslems and the Nomadic Tibetans next occupies the attention of the author, and his summary of the situation is well worth quoting :

“In this third instance of culture contact we have two groups which are different in race, religion, language and occupation, and which are not contiguous but removed from each other by considerable distances as judged by slow caravan travel. Yet the needs growing out of the subsistence economy of the one group and the commercial stimulus exerted upon the other by their peculiarly advantageous position on or near the frontier have produced a strong trade movement, carried on by variously selected agents in a regular seasonal cycle. The contact established through these agents and this trade has been sufficient to produce marked variations and changes in each of the two groups involved” (p. 62).

The final section of the book deals with the culture contacts between the Sedentary and Nomadic Tibetans, and gives the reader, *inter alia*, a vivid picture of the mode of life of the peoples it discusses. For instance : “The nomad has less in the way of comfort than the farmer. The weather of the Tibetan plateau has driven travellers to the utmost in descriptive vilification, and the black tents are by no means rain or storm proof. The nomads must sleep on the damp ground, live in a tent that is often filled with flying spray and even whirling snow, and move in all kinds of weather. When he is on the move or in the summer encampments, he is much more vulnerable to attack than the farmer in his protected, fortress-like village home” (p. 77).

The generalizations that Mr. Ekvall makes, however, with regard to the effects of the cultural contacts are not so convincing as in the other chapters, and it may be, as the writers of the Foreword have said in another connection, that “further observation and consideration might result in more fruitful comparisons.”

Only one who has lived for many years in such close contact with people whom he has sympathetically understood and interpreted, could possibly have given the life-like pen-pictures that Mr. Ekvall has portrayed

in this book. We have great pleasure in recommending it for wide reading, and trust that the author will give us more of his interesting and valuable information in a further publication.

H. A. MAXWELL.

A Cavalier in China. By Colonel A. W. S. Wingate, C.M.G. With a Foreword by Sir Francis Younghusband, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. Illustrated. Pp. 327. Grayson. 1940. 15s.

Having read in an Indian newspaper in 1897 that examinations in the Chinese language were to be instituted for British military officers, the late Colonel Wingate, then a Captain in the Indian irregular cavalry, determined to be the first to take advantage of the opportunity. Proceeding, on his own initiative, to Peking during his next leave, he enlisted the support of Major Sir Claude MacDonald, British Minister to China, and was established as the first Indian Army officer to become a Chinese language student. After a year's stay in that old Imperial Peking which was to become moribund after the Boxer rising, he left to return to India by the hazardous and then partly untrodden route from Shanghai up the Yangtse and down through Hunan, Kweichow and Yunnan to Burma. It is with this period and in the main with this journey that the book under review, which has been edited by his widow, treats, stopping, to one's regret, short of Colonel Wingate's return to China with the 1900 relief force and his later service in various capacities in that country. It does, however, draw on later experience to the extent that in many places it digresses to show a wide and obviously not quickly or superficially acquired knowledge of the country and the people, to pay tribute to whose good qualities was, as Sir Francis Younghusband says in his Foreword, the prime object of its writing.

The first third of *A Cavalier in China* deals with the author's journey to North China and his experiences and impressions during his initial student period there. These included an audience with Kuang Hsü, one of the last that unfortunate ruler was permitted to hold as Emperor in more than name, interviews with two of the foremost Chinese statesmen of the time, Li Hung-chang and Yuan Shih-kai, both of whom are vividly characterized, and a visit to Tsingtao as guest of Prince Henry of Prussia. There are also accounts, necessarily rather scrappy, of social and sporting life in Peking in the nineties, and sketches of leaders of the foreign colony then in the capital.

But the most interesting part of the book is the account of the author's return by land from Shanghai to Burma, a journey for which he was awarded the MacGregor Memorial Medal by the United Service Institution. Although only part of the route—that through South-Western Yunnan—lay through territory previously altogether untrodden by Europeans, the rest of it led him largely along hazardous paths and at a hazardous time, when anti-foreign feeling (particularly in Hunan) was rapidly rising to the pitch of 1900. Colonel Wingate was following in the steps of Clinton, whose boat had been burned on the Yuan River; of Gemmell, who had had

to flee from Pao-ch'ing in Chinese dress; of Margary, of the Consular Service, who, as this book rather oddly puts it, "was murdered close to the Burma frontier and left an interesting account of his journey"; and of the Australian missionary, Fleming, who met the same fate on the day Wingate set forth from Hankow, later to take part (in full Lancer uniform and sword) in the enquiry at Kweiyang into his forerunner's death. All these omens proved no deterrent, and, except for being forced against his will to skirt the country of the wild "Was," Wingate made his journey according to plan, perhaps his best protection being his open-hearted and uncondescending attitude to those he met on the way, best expressed in the speech he used to make to inquisitive Hunanese:

"I am just a traveller on my way to Burma, passing through your honourable country to see the beautiful scenery. You worthy people must not think me strange, and I hope you will not ill-treat me. Although our clothes are different, our ideas are very much the same. If, indeed, you kind people will not needlessly excite yourselves, we may sit awhile and talk; is not that better than fighting? Therefore, do not be angry or annoyed, and in a little while I shall have moved on."

That this speech was no mere flowery trick is amply proved by the general tenor of the book, which is unconsciously equally a tribute to its author's own sympathetic understanding and modest humanism and to the good qualities of the Chinese, whom he liked so well. It is obvious that his admiration and friendship was, as it always will be, reciprocated.

P. H.

Dersu the Trapper. Exploring, trapping, hunting in Ussuria. Translated from the Russian of V. K. 8½" x 6". Secker and Warburg.

The publishers claim for this book that it will serve as a book of instructions for travellers setting out for an expedition to "distant, unknown or almost impenetrable parts." Yet a traveller to-day would have profited little from the experience of others if he did not avoid most of the pitfalls into which Arsenief fell with an almost comic grace.

It seemed strange that he could not tell which of two trails had been taken by the horsemen who preceded him, and his tale of a bear hunt is in the tradition of early editions of the *Boys' Own Paper*. There is, indeed, a too generous estimate of the ferocity of the fauna of Eastern Asia. There are other statements, too, that should be treated with reserve. There are, for example, no complete records of the measurements of animals from Eastern Siberia, but Arsenief's measurement of 6 feet 6 inches for the length of an adult male bear is 14 inches more than that of a very large bear from Manchoukuo. Finally—and this is no fault of the author's—the three maps included are so vague and the names on them bear so little relation to the text that it is nearly impossible to trace out the course of Arsenief's journeys.

In short this is not a book from which to extract exact information.

Against these few shortcomings there stand the facts that this book is important because it is one of the very few translated into English on this part of the world, and because its author is one of the few Europeans to have travelled extensively in Ussuria. Furthermore, it is well and charmingly written.

One would judge that the author had written this book perhaps some years after the journeys, and that it was written largely from memory aided only by notes, and so forms a pleasant contrast to the informative travel book that is actually little more than an expanded diary of daily happenings. There is overmuch scenic description, but it is not of the sort that is obviously and painfully inserted for relief by an author who is sadly aware of his shortcomings as a "literary bloke." It is an integral part of the book, and it is, perhaps, a measure of the author's feeling for the country through which he travelled.

Dersu is, in fact, an extremely good book, largely because it is held together by one central character, that of the Goldi trapper whom Arsenief had the good luck to find, or be found. Arsenief's admiration for this man was unqualified, as the hunter saved him from disaster not once but several times. In fact, one wonders just how far the Russians could have gone without their guide, philosopher and friend.

Certainly Arsenief pays Dersu sufficient tribute, giving him all the credit and admitting his own blunders with a most disarming candour.

It is this sympathetic bond between the men that makes the book, for it is through his understanding of Dersu that Arsenief is able to build up an extremely vivid picture of a fascinating country with its *taiga*, its Korean villages, its floating population of Chinese hunters and root searchers and traders and bandits, its rapidly diminishing native races and its curiously mixed fauna. And it is a country that one hopes has not changed greatly in the past twenty-five years. Somehow it seems almost impossible to think of a Soviet Ussuria, though a few state farms for the production of cultivated *ginseng* may exist.

And the end is worthy of the book. The moment when Dersu realizes his approaching blindness has the ring of true dramatic tragedy. It is not his living but his life that is being filched from him.

The translator has preserved the atmosphere of the writing admirably.
G. S. H.

Shanghai and Tientsin. By F. C. Jones. With the co-operation of certain members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. 9" x 6".
Pp. x + 182. Five plans. Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.

These are studies, submitted by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, of the origin and growth of the foreign-administered areas at Shanghai and Tientsin, of the various problems which have attended their development, and of the situation with which they have been confronted in

consequence of the Sino-Japanese hostilities. This examination of the treaty port system in China, emanating from Chatham House, carries with it the marks of accuracy and scholarship which are associated with publications of the Institute. The 64 tables, together with appendices and plans, place before the reader essential aspects of these two great centres of China trade.

Mr. Jones tells us that Shanghai ranks amongst the ten most important commercial ports in the world. It is divided into three separate areas of administration—the International Settlement with a population (1935) of 1,120,000 Chinese and 28,000 foreigners; the French Concession with 479,000 Chinese and 18,000 foreigners; and the Chinese Municipality with 2,089,000 Chinese and 10,000 foreigners. The International Settlement is administered under the Land Regulations promulgated in 1854.

The author draws attention to the fact that the existence of Shanghai as a distributing centre depends on unfettered access to the hinterland. The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 led to hostilities in Shanghai, which were limited and local. The destruction wrought by the fighting in 1937 was vastly greater, and Japanese visitors compared the devastation to that wrought by the great Tokyo-Yokohama earthquake of 1923. From August to November, 1937, the trade of the port was virtually paralysed. After that date fighting extended from Shanghai to Nanking, spreading ruin in its train. Three months of fighting in Shanghai, at the commencement of hostilities in 1937, surpassed in destructiveness anything which the history of the port had previously known. Mr. Jones says that the eventual flight of the Chinese Municipal officials left the authorities of the foreign-administered areas without contact with any legitimate Chinese representatives, and gave a new complexity to problems of long standing. He adds that "more than half the Settlement remains under Japanese military control." Mr. Jones pays a tribute to the Fire Brigade, and says: "The gallant work of the Municipal Fire Brigade will be long remembered in Shanghai, for it carried out its duties . . . despite shells, bombs, and snipers' bullets, and by extinguishing the many serious fires . . . prevented a general holocaust."

The troubled era that succeeded the fighting around Shanghai continued without intermission, and the author says that "when hostilities ceased around Shanghai it was expected that the Japanese, as soon as possible and in fulfilment of their pledges to respect foreign rights and interests, would permit the return of foreign and Chinese residents and the re-opening of industrial and commercial enterprises, and would restore the north-eastern areas to the normal administrative control of the Municipal Council." But, "On the plea of preventing Chinese guerilla activities, the Japanese have maintained their military control of these areas."

An account of the difficulties which have surrounded the administration of the Settlement since hostilities broke out in 1937, makes one realize the great problems with which the Settlement Council has been faced, and the determination with which they have been grappled.

It was stated in Parliament (1939) that the British Government were prepared "to afford to the Council such advice and support as may from time to time be possible." The British and American Governments, in written

replies to dispatches from the Japanese Government, referred to the energy and efficiency of the Municipal administration in dealing with disorders in the part of the Settlement remaining under its control, and expressed confidence that the Municipal authorities would continue to make adjustments to meet reasonable Japanese requests.

A short description is given of the anti-British outbreaks of 1927, which culminated in the overrunning of the British Concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang, and was followed by the despatch of a British Defence Force to Shanghai amounting to 20,000 men. Seven other countries also sent contingents, so that the total force reached 40,000 men, exclusive of a powerful naval concentration. The result of these precautions was that the occupation of the Chinese city of Shanghai by National forces in 1927 was not followed by any untoward incidents. The foreign community at Shanghai enjoyed complete security, and the danger gradually subsided.

A chapter is devoted to the Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1932, when for the first time a Power "enjoying treaty rights in Shanghai made use of the International Settlement as a base for military operations against Chinese troops in Chinese-administered territory." The British and American Governments made it clear that they "disapproved of the use of the Settlement except for defensive purposes." The result of efforts of mediation were that eventually all Japanese troops, except a contingent of marines on garrison duty, were withdrawn and the evacuated area handed over to the Chinese Special Police Force. Hostilities were limited and local, not affecting the rich Yangtze valley area, and, although the damage was severe, recovery was swift. Although it was five years later (1937) that the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese hostilities occurred, "a spirit of uneasiness and alarm pervaded both the Chinese and Japanese communities during 1932-7."

The growth of Japanese interests in the International Settlement since 1914 is described in detail. The Japanese population increased from 7,000 in 1915 to 20,000 in 1935, although their payment to the General Municipal rate, in 1936, was only 6.8 per cent., indicating that whilst the Japanese in the Settlement are the largest foreign community they are not the wealthiest. Numerical increase has been followed by increased Municipal grants and larger municipal employment, but the representation on the Council remains at five British, two Americans, and two Japanese. Endeavours to increase the number of Japanese councillors is described at length. A demand, made in 1938, from Japanese naval, military, and consular authorities for increased Japanese employment in the municipality, was sympathetically received by the Council. Mr. Jones says: "One of the chief difficulties of acceding to the Japanese demands is that they would involve that authority in police and other matters should be entrusted solely to Japanese in those areas where Japanese population and interests are particularly concentrated, but this principle, if pushed to its logical conclusion, would endanger the international character of the Settlement, and its administrative integrity."

The author draws attention to the difficulty, under the Land Regulations, of enforcing better labour conditions in factories and workshops, and

recounts the endeavours that have been made by the Municipality of the International Settlement to bring about a remedy. He also indicates the progress that the Council has been able to make, although its methods are of necessity non-coercive—which, it goes without saying, is a wholly unsatisfactory way of dealing with what Mr. Jones describes as “the scene of some of the most appalling labour conditions.”

The foreign Concessions at Tientsin, at one time no less than eight in number, now number four. In the year 1860 the original British Concession was leased in perpetuity by the Chinese Government to the Government of Great Britain. The land tenure in the original British Concession is peculiar, in that the land is leased in perpetuity to the British Government, and has been re-leased by the British Government on 99 years' tenancy, expiring in 1960. The value of this property is not shown separately by Mr. Jones, although the total value of land and buildings in the British Municipal area is estimated (December, 1938) at \$320,000,000. A Crown Lease Re-imbusement Fund, instituted by the British Municipal Council in 1918, amounted at the end of 1938 to \$869,000.

The foreign Concessions lie close to the Chinese city of Tientsin, which has a population of about one and a half million inhabitants. The four Concessions have a population (1937) of 174,000 Chinese and 16,000 foreigners. Tientsin lies on the Hai River about forty miles from the sea. The river is shallow and winding, and its conservation, as well as that of the Taku Bar channel at the mouth of the river, is administered by a River Conservancy Commission (constituted in 1901). In addition, the Commission keeps the port open to navigation during the winter by means of ice-breakers. The low-lying areas around Tientsin are subject to periodic flooding, despite the efforts of the Commission to improve the tributaries flowing into the river above Tientsin.

The port is the second most important commercial and industrial centre in China (exclusive of Manchuria), but the last ten years has seen its economic hinterland considerably circumscribed. Russia has taken away a good deal of trade that formerly passed through Tientsin; Manchurian trade is virtually closed; and four Chinese provinces that formerly traded direct with Tientsin are either now an economic bloc or are supplied from other quarters by successive railway extensions. In spite of this contraction in the area served by the port, exports have expanded in recent years, partly due to the increasing productivity of north China.

Since 1927 the British Municipal Council has consisted of five British members, including the chairman who has a casting vote, and five Chinese members. In the three other Concessions, control and representation varies. In the French Concession, four councillors must be French, four of foreign nationality, and three Chinese. In the Italian Concession, the Italian Consul has chief authority, and the administrative organs are modelled on the lines of a fascist municipality in Italy, with a Consultative Council of Italians and Chinese. In the Japanese Concession municipal administration is mainly in the hands of the Japanese Consul. There is a Council of five members, all of whom are Japanese.

This summary of the contents of Mr. Jones's book gives evidence of its great value as a contribution to the study of the treaty port system in China. The tables, with explanatory notes, are a valuable adjunct.

A. F. ALGIE.

Warning Lights of Asia. By Gerald Samson. With 32 plates and 7 maps. Pp. xvii + 311. Robert Hale. 1940. 15s.

Into this volume Mr Samson has crowded experiences enough to have made several books if he had chosen to record separately the different phases of his five-year sojourn in the Far East from 1934 to 1939. A free-lance writer in the ordinary course, he acted at various times as special correspondent for British and American news agencies. This is a very good way to "get next to the news," and Mr. Samson was enabled to obtain access to sources of information that might not otherwise have been open to him.

As is but natural in view of his peculiarly intensive experience of it, Mr. Samson has a good deal to say about "that constant and irritating police surveillance to which all Westerners are subject" in Japan. At first, however, he was able to move around with comparative freedom, and he embarked upon a 2,000-mile journey through the interior of Japan, crossing over from the mainland to the island of Hokkaido, through which he travelled extensively. Here he made the, to him, surprising discovery of a large area still awaiting settlement. "Having heard so many cries of *lebensraum* in Tokyo," he writes, "I was simply amazed to see so much unsettled land, the greater part of which is evidently suitable for large-scale farming and stock-breeding. I made inquiries and discovered that were these virgin and unsettled areas properly exploited and transportation service improved, Hokkaido could conservatively support double its present population."

Mr. Samson appears first to have aroused the suspicions of the Japanese authorities when, despite official discouragement, he insisted upon visiting the Japanese Mandated Islands in the South Seas, whose paramount value he feels to lie "in their undoubted usefulness as naval refuelling and minor repair stations, as well as ammunition and supply depots." Native runners were engaged to keep him under constant observation, and whenever he ventured ashore he found himself deluged with official invitations designed to occupy the whole of his time while in port. Upon his return to Tokyo he was immediately called upon by the police to furnish a detailed account of his trip and his reasons for making it. Mr. Samson refused, and from that day, he says, he became a "marked man."

During the crisis of February 26, 1936, when a group of junior officers mutinied, assassinating a number of venerated statesmen, he was arrested at his hotel and thrust into a prison cell along with a number of Japanese convicts who had been there for several months. After more than a fortnight's incarceration, during which he was subjected to a continuous grilling, he was released on condition that he leave the country.

Arriving in Shanghai early in 1936, he remained in China until his departure over the newly opened Burma Highway in February, 1939. During

this period he travelled widely and saw much. A journey to Manchuria brought him once more into conflict with the Japanese, by whom he was arrested for a second time on suspicion of being a British secret agent and again expelled. Incidentally, Mr. Samson unhesitatingly confirms the account given of Japanese methods in Manchuria by Signor Amleto Vespa in his *Secret Agent of Japan*. "Suffice it to say," he declares, "that several of the worst cases he records were investigated by myself a year before the volume was published, and all Vespa was able to add to the information in my possession was some additional details."

Back again in China proper, Mr. Samson found himself plunged into the midst of the Sino-Japanese conflict as a war correspondent at Shanghai, Hankow, Canton, and elsewhere. Drawing upon these experiences, he predicts an eventual Chinese victory. Japan's main objective—the extirpation of General Chiang Kai-shek and his armies—is far more remote to-day, he feels, than it was in July, 1937.

Presumably with the object of giving the reader a proper perspective, Mr. Samson has added after each chapter an excursus in which he dots the i's and crosses the t's of his main narrative. These postscripts occasionally contain generalizations which some students of Far Eastern history will be disposed to question. For example, on page 29 he says that "an impetus was given to Japanese imperialism by the termination of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1921." There are many (*vide* Sir John Pratt's article on "China and Japan," in *The Fortnightly* for August, 1939) who feel that it was the *conclusion* of this alliance that encouraged Japan to embark upon an expansionist career.

Mr. Samson has produced a book which is not only interesting as a narrative, but sheds much useful light upon the present conflict in East Asia. The volume is well illustrated, and the dust cover bears a striking design by Jack Chen, a brilliant young Chinese artist.

H. J. TIMPERLEY.

Memorandum on the Kahilu Sanctuary. By D'Arcy Weatherbe.
(Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society, Vol. XLI., No. 1,
August, 1939.)

Rhinoceros sondaicus (the lesser one-horned rhinoceros) is probably the rarest large mammal in the world to-day. Its former habitat comprised Lower Burma and Tenasserim, Malaya, Indo-China, Thailand (Siam) and Java. There are said to be a few left in Indo-China, but it is doubtful if any now survive in the other regions with the possible exception of Lower Burma. This harmless and interesting animal has succumbed, not to the rifles of so-called sportsmen or in prevention of crop destruction, but to the demand for rhino blood and other products for native medicine in the belief held among many Eastern peoples that such medicines have a rejuvenating effect. To show how widespread is this belief, the writer questioned members of the Special Committee of the Legislative Council who

were engaged in drafting the Wild Life Protection Act in Burma in 1936. At least two of the members admitted that they had faith in this tonic.

It was not until after the Great War of 1914-18 that the authorities in Burma first realized the precarious position of *R. sondaicus*. Their attention was drawn to the matter by Mr. Hubback, formerly Game Warden of Malaya, when he came over to shoot a *sondaicus* for the British Museum. Mr. Hubback eventually shot a cow in the forests of Tenasserim, but discovered that these forests, which had been considered a stronghold for *sondaicus*, contained practically no rhino. Subsequent searches organized by the Forest Department, who are responsible in Burma for wild life protection, showed that the species was practically non-existent. In 1927, however, information was received that a few rhinoceros, the description of which suggested that the species was *sondaicus*, were to be found in an area in the Lower Salween centred round the forest reserve of Kahilu. After further investigation by the Game Warden, the Kahilu sanctuary, comprising 52 sq. miles, was constituted. The Game Warden was unable to obtain a view of the animals, but from examinations of tracks and reports of local inhabitants he believed the animals to be *sondaicus*. Two game-keepers were appointed and have been in charge ever since.

The sanctuary as constituted included 12 sq. miles of Kahilu Forest Reserve, over which, except for rights of way and for grazing and fishing, protection was reasonably complete. The rest of the area, however, was unreserved forest containing a number of Karen villages, the inhabitants of which utilized the area for shifting cultivation. Moreover, there was nothing to prevent grazing and cutting of forests or even further immigration. Since the sanctuary was formed two rhino have died and in both cases the skulls have been identified by competent authorities as those of *sondaicus*. In 1933 one rhino was actually viewed by a forest officer specially deputed to examine the area. He believed it to be a one-horned rhino (*sondaicus*), but it was only seen at a distance under dark shade of dense undergrowth, and he could not corroborate his evidence by a view of the skin which, in this species, is much more folded as compared with that of *Dicerorhinus sumatrensis*, the two-horned Asiatic rhino.

In 1938, when travelling in Burma, Mr. D'Arcy Weatherbe, who is a keen supporter of wild life protection, and has travelled and observed wild life in many parts of Africa and Asia, took the opportunity to visit the sanctuary. It was unfortunate that the Burma Game Warden could not arrange to visit the sanctuary with him, but he was accompanied by a forest ranger as well as the game-keeper, who has been in charge of the area since its constitution. In the note under review Mr. Weatherbe has severely criticized the extent and conditions of the sanctuary and has cast considerable doubt on the identification of the species of rhino present in the sanctuary as *sondaicus*. With regard first to the identification, he shows that there has been no ocular *proof* of the presence of this species, and deduces from the tracks, the largest seen being about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, that the rhino present there belong to *D. sumatrensis*, an adult of which has tracks measuring between $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches and 9 inches in diameter. Mr.

Weatherbe considers that *sondaicus* should have tracks from 9 inches to 11 inches, or even wider. Mr. Weatherbe also criticizes very strongly the conditions in that part of the sanctuary situated outside the Reserved Forest.

Such visits as Mr. Weatherbe's are, or should be, a valuable aid to wild life protection. Those responsible for this important matter have a hard and uphill fight in dealing with the apathy of the Government, and outside opinions, however strongly phrased, can do little but good. It must be admitted that up till now the Forest Department has accepted the opinions of their Game Wardens that the species in Kahilu is *sondaicus*, and still hopes and believes that they are correct. Since Mr. Weatherbe's visit the sanctuary has again been visited by the Game Warden, who formed the opinion that there were at least two rhino, the tracks of which were considerably bigger than those of any *D. sumatrensis* he had come across. In another sanctuary—the Shwe-u-daung in Upper Burma, where *D. sumatrensis* are known to occur—the largest track he had measured was $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across. In Kahilu he found and measured two tracks, one $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the other slightly under 9 inches. As regards numbers, he considered there were undoubtedly 5 and probably 7 rhino inhabiting the sanctuary. Steps are now being taken by making watching places over established wallows to obtain definite proof of the actual species present. Should the presence of *sondaicus* be proved, steps will have to be taken to enlarge the sanctuary and free it from disturbance by villagers and cultivators. This will entail the removal of at least 150 villagers from the area and their settlement elsewhere. Those who have experience of the ways of native governments will realize that this is easier said than done. It is not only a mere question of money. Such proposals have the usual political reaction and are used as a means for attacking the existing government. In any case, if and when the remaining rhino are proved to be *sondaicus*, the matter must be taken up one way or the other. Either the present sanctuary must be extended and the rhino given freedom from disturbance, or it may just as well be given up and, as Mr. Weatherbe says, "It would be better to effectually secure their pitiful carcasses, for posterity, not as technical exhibits only, but as monuments to the apathy, ignorance and ineffectiveness of our legislation."

Another animal in Burma that is rapidly following the way of *R. sondaicus* is the thamin (*Rucervus thamin*), the brow antlered deer. This beautiful species of deer lives mainly in open dry forests on the verge of cultivation, and is therefore exceptionally susceptible to extension of cultivation and the great increase in firearms that has taken place since the Great War of 1914-18. The Burma Wild Life Protection Act of 1936 has given greater protection in all areas to the thamin, but the only real safeguard against extermination is the formation of sanctuaries. Two of these have been under consideration for the last three years, but up to date no final constitution has been made. Apathy on the part of the Government is illustrated by the fact that though the Wild Life Protection Act was passed in 1936, nearly four years ago, the rules under the Act are still awaiting the final approval of the Government. The religion of the great majority

of the Burma peoples is Buddhism, which prohibits the taking of life. It would therefore be thought that this would have conduced to greater progress in wild life protection. Such unfortunately is not yet the case. It is true that recently two cases have occurred where Buddhist monks have initiated and favoured the institution of two sanctuaries—one the sacred hill of Mt. Mulayet and the other a well-known jheel near the Irrawaddy, where water fowl are known to breed in numbers—but generally the feelings of the people are apathetic if not actually antagonistic. Burma has at least two valuable sanctuaries of some extent, where representatives of most of the larger Burma fauna, bison, saing (*Bos sondaicus*), elephant, the two-horned Asiatic rhino (*D. sumatrensis*), sambhur, hog-deer, barking deer, as well as birds, can find a refuge, but the need is still great, and there is scope for the extension of even these two sanctuaries. Visits such as that of Mr. Weatherbe are very valuable and useful in bringing outside opinion before the authorities and are a great assistance to the Forest Department in their struggle for the preservation of wild life in Burma.

H. R. BLANFORD.

The Arabic Listener. Published by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Printed in England by Stephen Austin and Sons, Ltd.

The *Arabic Listener* will be an excellent co-worker with the popular B.B.C. Arabic programmes—a team of the printed and the spoken word. It is to be published twice a month and costs one Egyptian piastre or the equivalent in other countries, about 2½d., which, in comparison with publications available in the Near East, is wisely moderate.

It is a magazine consisting of sixteen pages, on good paper and invitingly produced. The title is in a decorative frame, the work of a Turkish artist, Ali Riza, and is reminiscent in style of some of the panels in the famous fourteenth-century mosque of Sultan Hassan, in Cairo. The effect is good. *Naskhi* writing is in itself a decoration for which Arabic-speaking people have a great feeling, so it was wise not to produce a more ornate heading.

On the front page of the first number is an editorial, which emphasizes an important point—that the *Arabic Listener* is in practical fact, not in theory only, the joint work of Arabic and English-speaking people. “We hope to further the aims,” says the editorial, “for which our Arabic broadcasts were established, strengthening the links of sympathy and understanding between the Arab peoples and the British Commonwealth of Nations.” The last sentence in this editorial may sound to some ears as a right and conventionally humble statement, but it is of greater significance than that. “We leave it to you, our readers,” it says, “to pronounce the final judgment in favour of the project, or against it.” This epitomizes the underlying principle of all our foreign relationship work in the Near East, a principle of reliance on each other of each nation and individual in it, having an essential rôle in this struggle of good against evil.

Next come four messages of welcome from Mr. Neville Chamberlain, H.E. Hassan Nashaat Pasha, the Egyptian Ambassador in London, H.E. the Minister for Sa'udi Arabia, and the Chargé d'Affaires for Iraq. Our former Prime Minister greets the *Arabic Listener* by addressing a few personal words to the millions of listeners to the B.B.C. Arabic broadcast, whom this new paper is intended to serve. The use of the word "personal" is invaluable. He goes on to state the aims of His Majesty's Government, "that all peoples, wherever they may live or whatever tongues they speak, should be kept informed of the truth of real happenings in this world in which we all live." In the last of his three paragraphs he has touched on a point dear to all his oriental readers by mentioning "all those whose mother tongue is the noble Arabic language." The love of the Arabic-speaking world for its great language is deep-rooted and genuine; it has almost the affection and regard usually accorded to a personality. Hassan Pasha Nashaat's welcome is thoughtfully and sincerely expressed: "I cannot doubt," he says, "that a great part of the actual troubles of the world are due to misunderstanding and lack of comprehension between the various countries and nations. It is natural, therefore, that I should welcome this new paper from the bottom of my heart as a practical implement for promoting good understanding between our great Ally and all the Arab-speaking peoples." The Iraqi Chargé d'Affaires expresses his opinion that the idea is excellent, and in congratulating the B.B.C. says: "No doubt this will help to make the programmes of the broadcasts better known to the Arabic public and bring them into closer contact with what is broadcast from here."

The Sa'udi Arabian Minister is warm in his good wishes, and gives, as well, a good suggestion. "I would like to take the opportunity to suggest," he says, "that it (the B.B.C.) should complete this work by utilizing the English *Listener* or some of its other many means of publicity in order to present to the English public the more important of the talks on the Arabs and their history which have been broadcast from London in Arabic. This will, I am sure, be a valuable contribution towards the work of mutual understanding."

There is an illustrated story, "The Disciple of Death." Death is worried about the world; people are too happy, too full of life, to suit his book, so he calls in his confederate, Disease, telling him to spread his influence around and kill off a few. Disease says he, too, is having a hard time, for with inoculation, hygiene and science, people just do not succumb. Death comes to the conclusion that he must walk abroad and find a madman to train as his agent. He spies a house-painter daubing all the walls red; they go into partnership. Death tells the house-painter to sit down and write out a programme to his dictation—the result is called "My Struggle." Death later hands him a box of matches to use indiscriminately. War, another of the gang, here interrupts, reminding Death that his new disciple is a madman, therefore liable to set fire to himself as well. That, replies Death, is the idea, and that will prove his madness. No further comment on this story is necessary!

The illustrations are striking and distinctly add the right flavour. They are the work of a young Egyptian artist who has studied in London.

The next contribution is a literary treatise, the quality of which, being from the learned pen of Ustaz Ahmed Amin, speaks for itself. Two English lessons follow. They are reproduced from the second series of six weekly lessons for Arab listeners broadcast from London.

There are excerpts from our national press under the title "The Arab Countries Viewed by Foreigners." This consists of an article from *The Times* called "Islam and War," Mr. Merton's article in the *Daily Telegraph* on "Iraq and the War," and part of Miss Freya Stark's description of her work centring on Aden, also from *The Times*. The value of including writings from such people as Miss Stark need not be stressed; she works among the Arabs with true understanding and sympathy and lives out the principles for which she stands. She builds on existing good, with an unerring sense for detecting sham, which she deals with peremptorily.

On page 14 the editor has reproduced part of Lord Halifax's famous speech at Oxford. A black-and-white illustration centres the reader's attention on Lord Halifax's parable—the road to Carcassonne. The paper closes with an account of the annual dinner of the Pharaonic Club of Cambridge—an important function of an important body, as far as Anglo-Egyptian relationships are concerned.

On the back page, with the broadcast programmes and list of contents, is a short article and photograph which is most important. An Arab boy wrote to the B.B.C. saying that he was interested in the subject of electric fish, mentioned in one of the English lessons, and could he be told more. This article is the result. One can imagine the boy's pleasure on seeing that his request was taken seriously and answered with a photograph of a cat-fish and all the information available. This shows, perhaps, better than anything the spirit of the *Arabic Listener*, and that spirit will get the response it deserves.

In connection with its name is it too late to start using a slightly different translation of the title *el Mustamia*? Would not the *Arab Listener* be more euphonistic and more strictly correct?

Comparatively few people in England could read profitably and enjoy a copy of the *Arabic Listener*, however interested they may be in it. But many members of this Society are in touch with Arabic-speaking friends in the Near East and can help to spread the paper's influence and circulation by commending it to their attention. We could also encourage these friends to write their impressions and suggestions to the B.B.C., for in that way the personal touch and the value which goes with it is increased. The editor and his staff are already at work on new features and improvements both humorous and serious.

Let us end with the words of the Egyptian Ambassador in his message of greeting: "Concluding these remarks, I would renew my thanks to the authorities of the B.B.C. and my good wishes to the *Arabic Listener* for full success in its task of peace and good understanding."

MARY ROWLATT.

Rural Education in Turkey.

The extracts from the Turkish press given below are of special interest at the present time. It is clear that, in spite of the terrible setback caused by the earthquake, which by its widespread havoc in the country districts brought ruin and destitution to many thousands of peasants, the Turkish Government has decided to face the problem of rural education with energy and determination. It is clear from the article on this subject translated from *Ikdam* that while the urban areas of Turkey have little cause for complaint, the rural districts have been largely neglected. We know that in this respect Turkey is, unfortunately, in the same position as many other countries of Asia and Africa. It is in the highest degree satisfactory to learn that the authorities at Angora are contemplating action of such a far-reaching nature, and we may hope that war conditions, even if they spread, may not unduly interfere with this highly important project.

In Order to Make the Turkish Peasant Read. By Abidin Daver. *Ikdam*, April 20, 1940.

In spite of our not participating in this unfortunate war, it has caused us a great deal of harm. This harm which we have been striving with all our power to diminish is both material and moral (*manevi*). We journalists even have concentrated all our attention on the war fields and political scenes of Europe, and we are occupying our minds only in a small way with the affairs of our own country. This, of course, is a moral loss. Luckily, in spite of all the difficulties and preoccupations caused by the European war, and in spite of the economic wars and wars of nerves which have spread even to our own country, the Government is continuing without interruption its successful efforts in the fields of progress and civilization. The law of the Village Institute Organizations which the Grand Assembly has accepted is one of the most valuable and most important of these efforts.

In order to show the importance of the law and of this effort, I put before our readers the exact words uttered by our Minister of Public Instruction in the Grand National Assembly :

“Our population is 17 millions. Roughly speaking, 4 million of the population live in cities, and 13 million are in villages.

“Of that, the number of our school-children, if counted in the standard fashion on the basis of 12 per cent. of the population, should amount to 2 million. We are now educating 785,000 of these. This means that we are able to educate only one-third of the children of school-age, figuring on the basis of 12 per cent. of the population. But if we leave aside this standard calculation and consider the number of the children the education of whom is by law obligatory and who are between the ages of 7 and 16, we find that this number comes up to 3,354,000. If you take out of this number the children studying in the middle schools and in other schools of this grade, we have approximately 3 million children left between the ages of 7 and 16. Taking into account the standard estimate of 12 per cent.,

of the children one-third of whom we are educating, 415,000 are in cities and 370,000 are in villages. Thus we are educating 370,000 children out of 13 million village population; and 415,000 children out of 4 million city population. We are educating 80 per cent. of the city people, and are unable to educate the 20 per cent. And if we consider the children of our 13 million village citizens, we see that we are able only to educate 25 per cent., and are unable to educate the remaining 75 per cent. Thus we see that the question of education and lack of education is reversed in these cases. This is the picture I wish to present. You all remember that our nation's Leader ever since the days when he was Prime Minister has tried to give a great deal of time and effort to this cause. At the meeting of the fifth Assembly he touched on this subject in the following words :

“ We definitely believe that, on the day when we can bring the education and living of our peasant up to a higher standard, the power of our nation in every field will be much higher and more significant, a power hard to imagine or conceive to-day.’

“ . . . Thus I come before you on the basis of the instructions given us by our National Leader, and I believe that this law will solve the problem of primary education.”

The village institutes, the organization of which has been accepted, will be 12 in number, and their centres will be in these places : Kars, Trabzon, Malatya, Kayseri, Samsun, Kastamonu, Eskişehir, Kocaeli, Irmir, Kırklareli, Seyan and Isparta; students will come to these places from the surrounding districts and the near-by provinces. The period of education in these institutes is to be five years, and they are to be considered the equal of the middle schools in grade. Daughters and sons of farmers between the ages of 13 and 15 after having finished the primary schools will be accepted. The following subjects will be taught in these institutes : all kinds of agriculture related to the village and environment, animal care, care and repair of agricultural instruments, necessary theoretical and practical knowledge of village construction, the chief village trades such as blacksmithing and tin making, housekeeping and hygiene. Those who graduate from these institutes successfully will become village teachers and leaders. Those who show outstanding ability will be sent to lycées and to higher schools by the Government. Education in these institutes is to be free of charge. Board and tuition are to be provided by the Government. To those who become teachers and leaders of villages, the ministry of education will pay salaries; the ministry of agriculture will provide seed, plants, stud stallion, and agricultural instruments. . . .

Since one of the principles of the Party and one of the fundamentals of the Constitution is etatism, develetcilik, it is perhaps natural to see this principle applied in the social as well as the industrial realm. The following articles are illustrations of that point of view.

Compulsory Physical Exercises in Turkey. Jumhuriyet, April 18, 1940.

The conditions as to those affected have been fully fixed by the Council of Ministers. The Council of Ministers has fixed the compulsory physical

exercise and sports and decided on the people who are to be affected by this requirement :

1. Every man beginning from 12, which is the age for the beginning of middle school education age, up to 45 (inclusive), and every girl or woman from 12 to 30 come under this compulsory physical education law. Details regarding occupation, age, and conditions effecting partial, or complete obligation, together with invitations to enter clubs aiming to carry out this law will be announced separately.

2. Official and private offices, whenever possible, will provide the necessary means for physical exercise for their employees.

3. Every person involved will take physical exercise for four hours at least every week. The administration of clubs or groups will take into consideration the personal and private circumstances of the individuals as well as the conditions of the climate, and will so arrange things as to increase the interest of those participating. Those who are actually occupied in farming, in pickaxe work, harvesting, threshing, etc., will be excused during the continuance of their work.

The Organization of Youth. By Agah Sirri Levend. *Yenitürk*, No. 88, April, 1940.

There are two sets of environmental conditions which make possible the activity of the educator (murebbi) in the instruction of a child: the home and the school. The father and mother at home and the teacher at school undertake the education of the child in the capacity of educators.

But as the environmental conditions which surround youth do not consist only of these two influences, so the quality of educator is not confined to the teacher and to the parents.

It has been the custom to think of those of school age as youth. Whereas those who work in factories and workshops and those foot-loose young people who have remained outside of the school, need care more than the others, because they are deprived of the privilege of having a leader or guide. Can we leave these young people to their fate? From this point of view, "raising up or training" (yetistirmek) is just as important and certainly a more difficult job than "educating" (terbiye etmek) is.

. . . As a matter of fact, although we leave the job of education to teachers and the job of "training" to youth organizations, it is impossible to separate altogether these two tasks from each other.

. . . The youth organization, while occupied chiefly with the youth who are left outside of schools, will also follow up the youth who are getting an education. Bringing together the youth of the middle and higher education at certain seasons and preparing processions, arranging games and competitions for them are among the things the organization will ask and obtain from the Ministry of Public Education. This co-operation will cause the young people to recognize their own position and tasks within the body politic, and will serve to strengthen the feeling of unity among them.

This also shows that "education" and "training" are one single work

which necessitates co-operation and working together side by side. But this work—as it will be understood from the explanation above—cannot be done either by the school or by the family alone. The question of youth is a country-wide problem which can be solved only by the authority of the State. It is necessary for a young man to be under the control of the State up to a certain age. A young man of seventeen should be in his school, if a student; if a worker he must be either in his shop or working place. Outside the working hours his place should be in his own home. The Government has the right to take hold of the young man who is loitering in the street or who is playing games in coffee-houses during working hours and send him to school or to work. The State will use this right through the organization to be instituted, and thus the question of youth will be fundamentally solved.

Oriente Moderno.

There has been a series of leading articles in recent numbers of *Oriente Moderno* dealing with problems in the East which might prove centres of trouble for Britain or her friends. The treatment of the problems is not unfriendly to Britain. It is the keen interest shown in each focus of unrest which is disquieting.

In the May number the Hindu-Muslim conflict in India is sympathetically dealt with. It is pointed out that it goes back long before the beginning of British rule, though Gandhi blames the British. The persecution of the Buddhists by the Hindus coincided with the rise of Islam in Arabia. Islam, therefore, came into India as a political force in support of the Buddhists. The whole history of the conflict is studied in detail with the development of the Constitution, the distribution of races and creeds, and the economic problems. Each cause of friction is considered, from the difference in religious customs and social conditions to economic causes. Stress is laid on the inability of the Muslim smallholder to keep out of debt to the Hindu moneylenders. And it is concluded that a reasonable solution of the problem of a highly evolved community with caste system living side by side with a poor community could be achieved if both could be brought to one economic level.

This is not, perhaps, a solution to which either side would agree.

Climate and Ecliptic Tilt. By Brigadier N. M. McLeod, from the *R.A. Journal*, April, 1940.

This is a short article in the *R.A. Journal* for April, which provides an interesting and useful accompaniment to a study of the work of the Soviet scientists and pioneers in arctic regions, particularly in connection with the sea route to the East via the North.

The author of the paper makes the definite claim that Drayson's dis-

covery of the fixed centre of the earth's precessional movement is a well-established fact, and only a skilled astronomer would venture on an attempt to disprove the statement. Although hostile opinions to Drayson's contention have been voiced in the past it is true to say that no scientific refutation of the claim has ever been seriously attempted.

The paper deals only with the climatic consequences caused by the 6-inch "tilt" of the ecliptic plane with reference to the earth's gyroscopic precession. It forms an easy introduction to the "Drayson Business," a subject which provides much food for thought and one which can be recommended as a fascinating study to scientifically minded Central Asians and to all who are interested in navigation or are flying in northern waters.

Water Resources of Transjordan.

The Report on the Water Resources of Transjordan, made by Mr. M. G. Ionides, has just been published, and will prove of the very greatest value to settlement work. It will be reviewed at length in the next part of the Journal. The Report covers the whole question of water supplies, conservation and costs, of the various soils and their possibilities for the cultivation of mixed farming and of citrus and fruits, and includes afforestation. "In conversation with the Irrigation Officer of Palestine . . . I found that in the hill-country it would be necessary to exclude citrus, bananas and other sub-tropical fruits which are susceptible to cold wind and snow. This, however, does not apply to the Jordan Valley and the southern areas of the Dead Sea, where there are good technical possibilities in respect of these fruits, particularly banana cultivation, which is already developing in the Wadi Zerka, Wadi Sha'eb and Wadi Kufreih areas." Mr. G. S. Blake, Geological Adviser to the Government of Palestine, has written a Report on Geology, Soils and Minerals and Hydro-Geological Correlations.

There are some good photographs as well as maps and tables, and, although a great part of the Report is for the consideration of technical experts, there is much that should be read by everyone interested in the possibilities of the development of Transjordan and the settlement of the tribes.

The Report is published by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4, Millbank, S.W., for the Government of Transjordan. Price 30s.

A Winter in Arabia. By Freya Stark. 9¼" × 6½". Pp. xii + 328. Illustrations from the author's own collection of photographs and 3 maps. London: John Murray. 1940. 16s.

"This slight notebook," Miss Stark's description of this book and not ours, will be reviewed at length in the next number of the Journal. It is a diary most skilfully written of the winter which she spent with two scientists in the Hadhramaut and must be commended without delay to all who

love Arabia and appreciate the telling of day-by-day events there. The East and West, or rather the Orient and Occident, the followers of pure science and the followers of the casual life, meet and mix and are, perhaps, not so much mirrored as worked into the pattern of a philosophy.

"At last I am *alone!*" cries Miss Stark as she enters the Wadi 'Amd and begins her journey to the coast down one of the frankincense routes, the story of which she has told in several learned papers. "At last I am *alone!*" doubtless echoed from each of the two scientists with great relief as they parted from her and each other. But the effect of this winter when she aided them in reading the dust of the past can be expressed in Miss Stark's parting words :

"At three in the morning the lighthouse of Aden first appeared, a dim shaft on the hungry ridges, blossoming like civilization in recurrent intervals, with darkness large between. Only from the outer ocean and the night can you know how small a light it is, how vast the currents through which it beckons, how indomitable in his perpetual ventures the spirit of man."

And it is this spirit which dominates this delightful book.

CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Secretary, Royal Central Asian Society,
8, Clarges Street, London, W. 1.*

DEAR SIR,

Iraq's annual production of cotton, as reported on p. 183 of the April Journal, should be multiplied by ten. It would have been better to have given the figure in standard bales of 400 lbs., when it would have been 16,000 bales.

The third ginnery which is described as "in course of erection under the auspices of the Agricultural Bank" was completed in time for the 1939 crop. The statement that "the bank is participating in the capital of the ginnery, the balance being found by public subscription," is not correct. The ginnery is merely a department of the Bank.

The statement that there are "one or two weaving factories, of which the largest produces woollens" is not English. If there were two, then it would have referred to the larger, in which case it would have been interesting to know what the smaller factory produced. As however the writer seems uncertain as to whether there is more than one, the reference to the largest is still worse. Actually there are four factories for spinning as well as weaving, and they produce worsteds as well as woollens.

The regulation about foreign goods does not apply to all foreign countries but only to seven of them—viz., Japan, Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, U.S.S.R., Poland, Italy and Switzerland, and the proportion stipulated is 35 per cent. and not what is described as "up to a reasonable proportion, normally about 25 per cent." (Regulation No. 16 of 29/3/1939.)

In conclusion, as regards Genesis xxiii., I take leave to suggest that the only bargaining for caves and burial places that is likely to be overheard in Iraq is by the people and on the occasion under reference in the last line of the words of Joel quoted in Acts ii. 17.

Yours faithfully,
AUSTIN EASTWOOD.

To the Editor, "Royal Central Asian Journal."

DEAR SIR,

All friends of the unfortunate "Assyrian nation" will welcome an article from the Principal of the American University at Beyrout on the subject of the settlement of that portion of the people that now finds itself in Syria and on the River Khabor.

It is much that so busy a man, now in a position of especial anxiety, who has shown himself so consistent a friend of this people, should have spared the time to give this information.

If we venture to correct a slip or two and to call attention to some factors of the problem that Dr. Dodge has passed over, it is in no spirit of ingratitude to the author. It would seem that in some matters he has trusted to an authority (the Abbé Paul Bedar) who is not regarded as quite trustworthy by his own people.

Putting aside some arguable points of ancient history in Dr. Dodge's introduction, we would observe (apropos of some statements made on p. 304) that it was a young British officer, Lieutenant Pennington, of the R.A.F., who undertook the daring flight from Baghdad to Urmi in the year 1918, in order to make arrangements for a junction between the British and Assyrian forces. Pennington received a well-earned V.C. for the exploit. It was not the American missionary Dr. Shedd (who is here represented as taking that flight in the reverse direction) who performed that feat. Dr. Shedd's record of work for the Assyrians, both before and during the war, is a noble one, and it entailed the sacrifice of his life. This, however, he did not do, and so fine a man would not desire borrowed plumes. Incidentally, to describe the terrible sufferings incurred in the migration of the Assyrians from Urmi to Hamadan in 1918—which implied the loss of nearly half the whole nation—as “a veritable Valhalla” is a curious slip of the pen. The writer must mean something more like “purgatory.”

In speaking (p. 305) of the difficulty of getting the Assyrians to settle down quietly in Iraq and resign their hope of “a national home,” and of the failure of the Patriarch to be “a successful diplomat” in this, Dr. Dodge hardly gives weight to the fact that, in requesting this “home” for his community, Mar Shimun was only asking for what had been definitely promised to his people, and declared to be their right, by both the British authorities and by the League of Nations.

Further, it was the fact of the services rendered to the British Government by the “Assyrian Levy” during the Arab and Kurdish revolts that left the bad blood between the Assyrians and the people of Iraq that was such an obstacle to a settlement. It was at the special request of the British High Commissioner that Mar Shimun persuaded his people to continue these services at a time when they wished to discontinue them.

It is possible that a youth then in his early twenties might have played his cards better! At least let it be remembered that he worked always with his people, never as their dictator, and that he refused many offers of excellent terms for himself and his family if he would consent to abandon that people's interests.

On p. 305 Dr. Dodge suggests that the Arabs were naturally frightened when the British authorities allowed the Assyrians settled in certain villages to possess arms. This was (a) a necessity under the circumstances, to enable the Assyrians to protect themselves from the armed Arabs and Kurds, and (b) a mere fulfilment of a definite promise made to the Assyrians when they handed over their arms to the British on coming under their protection in 1918.

Dr. Dodge does not mention another fact that made it difficult for the Assyrians to trust the Government of Iraq. This was the arrest and deportation of the Patriarch by that Government in July, 1933, a proceeding carried out without trial or even accusation, and justified by an *ex post facto* law, when the Patriarch had been invited to come to Baghdad to discuss a settlement of the problem.

It was to a nation thus rendered leaderless that on July 10, 1933, Colonel Stafford gave the choice in so many words, "either you settle down as ordinary *rayahs* of Iraq, or you get up and go." It was this that led directly to an irregular attempt at migration and to the massacres of Simel and Dohuk. The attempt to settle in a hurry a problem that had puzzled all the world for years led to a disaster most discreditable both to England and to Iraq.

Migration to Syria for such Assyrians (about one-third of the "nation") as found life in Iraq impossible was then adopted as a *pis aller*, when it seemed hopeless to find a home for them anywhere else. A Committee of the League of Nations, however, reported that all the nation, save a handful of individuals, wished to leave Iraq.

After inevitable difficulties in the process (of which Dr. Dodge gives a very valuable account), difficulties that entailed very severe sufferings for the people, a settlement of this portion of them was made into a passable success. This was due partly to excellent French and Swiss administrators, partly to the fact that the Assyrians accepted the situation and tried to make the best of it. Those in Syria have accepted Syrian nationality and have declared themselves, on the advice of their Patriarch, willing to serve France; the Government of Iraq, rather ashamed of the Simel episode, have done their best to secure tolerable treatment for those Assyrians who have remained within their borders.

Much remains to be done on the Khabor. As Dr. Dodge observes, the local Beduin are not reconciled to the presence of this foreign element in "their" land, and the whole future of Syria is by no means certain. The colony stands in great need both of education and of leaders, and more especially of educated clergy. Dr. Dodge omits to say, however, that the means of providing this has been refused to the Assyrians.

The great bulk of the colony is of the (so-called) "Nestorian" Church, an episcopal body that has ruled itself by its own canons and customs since about the year 100 A.D.

Now, Assyrian Bishops are not permitted to organize the life and education of their church, though Roman Catholic bishops are allowed to go among them and do excellent work in their own way—which is not the way that the Assyrians wish!

The Patriarch is not permitted to visit the colony and is kept in exile from his people. Surely, whatever he may or may not have done in Iraq, he can hardly have offended the Government of a country whither he has never been. There are bishops of the church in Iraq, but they are not allowed to cross the frontier even to ordain the priests that the church in the Khabor district admittedly needs, or to meet and hold counsel with the Patriarch, even in a foreign land.

We suggest that these prohibitions might well be withdrawn, and a Patriarch who has been punished by seven years of exile for offences of which he has never been informed might now be considered to have purged his hypothetical guilt, and allowed freedom to exercise his office among his own folk.

French administration has made at least a tolerable job of what both England and Iraq muddled sadly. Would it not be possible for that Government to allow a tiny community that is ready to be loyal to them that freedom of religious organization and of managing their own local affairs which French law normally permits to its subjects? Thus the people would have the opportunity of doing for themselves what foreign philanthropy now has to do for them.

I am, sir,

Yours very faithfully,

W. A. WIGRAM.

OBITUARY

LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR TRENCHARD FOWLE, K.C.I.E.,
C.B.E.

THE death of Sir Trenchard Fowle on February 23, at the age of fifty-five, came as a shock to his many British and Arab friends in the Persian Gulf, which he left early in the autumn on his retirement from the post of Political Resident.

Fowle had devoted most of his life to service in the East. He spent over thirty years in India, Persia, Aden and Iraq, and for the last ten years he served in the Persian Gulf, first as Political Agent, Muscat, and from 1932 as Political Resident at Bushire. He was created C.B.E. in 1929 and K.C.I.E. in 1937.

Fowle had a thorough knowledge of the Middle East and the people who dwell there; this, with his sound common sense and his Irish humour, contributed to his success as an administrator. He had a straightforward manner in dealing with Asiatics and the ability to sum up the facts of a case concisely. He would walk up and down the room, pipe in hand, considering and discussing and dictating a letter or note as he did so.

Fowle was a great reader and he wrote himself. Besides his book *Travels in the Middle East*, published in 1916, he was the author of many articles for magazines and periodicals. He had a catholic taste in literature, an unashamed fondness for detective stories and a liking for real criminal cases. He would discuss famous trials with real knowledge and interest and he was very fond of the theatre, preferring "straight" plays to all others.

During Fowle's tenure of office there were great changes in the Persian Gulf. From being little known to the general public, except on account of its unenviable climate, it developed into the centre of a great new oil industry and an important link in the Imperial Air Route. Fowle was responsible for many complicated negotiations between the British Government and the Arab Rulers concerning oil concessions, air routes and naval bases.

Fowle's death has deprived the Empire of an experienced and useful servant and the Society has lost a valuable member.

C. D. B.

MESOPOTAMIAN MEMORIAL CHURCH, BAGHDAD

MEMORIAL WINDOW TO THE LATE LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM RAINES MARSHALL

THE stained-glass window to the memory of the late Lieut.-General Sir William Raines Marshall, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I., has been completed and can be seen at the Studios of the Stained-Glass Artists, Messrs. G. Maile and Son, Ltd., 367, Euston Road, Regent's Park, N.W. 1.

The window, which will very shortly be despatched to Baghdad for erection in the Mesopotamian Memorial Church, has as the central motif a plain cross of amber glass with the family coat-of-arms in the centre and the regimental badge of the Sherwood Foresters below. The dedicatory inscription reads as follows :

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN HONOURED MEMORY OF
LT.-GEN. SIR WILLIAM RAINES MARSHALL
G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.C.S.I.
COMMANDER IN CHIEF
MESOPOTAMIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE. 1917-1919.
BORN 29TH OCT. 1865. DIED 1ST JUNE 1939.

The subscription list is still open, and subscriptions should be sent to the Honorary Treasurer, Major-General Bruce Hay, c/o National Provincial Bank, 66, Trafalgar Square, W.C. 2.

THE ROYAL CENTRAL ASIAN SOCIETY, 8, CLARGES STREET, W. 1.

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EXPENDITURE.				INCOME.							
				£	s.	d.					
				£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		
To <i>Office Expenses:</i>											
Salaries and National Insurance	453	4	6	By <i>Subscriptions received</i>	1,701 8 3
Rent	...	...	...	250	0	0	„ <i>Journal Subscriptions and Sales</i>	...	...	...	84 10 9
Telephone	...	...	...	13	11	6	„ <i>Interest Received (less tax)</i>	...	...	...	12 2 0
Stationery and printing	...	...	...	34	11	6	„ <i>Interest on Deposits</i>	...	...	...	13 15 3
Postage	...	...	...	70	1	4	„ <i>Annual Dinner</i>	...	...	...	211 10 6
Office cleaning	...	...	...	55	13	5	„ <i>Dinner Club (Contributions to expenses)</i>	...	...	...	25 0 0
Audit fee	...	...	...	5	5	0	„ <i>Income Tax Reclaimed</i>	...	...	...	56 16 11
Bank charges	...	...	...	4	9	10	„ <i>Gifts</i>	...	...	...	24 16 0
Lighting and heating	...	...	...	29	9	3					
Sundries	...	...	...	21	13	9					
				938 0 1							
„ <i>Journal:</i>											
Printing	...	...	...	590	3	11					
Postage	...	...	...	84	7	8					
Reporting	...	...	...	20	10	0					
				695 1 7							
„ <i>Lectures:</i>											
Lecture fees and expenses	...	...	...	34	4	0					
Lecture halls and expenses	...	...	...	66	5	0					
Lantern	...	...	...	7	14	6					
Slides	...	...	...	23	11	9					
Printing	13	15	7					
				145 10 10							
„ <i>Cost of Printing Rules and List of Members</i>	50 12 0							
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Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society

VOL. XXVII

OCTOBER, 1940

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NOTICES

MEMBERS who have contributed to this number of the Journal are to be congratulated. As usual it makes first-rate reading, and the Council is aware that many of those who have written for it are already fully occupied with work, with pressure heightened by the war and concentration made more difficult by the noise of air warfare and sounding of sirens. They wish therefore to say how very glad they are that it has been possible to produce such an excellent number.

* * * * *

The Society will feel the loss of five of its well-known members: Lord Lamington, an Honorary Vice-President and Chairman of the East India Association; Sir Denison Ross, a Vice-President, and connected with the Society in many ways; General J. Bruce Hay, who with his wife was killed when a bomb hit the hotel where he was staying; Colonel Claude Beddington, whose book, *We Sailed from Brixham*, published last year, gave an account of a voyage he made, sailing his own boat to Akaba and down the Red Sea, and whose knowledge of the handling of small craft made it possible for him to captain a mine-sweeper, until he was killed by machine-gun fire in the Channel; Lord Alington, who was serving in the Middle East, and who will be the greater loss as his career lay in front of him.

* * * * *

The Council is most grateful to those members who have already responded to the appeal to sign the covenant and/or to raise their subscription to 25s. Although the temptation to resign all societies which require a yearly subscription must be great, if all those who can will hold their membership the Society should be able to steer safely through these difficult years and face those which lie ahead with a sound financial basis, with no need for any appeals for help or to raise the subscription, and will continue its work without too great difficulty.

* * * * *

Thanks are due to our printer for carrying through this Journal in spite of a severe fire due to an oil bomb.

* * * * *

Contributors only are responsible for their statements in the Journal. Will members who are not receiving their cards and Journals let the Secretary know without delay.

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THE PEACOCK ANGEL IN THE SPRING

By E. S. DROWER

Lecture given on July 31, 1940, Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G., in the Chair.

I MUST confess at the start that I have not penetrated deeply into the Yezidi religion. Their secrets are still inviolate, and I feel tempted to think that a good many of them, even their priests, are not clear as to these secrets themselves. Indeed, one of the charms of the Yezidis is that they are very vague about theology. Lescot, in his book on the Yezidis, complains that each time he asked for a list of the seven angels he was given different names, and I could add fresh variants. However, they are all positive about one thing, and that is that the Peacock Angel, Taw'ūs Melké, is chief of them all, and, as you know, this Angel is supposed by outsiders to be none other than Lucifer himself, or more plainly, Satan. The Yezidis lend colour to this by forbidding the word *Shaitān* to be spoken, but when I talked with a *qawwāl* he was emphatic that the Peacock Angel was *not* the Prince of Evil. "We say," he said, "that evil comes from men's hearts," and went on to add that men who do evil are punished in their next reincarnation. They believe firmly in reincarnation, and I was told by a Yezidi woman that in dreams it was possible to know something of past lives.

Of one thing I am convinced, that they do *not* look upon their worship of the Peacock Angel as a propitiation of evil. They are a pious people: the name of God is always on their lips and prayer and reverence to the shrines an essential part of their daily life. Prayer should be said five times a day, facing the sun, and particularly at sunrise and sunset. Every time a Yezidi passes a holy place he kisses the stones of the walls and threshold and every Tuesday and Thursday evening lights are placed at the shrines.

Their practised religion is a kind of pantheism. God, for them, is in the sun, the moon, the planets, the mountain spring, the green tree, and his mystery in caves and bethel stones. The most common form of shrine is a tree and a spring together, and wherever the white spire of a Yezidi cone arises you may be sure that these are not far away. Sometimes a fluted spire marks the tomb of a saint, sometimes it is a mere cenotaph named after one of the so-called companions of Shaikh 'Adi.

This may camouflage nature-worship. Here is a slide of the shrine of Shaikh Shems-ad-Din at Shaikh 'Adi. That means, of course, Sun-of-the-Faith, and a shaikh of that name is, they say, buried beneath. It may be so, but a bull (not necessarily a white one, by the way) is slaughtered there once a year, and on the spire is a golden ball placed where the first rays of the rising sun strike it: moreover, on many mountain tops in Yezidi districts one finds a flat rock, enclosed by a wall, which is considered holy and called Shaikh Shems, Shaikh Sun. There is one such near Shaikh 'Adi.

The object of my going north this spring was to see the Yezidi spring festival, and for this purpose I selected the village of Baashika, not far from Mosul. The 'Iraqi authorities most kindly placed a small house at my disposal, and I lived there some time before the feast in order to get acquainted with the people of the place and see something of the pattern of their lives.

I had an introduction from a Yezidi friend to a young man there, Rashid ibn Sadiq, and my first call was on him. His father was away in the Jebel Sinjar, so Rashid did the honours, preparing tea for me himself as I sat under the pergola in his courtyard. I told him what I wanted, and he promised to help in every way that he could, and was as good as his word. He sent there and then for one of the qawwāls, and that evening two of them visited me. I must explain what qawwāls are. They are the third grade of the Yezidi priesthood, and it is they who travel with the sanjak, the image of the sacred peacock. Their chief duty is to chant, and their chants are transmitted from father to son and never written down. They must also be able to play the *shēbāb* and the daff, the sacred flute and tambour. Above the qawwāls are the pīrs, and above these the shaikhs. All three orders are hereditary, and a member may only marry within his own rank. A fourth hereditary order is that of the faqīrs, who are ascetics and wear next their skins a black woollen tunic which is considered very holy, also a sacred thread and belt. Then there is a lay order, the kocheks, who wear white and are often made custodians of the shrines.

I became friendly with the qawwāls, particularly with one of them who had served in the Levies when he was young. Ever since then he has polished his teakettle and Primus with Brasso and talked of the English. When he joined the force he was told that he must cut off his long hair and beard. He was horrified, and was taken before an English officer. He explained to this officer that a qawwāl may not cut his hair, and the Englishman, he told me, "asked me about my

religion, and talked to me as a friend." He was allowed to keep his hair.

Rashīd sent me a Yezidi midwife. She was far from clean, and her hair straggled over her old face. People called her Mama, or Hajjia, but my name for her was Sairey Gamp. From her I heard about childbirth and the customs of Yezidi women at such times. She took me to a Moslem patient directly the baby arrived, and to a Yezidi woman who had just had a miscarriage, and at both I learnt a good deal. No Yezidi woman obliged me by having a baby, but I heard what happened both from a Yezidi woman and from Sairey. A visitor told me one day that it was believed in the village that I wanted to take a photograph of a woman having a baby because women in England did not have their babies naturally, but by surgical operation. She brought her daughters to see me. One was a tattooist, and as I had examined many of the tattooings on Yezidi women I was glad to hear from her exactly how it was done. A thick paste is made from sheep's gall, black from olive-oil lamp smoke, and milk fresh drawn from the breast of the mother of a girl-child—if the baby is a boy the punctures fester. The design is drawn in this and then pricked in with a needle, or two needles tied together. I noted the most common designs, amongst which were a comb, the sun, the moon, a human figure called "the doll," and various forms of cross.

Another of our friends was the headman of the village, a farmer, who told me many interesting things—for instance, of the dance performed when there is a drought. A boy and girl dance round the village, and the villagers throw water on them.

We became friendly, too, with a delightful old lady of shaikhly family, Sitt Gulé, who had had a tragic life. She was living here in exile, and her elder son was in prison because he aided some Yezidi youths to evade military service by crossing the frontier from the Jebel Sinjar into Syria. The younger son was imprisoned, too, because a few months before he had stabbed his sister, who wished to marry outside her caste. She was the only daughter, and he had murdered her in her mother's presence. Sitt Gulé was a very dignified old woman, who always wore white, and had a hard struggle to keep the household going, for it consisted of three daughters-in-law, eight children and two servants. She was broken-hearted about her elder son, and begged me to help to get him released.

Sitt Gulé took me one day to see the shrine of her ancestor, Shaikh Sajaddin. She told me as we came away, "The angel Gabriel is of our

family, too," in much the same tone as someone might mention that they were distantly connected with the Duke of Norfolk. The explanation is that the companions of Shaikh 'Adi are by legend supposed to have been incarnations of angels, so that she could, quite legitimately, claim angelic descent.

I must stop telling you about our friends in Baashika and describe the village itself. Layard mentions the cleanliness of the Yezidis, and I endorse every word he said. It was a delightfully clean village. No rubbish was thrown down in the streets, there were no dead dogs or donkeys left to decay, and, above all, there was no litter. Because few could read there was no newspaper of any kind, and when one went to the bazaar, one wrapped one's purchase in a kerchief. There was no post-office, no telephone or telegraph and no radio; in fact, it was the most blessed escape from the war that you can imagine. The scent of flowers and herbs blew through the streets from end to end, and the spring grass came right up to the village. When we climbed the hills we could see the plain for miles, and just below, the mound of Tel Billi, where the Americans were excavating till a year ago.

Baashika is close to the village of Bahzané, the road between the two being bordered by hilly graveyards, amongst which rise many Yezidi cones. Some are shrines, some are not. On this road is one of the sacred stones. It is surrounded by potsherds. Pilgrims to the shrine bring water in a vessel, pour it on the ground, and scrape up the mud to apply to sores and skin-diseases. The dust or clay from every shrine has medicinal value. Dust from Melké Miran is good for constipation, from Sitt Nefisah (a sacred tree by a stream) for fever, and so on. There are shrines all round the villages and in the hills. In one, shown to me by the old shaikha, a cave in which there was a spring, I discovered three panels carved on the rock, showing a deity and a procession bearing offerings. I reported these to the Department of Antiquities on my return to Baghdad, and they have now been photographed and noted by Mr. Seton-Lloyd for the Department.

I shall now describe the spring festival. It began on the evening of the sixteenth of April, the first Tuesday of Nisan (Old Style). As I was walking down the valley I heard the sound of a pipe and the hollow thud of a drum, and a whiff of incense drifted towards us.

We came on a group of women standing round a grave, weeping noisily and beating their breasts or slapping their faces to the measure of a plaintive little tune played by two qawwāls, one with his pipe and the other with a tambour. The tambour was like a large tambourine,

and was surrounded by jingles. After a few moments the music ceased, and when they had received a small fee, the qawwāls moved off to another grave. The women they had left sat round the grave chanting lamentations and sobbing aloud. These women were matrons and did not wear the gay headdresses of the younger women. On most of the graves bundles had been deposited and were opened up to show food within, crushed wheat (*burghul*) and eggs dyed bright orange. Any passer-by is offered food from these bundles, as we were, and the next day a number of gypsies, leading a bear, came to cadge what they could.

At the washing-pool below, where women beat the family washing with clubs, we saw newly slaughtered meat being washed, for on this evening every household should kill a lamb or a kid, or, if too poor, a chicken.

The feast proper began the next day. The Yezidi girls must have risen very early, for when we got up we saw that every house-door was decorated. Only one flower is used, the scarlet *ranunculus*, a bunch being fastened above every door, and one on either doorpost. The flowers are plastered on, stems upwards, with wet clay, and into the clay fragments of coloured eggshell are inserted. Many doorways were also smeared with the blood of the sacrifice. Not only house-doors, but the doors to rooms were decorated, and even the bees had red flowers plastered above the openings in the clay-plastered hives. Graves, too—each headstone was decorated—and the girls put tight bunches into their turbans. Everyone was making gifts of coloured eggs. The favourite colour was orange, a bright vegetable dye which women use for their woollen *meyzars*, but we saw also purple, green, and a madder hue produced by boiling onion skins with the eggs. None were blue, for blue is a colour forbidden to Yezidis as it is to Mandæans.

It was a general holiday, and in the square boys and men were gathered playing the egg-game. You hold your egg in your fist with one end showing, and tap it against your opponent's held in the same way. The loser is he whose egg cracks first. For a farthing one could glue one's eye to a small hole in the peepshow, set up close by. We did, and enjoyed seeing highly coloured pictures of the German Emperor and his family, the Czar of Russia, a marvellous mountain scene which the man said was London, and so on.

In spite of the general merrymaking, the weeping at the tombs continued, and when we passed near them we heard the thump-thump of

breast-beating, the loud sobbing, and the haunting little tune played by the qawwāls. We had many visitors that day, who brought us gifts of coloured eggs, *kleycha* (a kind of mincepie made for the feast), some of the sacrificial meat, and so on. That night water was heated in every Yezidi house, for, after the Big Sacrifice comes the Big Wash, when every Yezidi takes a bath. That this is a ritual bath I do not doubt as the feast follows the ancient pattern throughout.

The next day was more or less a day of waiting. The people still kept holiday, went visiting and gambled for eggs, and we still heard the weeping at the tombs. That evening, all the chief men of the place would go to the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad al-Huneyfi, the largest Yezidi shrine in Baashika, to hold there an all-night vigil. We heard a great deal about this vigil, and outsiders hinted that horrible doings took place in the shrine. "There is one thing you will never see," one of the Jacobite monks told me, "and that is what goes on at Shaikh Muhammad the second night of the feast." An Assyrian missionary told me the same thing. "Not a Moslem or Christian is allowed near the place," he said.

So, late in the afternoon, my friend and I wandered down towards the forbidden ground, the shrine of Shaikh Muhammad. The door stood open and the green courtyard and shrine beyond looked inviting. We peeped in. Men sat round the courtyard and when they saw us they called to us to come in. The aged *kocek* who acts as custodian, dressed in spotless white, smiled at us, and waved us in. So in we went, took seats on the ground like the rest, and coffee was brought to us. A few women were busy in an ante-chamber preparing food, and on the grass before the shrine there was an iron stand supporting a four-lipped lamp in which four wicks were laid. I asked about this lamp and was told, after a little hesitation, that the lips represented the north, south, east and west, the road of the sun. Later on, about sunset, the *kocek* stood solemnly before the lamp, poured olive oil into it, then lit it with a piece of flaming wood.

We removed our shoes and entered the ante-chamber and laid an offering there, but did not go into the interior lest it might grate upon their feelings.

We could see, however, that the tomb was covered with green and red drapings. Then we resumed our seats. Yezidis arrived constantly. They walked straight up the paved path to the shrine and, stopping halfway, touched the breast with both hands, then the mouth and forehead, bringing the hands downwards strokingly over either cheek and

down the beard. At the shrine they knelt or bent and kissed the threshold, doorposts and stones by the doorway, then entered. From time to time a small procession arrived, headed by the *koçek*. Once it was a child in its mother's arms veiled in green silk which was left in the shrine, once an old man, hugging a cone of sugar. These were votive offerings. Coffee was brought at intervals, and most of the Yezidis sitting round, dressed in white and wearing red turbans, were smoking long pipes—*qaliüns*.

Presently four *qawwāls* who sat in a corner by the shrine drew out their instruments from brown bags, warmed the tambours over a brazier, and began to chant. The melody was less folk-like than the tune at the tombs. The rhythm constantly changed, and the beating of the tambours was led by the senior *qawwāl*. The tambours were not always held still, but were swept upwards, outwards or sideways, like a flock of birds wheeling together, and at certain points in the chant were shaken violently so that the jingles clashed and the drumming became violent. Prayer followed in which all joined, then, after an interval, another chant, and so on.

It was getting late and we did not wish to outstay our welcome, remembering all we had heard, and I said so to Rashid, rising to go. He then made us a charming little speech, said so that all could hear. He said that never before had outsiders been admitted to the shrine on this night, and they would never be admitted again. They had invited us in, and now invited us to stay, as a mark that they appreciated our friendship. Had we been men, even that wouldn't have let us in, but as women, and their good friends, we were welcome. Would we please not tell anyone we had been here.

We were deeply touched, and said so. I did not mention in the village that we had been admitted, and I hope that no one will ever presume on the favour shown to us.

A little later there was a shrill joy-cry outside and all rose to their feet. It was the *Baba Shaikh*, the religious head of the sect, a tall, stately old man dressed in white, his son walking behind him. He went the round, offering his hand to be kissed. When he reached us he checked, and then passed us over. However, when he had taken his seat, I could see explanations going on, and he sent for us. As he spoke nothing but Kurdish, an interpreter was necessary. I told him that we were greatly honoured by the permission to be present, and so on, and he was gracious to us.

Large bowls of *harīsa* were then served—a kind of wheaten por-

ridge, and bowls of meat. These were set round the courtyard, several eating from each bowl, and we ate like the rest. After the meal the Baba Shaikh washed his hands and called for his pipe, four feet long, with a huge amber mouthpiece. His son lit it for him, and then the Shaikh's tobacco bag, beautifully embroidered, was handed round to certain honoured guests. I must not indulge in too much detail. The chanting and prayer continued, but we did not stay all night. We were tired, and were assured that what we had seen and heard continued till dawn, and that nothing else took place. So we went home to sleep.

The next day was sheer Bacchanal. As luck would have it the sun was shining brightly, and we went straight down to the shrine again. The large grassy space before the building had become a fairground. Every moment people arrived, and more and more. There were pedlars sitting in long rows, tents, gypsies, fortune-tellers, and so on. We again entered the shrine, for it was there that the first ritual dance would take place. The roof was already crowded with women who, with the exception of ourselves, were not allowed to sit in the courtyard below. As we sat, other women came in; they arrived constantly, and joined those on the roof. The dresses, the jewellery, the chains, the amulets, the embroideries, the rainbow colours were so incredibly brilliant that my friend and I kept saying to each other, "Oh, look, look!" till words failed us. Solomon in all his glory certainly was not arrayed as one of these. The headdresses alone were magnificent. Above shining helmets of silver coins they wore turbans of silk kerchiefs of several colours decorated with silver and gold chains, jewels, and large-headed pins. Huge silver buckles to their belts are worn by Yezidi women, and in addition they wore festoons of bright beads, silver and gold. On their arms were amulet boxes, and their hair, artificially prolonged with black sheep's wool, was fastened with chains and baubles of gold or silver that reached their feet. As for colour, orange, scarlet, green, violet, purple, daffodil yellow, lemon, there was every possible combination you can think of. When no more colour could be put into the dress, it was added in the shape of multiple-coloured tassels.

They were not all Yezidi women—numbers of them were Kurds from the villages, some were Christian. But all went and paid reverence to the tomb, for a saint is a saint whatever his religion. Many girls had flowers in their turbans, and some of the Yezidi girls were as fair as English women. The difference in racial type between the

laymen of these villages and the hereditary priesthood is very great: the laymen might almost pass as Scandinavians with their tawny shocks of hair and blue eyes, whilst the religious orders are all dark.

At last there was a stir without. The men in the courtyard stood up in rows, and there were shrill joy-cries outside and on the roof. The great moment was near. In the next minute the piper and the drummer entered. We had already seen them in the village, followed by a crowd. Their instruments were not like those of the qawwāl. The drum was a big ṭabal, the pipe a wide-mouthed wooden flute called the zurna or zurnaya. As soon as they had come into the courtyard both these men fell on their knees, facing the shrine. The piper played one long shrill note that sounded like a cry to wake the dead, and the drummer beat a prolonged roll. They swayed backwards and forwards. This lasted a full ten minutes, while the women kept up their fluttering cry from the roof. Everyone else was as still as death. I cannot tell you how stirring it was. Then the two rose to their feet and entered the shrine, and as soon as they came out the men in the courtyard linked arms for the dance. The piper and the drummer stood in the middle and struck up. The tune they played is that which is always played at the opening of the spring festival, and it is gay and inspiring. To dance in the shrine is an honour which brings a blessing, and the right to dance here is sold previously by auction.

It was hot in the crowded courtyard as the men shuffled round in the dance. It was the debka, which many of you no doubt may have seen. When it stopped, everyone streamed outside to the fairground, and the dance started there again, but this time anyone could join in, women as well as men, and the circle grew wider and wider and the dancing grew more abandoned as the day went on. The men stamped and leaped and waved their long sleeves; the women danced more stolidly. There was a pause at noon, but dancing began again in the afternoon and was continued at night by moonlight, though the piper and his mate had gone to sleep by then and the rhythm was supplied by clapping.

Well, that was the spring festival, and I fear I have not much time left to tell you about Shaikh 'Adi.

That was, I think, one of the loveliest experiences I have ever had. The temple of Shaikh 'Adi, with many subsidiary shrines, lies in a valley in the Hakkiari Mountains and is reached by an extremely bad road from a village called 'Ain Sifni. The valley lies in a deep pocket of the hills, almost a gorge, and the white cones of the shrines rise

above the green of the many trees which grow there. It is a very lovely place, and as one goes up the pilgrims' path the murmur of water gets louder and louder till at the shrine itself the rushing is perpetual and almost drowns the song of the many birds. I walked up, and came suddenly upon the first archway of grey stone, and there, standing beneath it, were two ladies dressed in white, wearing white woollen meyzars, white turbans and wimples, with spindles of white wool in their hands. These were two of the permanent attendants of the shrine, one was a novice and the other the abbess or kabana. She was a woman of late middle age with an expression of singular sweetness and dignity. These white ladies never marry once they are vowed to the shrine. There was one more, an aged nun to whom I never spoke. She used to sit spinning, spinning her white thread all the day, looking like one of the three fates as she sat on her grey wall. Unfortunately for me the Shawish, the permanent guardian of the place, to whom I had a special recommendation, was absent. His subordinate only holds office for a year and lives by what he makes out of the pilgrims. The privilege is sold by auction, and Faqir Reshu, the present servitor, paid the Mir £350 for his post, so that, obviously, the sum made from the pilgrims is considerable, and most of it is made during the great Feast of Assembly, when the whole hillside is dotted with camping pilgrims, pedlars open shops, and at night the debka is danced in the courtyards. In normal times the servitor has only to look after the shrine, keep it clean, and see to the lights. My room, the guest-room, was just by the baptism tanks, and from its windows I could see the faqir every evening going on his rounds with the sacred fire. He carries a large bowl of olive oil. This bowl has a wide lip, upon which lay a bundle of flaming wicks, and in his other hand he carries a ladle. I could watch little flames leap up as he placed the wicks here and there on rocks and corners, speeding up the rocky paths, sometimes disappearing up an arched passage. Now and again he stopped to ladle oil into a lamp and kindle it. He was barefoot, so were the nuns, and every Yezidi who comes to the valley removes his shoes whilst he is there. We were not allowed to use petroleum lamps; nothing but olive oil must be used for lighting. I was permitted a candle as a concession.

The temple, with its forecourt and courtyards, its paved ways, arches and stone steps, is very like a mediæval monastery; indeed, probably was one originally, and was almost certainly a sanctuary before the Christian era. The temple, with its famous black snake by

the door, has been rebuilt, probably many times. The blocks of stone of which it is built are unmortared, and on the western face are several carvings in low relief and some inscriptions. Above the door is the flaming sun-disc, enclosing a crescent moon and a five-rayed star. On the walls are the usual Yezidi symbols, found again and again on other shrines. They are the shaikh's gopal, like a walking-stick; the comb, teeth upwards; the lion; the moon, crescent and full; stars; flowers; a gurgeyza or mace; and the five-stopped pipe of the qawwāls. The serpent, too, is found on other shrines in the holy valley, mostly in a vertical position, but on one shrine coiled.

I did not enter the temple until the last day. I had already paid flying visits to Shaikh 'Adi in previous years and had been inside it. But I noted carefully the other shrines, and of these there were many. The dust of each was used as a remedy, and Jiddan told me that some of the shaikhs keep pots of shrine dust by them just as chemists keep pills and powders. Muslims, too, go to the shrine for cures, and I saw the abbess one day interviewing a Kurd who came habitually to get rid of rheumatism. He asked her what he should do for stomach ache, and she gave him excellent advice as to diet coupled with an injunction to rub the seat of the trouble with Shaikh 'Adi clay. One of the shrines, Pīr Hajjāli, is famed for curing madmen. They are chained within the building till their reason returns. If not, after a time they are removed.

The peace and quiet of the place were enough to cure anyone whose wits were not wholly gone. Wild flowers grew everywhere and the birds sang all day long, especially the blackbird, and one day I was delighted to hear the cuckoo. Trees were thick in the valley—mulberries, oaks and others, including the qazwān (a species of pistachio) a fine tree considered especially sacred. It bears a jade-coloured edible berry and becomes very large. May trees were in blossom and the whole place was scented with herbs. There was really an atmosphere about the place—a kind of happy sanctity reminding one of Assisi.

I have no time to tell you about the shaikh who carved spoons there, a gentle and charming person, or of my talks with the faqīr, or of many pleasant times I had with the white ladies. At dawn and at dusk I saw these ladies praying before the temple and devoutly kissing the walls, then setting off barefoot up the rocky paths to visit and salute all the many other holy places round the valley. They had only just heard, by the way, that there was a war on and that a person called Hitler was upsetting the world.

The last day arrived. I took off my shoes and went with the faqīr into the building itself. It is very dark, divided into two naves, with two chapels on the north side containing the tombs of Shaikh 'Adi and Shaikh Hasan al-Basri respectively. The floor is dirty with droppings from the olive-oil lamps. The temple has often been described, so I shall not dwell upon it here. My purpose was this time to see the crypt below the temple. Here is the sacred spring they call Zemzem, and it flows through a cavern in the natural rock. Mr. Wigram entered it during an attack by the Turks and the absence of the Yezidis, and Miss Bell was taken into it by the Mīr's aunt, then the abbess.

Well, I was disappointed. The faqīr, who was a fanatical, dour, pale, pock-marked little man, first strenuously denied that there was such a place, then he tried to palm off as the crypt a cavern used for storing oil, and, finally, faced by my accusing knowledge and in the presence of several people who tried to make peace between us, he admitted it. He admitted he had lied, he admitted the crypt, he admitted everything, but he would not admit me.

"I will not let my own wife enter," he said, "nor the Mīr himself. Only the Shawish, and these ladies, and the Baba Shaikh may go in there, and when I enter to clean it the lamp in my hand trembles because it is so holy that I am afraid."

At the time I was annoyed, but when I reflected I saw that he had really done me a service. It was not so much what was there that was important, but the attitude of the Yezidis towards it. The tombs and temples above were revered, but were not holy as this was holy. The spring and the cave were the real sanctuaries, older, far older, than the saint who lived and died here and left his name to the valley; old, perhaps, when Nebuchadnezzar sat on his throne.

So I forgave him, and when we parted he called down the blessing of Shaikh 'Adi on my head, while the white ladies said they would pray for me at the shrine. I hope that they did.

Mr. HUMPHREY BOWMAN, after paying his tribute to Mrs. Drower for her admirable lecture, said that in 1918 Colonel Leachman, the first British Political Officer of Mosul, opened a school, soon after the occupation, in Jebel Sinjar, one of the Yezidi strongholds. He was asked by Colonel Leachman to visit the school and try to persuade the Yezidis to send their children there. On arrival he found Muslim and Christian children, but no Yezidis. It appeared that soon after the opening of the school, which was at first attended by a few Yezidi

boys, an earthquake had occurred, in which several people had been killed. The earthquake was followed by the flooding of the stream that flowed through Jebel Sinjar, and two Yezidi boys had been drowned on their way to school. This, said the shaikhs, was the result of disobeying their canon law, which forbade learning except to the priests. The Devil was offended and had taken his revenge. A conference took place between the speaker and the shaikhs, and after some discussion they agreed to send their sons to school on two conditions, both of which were readily conceded. The first was that a Yezidi priest should teach religion to boys of that faith; the second was to eliminate the word "shatt" (river) from the Arabic wall maps supplied by Government and substitute the word "nahr," which meant the same but did not offend by having those fateful letters which appeared in the name "shaitân." Thereafter Yezidi boys attended in some numbers, and he was able to report to Colonel Leachman that the wish then dearest to his heart had been fulfilled.

Mr. Bowman also recalled the story related by Gertrude Bell in her famous Review of the Civil Administration of 'Iraq, published as a White Paper in 1920. The head of the Christian monastery of Alqôsh had indicated one of the monks to a Political Officer. "That man," he said, "was born a Yezidi. As a boy he was ploughing his father's fields. He had heard that anyone saying the name 'shaitân' would be struck blind, and he made up his mind to put it to the test. Very slowly he said 'sh-sh-shai-shaitân.' Nothing happened, and on returning home he told his father what he had done. 'Father, I have said that which is forbidden, and I am not blind.' 'Aren't you?' said his father, reaching for his gun; 'then you soon will be.' The boy fled, hotly pursued by his father, and sought refuge in the monastery of Alqôsh, where he was brought up as a Christian and became a monk."

The meeting closed with a very warm vote of thanks for a delightful lecture, which had been illustrated by excellent lantern slides.

ANGLO-JAPANESE RELATIONS: JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION

By VISCOUNT KANO

On June 6 Viscount Kano was the principal speaker at a luncheon meeting at which the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Lindley, G.C.M.G., was in the Chair. As the political position had altered since that date, Viscount Kano has kindly given the following paper as a contribution to a better Anglo-Japanese understanding. The pact between Japan and the Axis had not been published.

BEFORE any explanation of current Japanese public opinion may be given for English readers, it is necessary that some attempt should be made to define the circumstances which have given rise to present-day events.

1. English opinion is generally inclined to regard the Manchurian affair as marking the commencement of unfriendly relations between England and Japan, Japan from then onwards assuming the rôle of the aggressor towards China. Japanese, however, hold quite different views, and, remembering Japan's part in the last war, when she loyally upheld her obligations as an ally of Britain, feel that she was discarded at the Washington Conference. From that time Britain has followed with America the policy of administering law and order to the Orient, a policy fraught with danger, for the Oriental mind does not follow or conform to the Occidental conceptions of law.

In particular, China has always stood in need of a guardian to guide her and assist in the maintenance of her internal and external security. When the Anglo-Japanese Alliance existed the two island empires co-operated in that capacity. But with the abrogation of the Alliance came trouble, first between China and Great Britain and afterwards with Japan.

2. Again, the question of Sino-Japanese relations is misunderstood in Europe. The foreign policy of China has been traditionally based on the saying "Use the barbarian to fight the barbarian"—a policy which has been understood in the Orient for a thousand years, but one which is little understood in Europe. If it had been, the possibility of playing off English interests against Japanese and *vice versa* would not have existed. Over the past three years Britain has been inclined to recognize whatever China did as being right and has taken an attitude detrimental to Japan.

3. On another subject, too, the English and the Japanese points of view are widely separated. The English have short—possibly conveniently short—political memories. They forget that there was a flourishing export textile trade in the Far East itself—a trade which was destroyed by Manchester in the nineteenth century. They forget, too, that their Manchester success was based on producing cheap goods for the low-purchasing-power Oriental population. The application of efficient methods and modern machinery alone has made possible the growth again of a cheap textile trade both in Japan and in India, which now produce cheaper and better goods than could be produced in England. Recollection of the past on the part of England might have led her to follow a more reasonable course.

4. Again, what Japanese could be expected to understand the attitude of the English Left Wing? Left-Wing intellectuals are generally honest men who wish for a world which should be ruled on humanitarian lines, ignoring how the present *status quo* came into being, but desiring only to maintain it. Besides, there are die-hard trade unionists without great international knowledge, but who exert influence even in the Labour party. Some of these men have clearly been influenced by Russian propaganda. They influence the British Government in the same manner as certain unintelligent elements in the Japanese Army influence their Government. Thus the sane and internationally experienced elements in the British and the Japanese Governments alike who want to collaborate and compromise find it very difficult to do so.

With this background let us try to assess the state of public opinion in Japan to-day.

Japan quite understands Germany's selfish nationalistic ideology and Italy's unreliable policy. She does not want to depend upon the Axis. On the other hand, she believes that the British, whom she once regarded as her best friends, failed to realize, or, if they do realize, are afraid of, the implications of the changed Far Eastern situation and only seek to become the good friend of one régime in China.

British moral and material support has benefited, not the vast mass of the Chinese people, but a small group under the domination of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang's power is decreasing and the area under his control declines, but still Britain maintains that she is helping China. What a fantastic and misleading assertion! According to British sources, by encouraging the dictator Chiang to resist Japan, she is championing the cause of democracy. Truly a dilemma!

After experiencing a policy so consistently and continuously un-

friendly it is natural that the Japanese should begin to nurse anti-British feelings, and with the outbreak of the European war the Japanese masses, not necessarily pro-German at heart, have nevertheless welcomed German successes. The British Press, in part influenced by propaganda, have misinterpreted this revulsion of popular feeling and represented it as being pro-Axis. In reality Japan's attitude with regard to the European military and diplomatic situation is neutral, as she has no political interest in Europe. Japan's view is that the war arose from economic maladjustment, and only the establishment of a new economic order in Europe can bring any fundamental solution.

Secondly, Japan's attitude towards the European situation is much the same as her reaction towards the American situation. She prefers that European questions should be adjusted by European countries alone and that differences in the Western Hemisphere should be regulated by the North and South American countries, so that whatever attitude America may finally adopt with regard to the European war, Japan would be unaffected. Japan considers her proper sphere to lie in the Far East, and regards the participation of other countries, including Germany and Italy, in Far Eastern questions as a challenge to her leadership and influence as a stabilizing factor for that part of the world.

Thirdly, Japan's basic policy is Far Eastern stability. She defends her "Monroe Doctrine" inasmuch as so long as she does not seek to interfere in European or American affairs she rejects interference by those countries in her sphere.

Fourthly, it is often asked what Japan expects from Great Britain and what she is prepared to offer in exchange.

The answer is quite simple: "Hands off the East politically, but collaborate economically." For Japan to live she must be industrialized, and her industries' demands for raw material have been satisfied hitherto largely from the British Empire. Similarly, Japan must have a share of world markets to be able to dispose of the products of her industries. There does not seem to be any fear of her industrial interests coming into conflict with British interests in the Far East, as, owing to the influence of trade unions and comparatively higher wages in Great Britain, the latter cannot compete with Japan in the cheap goods markets. On the other hand, Japan cannot rival Great Britain in the heavy industries. So far as the Chinese problem is concerned, Japan is prepared to safeguard British interests and favours the expansion of British trade in China, but in return expects Britain to place

confidence in her. If she feels that Britain regards her with suspicion, her attitude, naturally enough, will be changed. Great Britain has always, in Japanese eyes, mixed politics and economics in the Far East—an historical extension of colonial policy; when she built railroads and floated certain other loans she always exacted political concessions under the guise of economic arrangement from China. Such is natural because China was politically weak. Now, however, Japan is assuming more and more the rôle of protector; in other words, Japan will have the political leadership, and Great Britain must alter her policy of mixing politics with economics. Trust Japan and depend on her to manage Far Eastern politics, and Japan, in return, will not fail to respect and guard British interests in the Far East!

Fifthly, Japan's attitude to other countries in regard to the Far East has invariably been that they should co-operate on an equal basis. She is entirely unbiassed in this respect. In Japanese opinion, economic considerations are of the first importance, as her major preoccupation is always how to feed her growing population. For her highly developed industries, supplies of raw materials, and maintenance of markets assume prime importance, and these considerations, above all others, determine her foreign policy. As an illustration it may be mentioned that since the outbreak of war in Europe the introduction of trade and exchange controls by this country, and the increased effect of British economic warfare, it has become more and more difficult for Japan to obtain her raw material requirements. This stringency has led her to look elsewhere in her neighbourhood, and the international repercussions which her exploration of the possibilities afforded by the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China are the natural corollary. In other words, on account of Great Britain's pressure on Japan's economics, the so-called "new order" in the Far East, which at the first stage meant Manchoukuo and China, has now extended to the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China and the South Sea Islands. The British maintain that Japanese aggression is once more becoming evident. Nothing can be farther from the truth. The British themselves are directly responsible for the situation in which the tendency is for a more consolidated economic interdependence to spring up between the other Far Eastern nations and Japan.

Viscount Kano's thesis was challenged by Mr. E. M. Gull.

JAPAN'S SOUTHWARD EXPANSION

By H. J. TIMPERLEY

Mr. H. J. Timperley was the principal speaker at a luncheon meeting on July 10, Mr. E. M. Gull in the Chair.

THE Japanese urge towards expansion overseas, maritime as well as continental, began to find expression much earlier than is commonly supposed by that vast majority of people for whom Japanese history begins with the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japanese imperialism is customarily thought of as a comparatively modern development which followed the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse as a result of Commodore Perry's expedition in the middle of the nineteenth century. It is suggested that in imitating the industrialization of the Occidental nations who thus rudely forced their attentions upon her, Japan found it necessary to imitate also the methods by which those nations had secured for themselves markets and sources of raw material abroad. The fact is, however, that for at least six centuries before Perry's arrival Japanese expansionism had been, in one form or another, a dominant factor in the history of the Far East.

Perhaps the earlier attempts at expansion to which I shall refer can scarcely be dubbed imperialism in the modern sense of the term. Most maritime countries, our own included, have evinced that roving, acquisitive spirit which is perhaps inseparable from island communities. But the existence of this spirit came almost inevitably to form an element in latter-day Japanese imperialism, and it is essential to the understanding of that imperialism that its connection with past history should be realized.

There is abundant evidence to show that Japanese pirates, known to the Chinese as "wok'ou," roved the China Sea from about A.D. 1260 until they began to be displaced by a more formal type of merchant adventurer in the sixteenth century. Precisely when they first made their appearance is not clear, but they seem to have played an important part in repelling Kublai Khan's attempts to annex Japan, first in 1274 and again seven years later, when a still more elaborate expedition was despatched. In a sense the repulse of the Mongol expedition may be considered to mark the beginning of Japanese naval power, for the

Japanese, profiting by the lessons learned through this devastating experience, began to build bigger and better ships in order to put themselves on even terms with their formidable rival. Thus equipped, the Japanese buccaneers, who at first had confined their attention pretty much to Korea, now began to operate from the Liaotung peninsula to Shantung and then on down the China coast to Canton and beyond there again to the South Seas.

During the Ming dynasty an elaborate coastal defence system was organized in an effort to protect the country from depredation at the hands of the "wok'ou." In 1553 the people of Shanghai built a city wall for protection against the invaders, and in the following year they were able to defeat them with a contingent of monks brought down from Shantung. These so-called "monk-soldiers," who were famous for their proficiency in boxing, went into action with long iron bars said to weigh 30 catties (about 40 lbs.) and put the pirates to rout, burning several of their ships.

In process of time these pirates gave place to the so-called "Red Mark" ships privileged by the Government to go abroad, and during the second half of the sixteenth century Japanese adventurers began to push down towards the south-east, some of the boldest going so far afield as the Philippine Islands, where they soon came into conflict with the Spaniards. It is recorded that, much exercised over the discriminatory treatment applied to Japanese in the Philippines, a certain Harada Kiemon did his best to persuade Toyotomi Hideyoshi, then the real ruler of Japan, to despatch an expedition to "take the islands at a single blow, which would increase the sale of wheat-flour and other merchandise and bring money into the country." But Hideyoshi died shortly afterwards in the midst of his invasion of Korea, and soon after his death Japanese expansionism came temporarily to an end.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Japanese had established settlements at widely distributed points in Southern Asia, competing for a foothold with the Chinese, Portuguese, and Spaniards, by whom, especially in the case of the last mentioned, they were regarded with deep distrust. The Spaniards had good cause to fear the Japanese, for in 1582 the Islands had been invaded by a flotilla of 26 ships under a Japanese pirate chief named Taifusa, who landed at the mouth of the Kagayan river. Taifusa was beaten off after a fierce battle, but thereafter the Spaniards lived in terror of the Japanese adventurers and devoted much time and effort to building strong fortifications against them. It is interesting to find that in 1940—three and a half centuries

later—the defence of the Philippines against a possible Japanese attack is still an acute problem.

In Siam the Japanese had won for themselves a much stronger position. Even before the arrival of the Dutch and Portuguese upon the scene in the early part of the sixteenth century Japanese pirates had already extended their activities to this region, where they looted vessels coming from India, China and even from Japan itself. A hundred years later they were still levying toll along the Siamese coast, and it was while on his way to the Batani Strait that Captain John Davis, the English navigator after whom the Davis Strait was named, was killed in a fight with Japanese pirates in 1604. At this time the British, through the East India Company, were trying to obtain a share of the trade with Siam which hitherto had been largely monopolized by the Dutch, but they were not successful, and in 1623 they withdrew from the field.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century Japanese influence had taken deep root in Siam, both politically and socially. At that time there were resident in the country some 8,000 Japanese, who, split up into a number of self-governing groups, occupied a wide area which came to be known as the Japanese Settlement. Some of the Japanese group-leaders became powerful figures in Siamese domestic politics and at least two married royal princesses. Japanese held high positions at the court and for a time the royal bodyguard was composed of Japanese soldiers of fortune.

There is a romantic story which tells how when King Parasang was on his deathbed in 1628 he called to his side Yamada Nagasame, a Japanese adventurer, who had been largely instrumental in putting him on the throne, and commanded him to share with another Japanese named Kohama the responsibilities of the regency during the minority of the young Crown Prince. But Parasang's widow took Kohama, who was young and handsome, as her lover, and for his sake poisoned the boy King, who was 13 years of age, and ascended the throne herself. Subsequently the Queen had Yamada poisoned also, and this led to a quarrel with the Japanese, which finally resulted in the latter's withdrawal from Siam in a fleet of 300 ships in 1633. Yamada's exploits were recalled in a propaganda film made in Japan a few years ago for display in Siam as a means of promoting goodwill between the two countries on the basis of their traditional relationship.

There is evidence, too, of Japanese settlement in Java during the sixteenth century, and in 1619, when an English fleet attacked Jakatra,

they found that Japanese troops were assisting the Dutch to defend the port. Numbers of Japanese emigrated also to Cambodia, where, in about 1637, there were some 70 or 80 Japanese families upon whom the Court appears to have relied a good deal for support in time of domestic emergency.

It seemed likely that the exploits of these intrepid adventurers may have helped to inspire the expansionist ambitions of Hideyoshi, who, on his occasional visits to Sakai, the seaport near Kyoto, which was the headquarters of the principal trading interests, used to hear stirring tales of derring-do in China and the Philippines. These stories may well have helped to feed the ambition which led him to invade Korea in 1592, and again in 1597, in the hope of using it as a gateway for the conquest of China. His pretext for these futile and costly expeditions was the discontinuance of the practice of sending Korean embassies to Japan, but in reality, as Dening has made it clear in his biography, he was influenced by the love of foreign conquest, combined with the necessity of finding employment for his restive followers. That Hideyoshi's objective was the subjugation of China there can be little doubt, for so far back as 1578 he was reported to have made this boastful declaration to his master, Nobunaga: "When I have conquered the Chugoku, I will go on to Kyushu and take the whole of it. When Kyushu is ours, if you will grant me the revenue of that island for one year, I will prepare ships of war and supplies and go over and take Korea. Korea I shall ask you to bestow on me as a reward for my services, and to enable me to make still further conquests; for with Korean troops, aided by your illustrious influence, I intend to bring the whole of China under my sway. When that is effected the three countries (China, Korea and Japan) will be one. I shall do it all as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it under his arm."

But Hideyoshi's plans extended far beyond the conquest of China. "His aim," says Yoshi S. Kuno in the first volume of his fascinating *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, was to create a great Asiatic empire, including China, Japan, Korea, India, Persia, and such other Asiatic nations as were known to the Japanese in those days, as well as all the islands near the continent, such as the Liu Chius, Formosa, the Philippines, and other islands in the South Sea. He planned first to extend his ruling authority over China, Japan and Korea, together with the surrounding islands, and to make them the first unit of his new empire."

When the great Hideyoshi died in 1598 he was succeeded by an astute statesman, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who perceived that expansionism was a double-edged weapon. He foresaw the danger of Japan's being invaded in turn, and, from the standpoint of internal politics, the possibility that if foreign commerce were allowed to continue, the southern trading clans might become powerful enough to threaten the Shogunate. He therefore decided upon a policy of isolation from foreign contacts. Japanese ships were prohibited from going abroad and Japanese residing overseas were forbidden to return to Japan. Thus a halt was called to the expansionist activities which had been carried on intensively for more than a century and the widely scattered Japanese settlements in the Southern Pacific area disappeared.

But the expansionist spirit did not die out during the two and a half centuries of seclusion under the Tokugawa rule. It remained dormant and was fanned into fresh activity by the revival of Shintoism which took place towards the end of the seventeenth century. From this revival there sprang an imperialist movement which sought to remind the Shogunate of the aims of Greater Japan. Towards the end of the Tokugawa period expansionism began to be preached in Japan by those who were opposed to the Shogunate and advocated the restoration of imperial authority. Amongst the most effective of these protagonists was a remarkable individual who has been made known to English readers by Robert Louis Stevenson in his *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* as "Yoshida Torajiro," though he is more commonly known amongst Japanese as Yoshida Shoin. Yoshida and his group, who were already active by the time of Commodore Perry's arrival in 1853, advocated a programme of foreign conquest, including the seizure of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, Saghalien, Kamchatka and Eastern Siberia. Although fanatically anti-foreign, they recognized the impossibility of ignoring Western culture and sought instead to master Western science and apply it in Japan so as to meet foreign intruders with their own weapons. In pursuit of Western knowledge, Yoshida Shoin actually tried to stow away aboard one of Perry's ships, but, as Stevenson dramatically records, he was discovered and handed over to the Japanese authorities, by whom he was executed a few years later.

Some of Yoshida's associates favoured an even broader imperialism. His friend and fellow-captive, Sanai Hashimoto, argued that "Japan, in order to maintain her independence, must have Korea and part of Manchuria, and also should have territories in South America and India."

Yoshida Shoin did not live to see the successful launching of the expansionist movement he had done so much to inspire. But he became a martyr in the minds of his followers and his ideas influenced many of the statesmen, including Count Ito, framer of the Japanese constitution, who guided Japan to unity and greatness later on.

Ito and his colleagues saw that the acquisition of the overseas empire envisaged by Yoshida Shoin must be postponed until the nation's military strength had been built up, but meanwhile they lost no diplomatic opportunity that might be turned to good account. Thus, by one means or another, within a decade or two of the Restoration, the Liu Chiu Islands, the southern Kuriles and the Bonins had come into Japanese hands, shortly to be followed by Formosa as one of the fruits of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894.

For the next 20 years Japan's expansionist activities were confined largely to the Asiatic mainland. In 1905, as a result of her victory over Russia, she succeeded to the latter's holdings in South Manchuria, and in 1910 she annexed Korea. The outbreak of the world war in 1914, however, opened up fresh opportunities for maritime expansion, and she was quick to take advantage of them. At the Versailles Conference Japan put in a successful bid for control of the Mariana, Marshall and Caroline Islands, which lie directly across the sea routes from the American mainland and Hawaii to the Philippines and China, and thus constitute one of the most important strategic areas in the South Seas. Twenty years later, in the course of the Sino-Japanese hostilities, she was able to acquire another important foothold by occupying, in the face of ineffectual Anglo-French protests, the island of Hainan, which commands the approaches to French Indo-China.

Despite her heavy commitments in China, Japan lost no time in preparing to exploit the favourable situation created by the renewal of hostilities in Europe last September. In November, 1939, as reported by the Tokyo correspondent of *The Times*, a new body called the Institute of the Pacific was "formed, with influential backing, to organize Japanese opinion in readiness for opportunities which the European war will open. The Institute claims a preferential position for Japan in Burma, Indo-China, and the Dutch East Indies. Its magazine points out that the European war provides a golden opportunity to rectify the 'unjust distribution' of natural resources in the South Seas. It claims that access to those resources is indispensable in order to complete Japan's continental policy and to make the New Order self-sufficient."

These objectives were discussed in an article by Misao Kondo on the "European Conflict and the South Seas" in the Institute's official organ. "It is necessary," he wrote, "to rectify Japan's economic position, and now is the psychological moment, while European Powers with interests in the South Seas are preoccupied. To achieve fruition of our continental policy and make the New Order self-sufficient it is absolutely essential to utilize the resources of the South Seas.

"From racial and geographical viewpoints Japan has the best right to the resources of these regions. Now that European influence is weakened by war, an opportunity has come to regulate the South Sea question.

"It is sometimes proposed that Dutch oil be forcibly seized, but other methods can be tried first. One method would be to demand that Japan, China and Manchoukuo receive preferential access. It is unreasonable that natives should be compelled to buy expensive European goods when they want Japan's excellent and cheap goods."

". . . Disposal of the China incident (the Chinese-Japanese War) alone cannot settle the East Asian question. To achieve East Asia's prosperity Japan must break the deadlock in her relations with the South Seas."

The diplomatic pressure which Japan has recently brought to bear upon the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China would seem to indicate that Mr. Kondo's advice about using "other methods first" has been adopted by the Yonai Government. Whether this will satisfy the most ardent advocates of southward expansion remains, however, to be seen. Recent despatches from Tokyo suggest that certain groups are becoming impatient and are pressing for more forceful action.

In the brief time at my disposal I have not been able to do more than give you a very sketchy sort of "newsreel" presentation of the subject, but I hope I have perhaps furnished a basis for the view that Japan's southward expansion movement is not merely a product of modern conditions, but has roots that go back quite far into the past.

THE RED SEA

By LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR HAROLD WILBERFORCE-BELL,
K.C.I.E.

A luncheon meeting was held on July 23, 1940, General Sir John Shea, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., in the Chair, at which the following paper was read.

IN emphasizing that the Red Sea is probably the oldest waterway communication in the world, I am not telling you anything which is new to you. It probably antedates in historical chronicle even the famous Mediterranean, the central waterway of Christian civilization. The Red Sea forms part of the Great Rift, which takes its rise in the Jordan Valley, goes down through the Gulf of Arabia, and thence turns southwards and through Abyssinia, ending in the great lakes in Uganda and Central Africa. The depth I am not sure of, nor am I sure about the nature of its bottom; but I do know that the cable companies do not have a great deal of difficulty with their cables, either with laying them or in repairing them, and therefore I take it that the bottom of the Red Sea is more or less flattened out so as to show really very little trace of the great rift which split the earth at some distant geological age. Its strategical position and its strategical value is obvious, and that strategical value has been enhanced by the ports which have grown up on both sides of the Red Sea through many centuries, of which the African ports have been almost throughout history more valuable and more important than those on the Arabian side. Particularly, in this connection, I must mention Massawa, which, to the ancients, was known as Adulis, and which was one of the most important ports in the days when Roman and Greek traders used the Red Sea more or less as we use the Mediterranean to-day. From Adulis came that very hard stone obsidian, of which all the signet rings and things of that sort which the Greeks and the Romans used to have so beautifully engraved were made. They were chipped off that rock which still exists in the bottom of Massawa Harbour, and those of us who have seen these beautiful relics of the past in Naples Museum or elsewhere will probably have been struck at the time with the excellence of the detail which remains in these stones and in the carving of them after so many hundreds of years. For further information about Adulis I must refer my hearers to the *Periplus*, that excellent

travel book written by its unknown Greek author about the year A.D. 70.

The importance of the Red Sea was eclipsed by the discovery by the Portuguese of the Cape route to India in 1498. The Portuguese made the Red Sea, after that discovery, within a few years the basis of an attack on the Turks and an attempt to get behind Suleiman the Magnificent, whose naval control of the Mediterranean, or at least the Eastern Mediterranean, in those days was complete. The Portuguese failed in this. They failed to capture Aden—which, strictly speaking, is not in the Red Sea—and they certainly did not get behind Suleiman the Magnificent. But they established a very important fort at Kamaran, and they probably also fortified to some small extent the island of Perim, which lies rather on the Arabian side of the Gate of Tears, which is the entrance to the Red Sea from the south. But scarcely had they become settled there when the Turks counter-attacked and moved down into the Yemen, where they remained until 1642. Having captured Aden, they promptly in 1538 made an attack upon the Portuguese, and they retained—by the fact that they had command of the sea and of the northern coast—their position in the Red Sea, in spite of all that the Portuguese had been able to do.

So the Cape route remained for two or three centuries the most important waterway connecting the West with the trade of the East, and, although there had been for many centuries a system of transportation of merchandise across the peninsula which separated Palestine from Egypt, yet it became not worth while to use that route, in the first place, because there were so many robbers and pirates to contend with, and, in the second place, because of the difficulties of transport across that peninsula.

With the peace that followed Waterloo in 1815, however, the situation became again utterly changed. Our trade developed very greatly with the East, and we found that the long journey round the south of Africa was a distinct disadvantage, and so we started off to explore once more the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. We established a safe transport system from Port Said to Suez, overland more or less on the line of the Suez Canal, and we managed to use that route with renewed success.

But with increase of trade and the growing value of that route there was also the necessity for establishing coaling stations, because by that time we were changing from sail to steam, and it was necessary to have somewhere where the ships could refuel. We therefore in 1838—

i.e., 300 years after the Portuguese had made that attempt—captured Aden. There were a good many reasons given for this first British conquest in the time of Queen Victoria, but the actual fact is beyond dispute; we needed a coaling station, and the virtually uninhabited Aden was at hand for the purpose. And there was really nobody better qualified to use the place than we were. Although we fortified Aden, we did not fortify Perim. Aden was useful merely as a coaling station, and on its landward side only was it defended against the Arabs. It was in more recent years that we decided it was necessary also to defend it from the sea side. Then we swung over, so that we made a great error before the last war in that only one of our guns could be trained on the Turks! We quickly corrected this.

Shortly after we had really got this way to India established, the Italians began to think of doing the same sort of thing, and what was known as "the scramble for Africa" began. The first people in the scramble were the Italians, and they established themselves at Assab. They made this what they called their coaling station for the Rubatino Steamship Company. They soon found that it was not sufficient for their needs. The next person to try to imitate them was Mehmet Ali, who, having conquered the Soudan, thought that he would possess himself of the whole of the Red Sea littoral and of Abyssinia. He it was who was installed at Massawa when our force, under Sir Robert Napier, landed nearby at Annesley Bay for the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868-1869.

The cause of the Abyssinian campaign is a little out of my purview just at present, but I think it might be interesting to recall one or two facts about it. The first is that, having conquered Abyssinia, we did not stay there. We had sufficient control of the Red Sea route, control not from a military point of view so much as from the fact that we were able to satisfy needs for the preservation of our commerce rather than for the necessity of guarding against other enemies. Having finished with Theodore, we evacuated the country. I cannot say that I have seen any ultimate official reason for that expedition. For many years the cause of it was to me a mystery, until some years ago an old Arab told me that the real cause of the expedition was the fact that Theodore, after the death of Prince Albert, proposed marriage to Queen Victoria. He was then exceedingly annoyed because he did not receive a satisfactory answer. Then, of course, authenticated history comes in. He seized every English merchant, missionary, and consul in Abyssinia, threw them into prison, and tortured them. The torture

was something very real, because he bound them hand and foot. He had their wrists tied to their ankles so that they could never stand upright. That was his way of showing his displeasure at Queen Victoria's rejection of his proposal. I believe that this is true, but I have never seen it in print.

We evacuated Abyssinia, as I have said, after Theodore had committed suicide, and we were thereby saved a great deal of trouble. We did not learn very much of the country, but it may interest you to know that the graves of our dead—chiefly of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment—in that campaign were until recent years very carefully tended by the Italians at a place called Senafé.

While these things were going on the Turks began to think that they had better restore their position in Arabia, and in 1871 they walked back into the Yemen, which they had vacated in 1642. There was nobody to stop them, and they more or less controlled the whole of the Arabian littoral. I say "more or less" because their control was merely nominal. They were there; that was about all there was to it, and it is a fact that no Turkish soldier could with safety proceed in the Yemen beyond five miles of his cantonment. His brother Muslims, who are exceedingly fanatical, did not take to the Turk at all. So his control was more or less nominal until the Great War broke out, when he showed his strength by hanging enemies in large numbers. General Nuri Pasha established Turkish prestige in that part of the world as never before. He did it drastically, but it saved him from annihilation.

In 1882 the Italians came to the conclusion that the holding of Assab and Massawa was not sufficient for their purpose. They were bitten with the idea of acquiring a political colony, and their idea, as that of most other European nations who had been bitten with the idea of colonies, was to establish an empire of a sort in Northern Africa. But, mind you, a colony as the Italians understood it was a very different thing from a colony as we understood it. Their idea was really the possession of land more than anything else. However, they found that the possession of the sand of the Red Sea was not good enough, so they started in 1882 to move upwards into the Abyssinian highlands. The Italians had several disasters and several very brilliant encounters with the Abyssinians, and eventually on January 1, 1890, *Colonia Eritrea* was established. They made Asmara the capital and really began to do most excellent things up there. Their administration of Eritrea was very good indeed, but, of course, it did not pay. It was the most expensive colony that any country could have, and the Italians

there had to be sustained and maintained from Italy, and in addition to all this heavy expense was the cost of the Suez Canal dues. The Italians found out, certainly by the end of the last war, that a political colony was an expensive luxury which had to make money in order to justify itself.

So things remained in that part of the world until the Fascisti came into power in Rome, and Mussolini in 1922 came to the conclusion that there must be radical changes in the idea of an Italian empire in Northern Africa. He sent Dr. Gasparini to take the place of the Governor there, who was known always to the Italians as the Royal Governor as distinct from Mussolini's man. The "Royal Governor" was a placid gentleman who had little "go" in him, but he did his part quite well. He was succeeded by this iconoclast Dr. Gasparini, who began to look about for ways of making the colony pay.

The next turn in the scramble for Africa was the French occupation of Djibouti, in what became known as French Somaliland. They then constructed a railway to Addis Ababa, and by that means obtained a special position in Abyssinian affairs, more or less short-circuiting the Italians. The Italians had built a railway to Asmara. The French built a better line—I think a broad-gauge line—but, although their line was run with considerable difficulty—it never ran at night, for instance—it was still a more paying proposition than was the narrow-gauge Italian railway from Massawa to Asmara. The next step was our occupation of British Somaliland, which really was occupied after the Egyptians left it, in order to deny it to anybody else. It is of little trade value.

The possession of Italian Somaliland (or Somalia) was followed up by considerable difficulties by reason of the fact that, though it looked all right to start with, when the Italians became settled there they found there was not a single adequate port from which they could export their produce on this side of Africa. The shore is shelving, and if they had to land or ship anything it all had to be done in lighters. Although we had made Illig the base of one of our expeditions against the Mad Mullah, we maintained it with some difficulty, and, if I remember rightly, it ceased to be our base after Plunkett's disaster at Jidballi.

The difficulties of the Italians were greatly emphasized by the fact that they started and gradually made a great cotton industry, which was considerably increased when we handed over Jubaland to them after the war. Jubaland is a good cotton-producing country, and South

Somalia is the same, and the Italians still see visions of displacing in the world markets cotton from America and Egypt. So Somalia was obviously the means by which Mussolini could eventually make his colonies in Northern Africa pay. But in order to get his cotton away he had to have some means of getting over the port difficulty. He therefore built a port called Banda Kasim on the northern coast, and he connected it with Mogadisho, the capital, with about four hundred miles of road built in cement on the sand. This harbour, however, proved little better than Illig or Mogadisho, and was again an expensive luxury, and he was left with the problem still unsolved.

It would be out of place for me now to discuss the Italian seizure of Abyssinia in 1935; but the fact remains that, as a result of it, the Italians found that they had not really solved their cotton problem, and therefore since 1935 we find continuous demands for some concessions in Djibouti, whereby, if possible, the cotton can be brought into Addis Ababa and then down to the sea.

This cotton is, I believe, a really valuable product. Some years ago it was my privilege to meet in the Red Sea a very charming gentleman, the Duke of the Abruzzi, who made the cotton of Somalia and Jubaland his great interest in life after he had been disappointed in love. He really put his soul into it, and he became the sort of centre round which Italian sentiment began to develop with regard to this colony and its cotton. He told me that it was really very valuable. I do not know the country between Addis Ababa and Asmara, which is up in the highlands, but I do know the country between Asmara and Massawa, and I think it would be hard to find a more difficult country for the building of roads and railways. There is a small-gauge railway to cover the eighty miles, and it is in itself a wonderful railway. It is accompanied by a road, but when I was in that part of the world I know that when the Italians wanted to move ammunition and guns the whole of the traffic was stopped for three days because only one or two trains in a day could run, and the carrying capacity was exceedingly small. It did not lend itself to any expansion, and I imagine that Mussolini has probably found that the difficulties and the terrain between Addis Ababa and Asmara are so great as to make the building of a railway there an uneconomic proposition. Therefore this continued demand for Djibouti.

I do not know very much, I am afraid, about the position on the Arabian side of the Red Sea. The Italians made an attempt some years ago to establish some sort of influence there, but I do not think the

effort was accompanied with very great success. We do still retain, more or less as an international possession, Kamaran, and we use it for the purpose of a quarantine station for pilgrims visiting Jedda. Of all the islands of the Red Sea, that is the only one that can be inhabited or turned to any strategic value. There is water there. There is none in any of the other islands, and none of them is worth occupying, though some are used for lighthouses. Perim itself is commanded from a place called Sheikh Saad, which is on the Arabian side, a fort built originally by the Turks with the help of French engineers, and resuscitated by the Italians. Although it commands Perim very effectively, yet it itself is commanded from the sea, and the command of the sea determines the whole of the influence in that part of the Red Sea, probably right up to Akaba and Port Tewfik.

The Italians had curious methods of extending their influence, and by one, I know, they made themselves quite ridiculous and were laughed at very much by the Arabs on the Arabian side. They sent to Aden a ship which had been the *Rurik* in the old Russian navy. They sent her there because she had four funnels, and they knew the Arabs would be impressed. They calculated correctly. The Arabs, when they saw it, were impressed, and thought this was the last thing in world power. Everything went well until it was time to take the ship away. I saw her in Aden Harbour in the middle of the hot weather some years ago, and she was a most pathetic case, because she had been built for work in the Baltic, and when they tried to get her up the Red Sea even the Italian stokers could not cope with the heat, and she returned ignominiously to Aden, there to remain until the next cold weather came round.

The heat of the Red Sea is so great and unpleasant during the summer months that I do not think that much naval warfare could take place there, certainly no submarine warfare. When I saw the other day that a trawler had captured a submarine, I was not at all surprised. I am very sorry for the unfortunate Italians who had to work a submarine in the Red Sea in the hot weather.

Arabia was at one time full of another story. Jaffar Pasha was known, probably, to many of my audience here as a rather fine fellow who represented Iraq in London for several years, and was at one time in the running to be King of Iraq. He was captured by the Duke of Westminster during the last war, and he then turned his coat and fought for us. When he was sent across to Sollum from Alexandretta by Jamal Pasha, he was given a barge, a compass, and a large sum of

Turkish gold, as well as a number of machine-guns and much ammunition, and he was told to sail due south and so hit the Libyan coast somewhere. He did so, and as he arrived he saw in the offing an Italian destroyer steaming towards him. He came to the conclusion that he had better throw his gold and machine-guns and ammunition overboard, and this he did. But the Italians saw him doing this and thought he was preparing for action, so turned round and made off at high speed. So he took his gold, ammunition, and machine-guns out of the water and landed them. This story was known to many of the Arabs in the Yemen. The Arab is a great man for stories and tales and romances, and all these stories get round, and anything that is at all of a ridiculous nature loses nothing in the telling when an Arab tells it.

But it would be a great mistake to underestimate the value either of Italian troops or the Italian navy in this part of the world. The Abyssinian soldier, the Askari, is at least a brave and enthusiastic soldier, even if not very disciplined. But the Italians when I was in Eritrea—and I have no doubt they have maintained this rule—had with these troops very good Italian officers. We should not make any mistake about that, they were good men. They came from Northern Italy, and their relations with their men were much like those which exist between our officers and men in the Indian Army. I must confess that, from what I saw, they did not lose greatly by the comparison. The Abyssinians were fond of them and trusted them. Again, Italian military history on the Red Sea littoral and in Abyssinia was not truly reflected in the disaster of Adowa.

At the same time we must be careful, when we discuss possibilities in that part of the world, not to set too much store—as I am afraid we have been rather inclined to do from the beginning of this war—on what we think ought to be the relations between Hailé Selassie and the Abyssinians and the Italians, and that sort of thing. Hailé Selassie never enjoyed the undivided allegiance of the Abyssinians, and I do not suppose he does so now.

But I will tell you a little story about him which is not intended to be defeatist, but which indicates fairly accurately what one could expect and can still expect. Some years ago Hailé Selassie, who was then known as Ras Tafari, was becoming concerned about Italian penetration and Italian methods and what was going to happen next. So he decided to make a tour of inspection of England and France. We sent a warship over to Djibouti, commanded by Commander Bowles, to fetch him to

Aden. The ship went there, a salute was fired, and Ras Tafari came on board. Next morning he woke up quite early and went along the captain's walk, where he saw a sailor polishing brass. This sailor had his coat off and was covered with tattoo marks. Ras Tafari had never seen a man tattooed before, so he said: "That is very nice." The sailor said: "Yes." "Any more like this?" enquired the Emperor. The sailor replied: "Yes, the whole ship's company." Ras Tafari said he must see them all, so he went to Bowles, told him he had seen this wonderful sight, had heard there were many more, and would like to see the whole lot. Bowles stopped the ship, the ship's company was paraded, and Ras Tafari inspected all the tattoo marks. He had with him a number of medals, which he was going to distribute in Europe. But when he saw all these tattooed sailors he unfortunately distributed all his medals to them—all except one, which he gave to the little fair-haired daughter of the First Assistant Resident at Aden as soon as he landed there. He thought it would save him from complications, and he had no medals to give away when he went to England and France. I do not think we should imagine that there will be a great revolution in Abyssinia to displace the Italians and restore the situation in our favour.

It is not easy to get things in their proper perspective, especially when we are a considerable distance away and do not know very much about what is happening in that part of the world. But one thing stands out stark clear, and that is that with regard to the position and our safety, and the safety of our trade, and the safety of the Red Sea, the only thing that matters is command of the sea, and so long as we have that our position in the Red Sea and at Aden will remain secure.

Dr. Scott said that the desire to examine into natural history problems had led him to visit the mountainous countries on both sides of the narrow southern end of the Red Sea and to trek through regions of the high interior visited by very few Europeans. But his interest in these countries was far from being confined to their natural history, and he had easily become interested in the political problems of the present day. During a six months' expedition to Abyssinia in 1926-1927 he had trekked some hundreds of miles about the highlands of Central Abyssinia, meeting the Regent Tafari (afterwards Emperor Hailé Selassie) several times, and all the prominent Europeans in Addis Ababa at that time; he had kept up his contacts, both with Abyssinians and Europeans, for years afterwards, and early in 1935 all preparations

were made for a second expedition. This was frustrated by the Italian invasion.

Dr. SCOTT continued: My view of the people is very "pro-Abyssinian." I saw them at their best. I liked the ordinary country-folk of the highlands, especially the yeomen-cultivators, and my European friends, who had worked among them for years, liked them too. In the settled parts of the pastoral country no evidence of cruelty is seen beyond backward and negligent treatment of animals. But I am not blind to the faults of the old régime; the very word "Habash" means "mixed," and some of the many races of Ethiopia were barbarous and, on occasion, cruel. The trouble was that the central Government did not make its writ run very far from the capital, and in the frontier districts lawlessness and slave-raiding were rife. The Emperor was exerting himself to reform matters; in the closing years before the Italian conquest he had done away with almost the last of the great hereditary chiefs; he was appointing his own governors of provinces, whom he had forbidden to take their private armies with them when they were transferred from one province to another. The nearer the centre, the more effective were these attempts at reform. Even after the opening of the Italian invasion the Emperor sent to the south-west frontier province of Maji, the most lawless region, an Englishman, Colonel D. A. Sandford, D.S.O., to assist in reforming that province.

These are not merely the rosy views of a passing traveller, but opinions shared by Europeans of several nationalities who had lived in independent Abyssinia for many years. In 1938 I had intimate talks with a Swiss who had lived twenty years in Addis Ababa. He had left early in 1937, after the terrible things done by the Italians when an attempt was made on the life of Marshal Graziani. My Swiss friend's account of the vengeance taken by the Italian blackshirts and the Eritrean troops I cannot possibly repeat. He assured me that, if the Emperor had been left alone he would eventually have reformed his country throughout. I doubt whether the Emperor would have been strong enough to do so without some European assistance, which he was intelligent enough to accept, and had already accepted.

But consider the way the Italians took over the country; remember the treaties and political relationships from the eighties of last century onwards (the earlier part is fully set forth in Wylde's *Modern Abyssinia*, 1902). Was not Abyssinian independence guaranteed by France, Britain, and Italy? And was it not France and Italy, rather than ourselves, who insisted on pushing the Regent Tafari's claim to join the

League of Nations? After which one of the guaranteeing and sponsoring Powers, which had probably less reason to complain of frontier incidents than we had, worked up a ferment of agitation against Ethiopia, invaded and took it. Many of the published Italian accounts of Abyssinian atrocities were faked, as could be proved by those who knew the country well. I hope to see Abyssinian independence restored—not to the whole of the former empire, because the dominant race, the Amhara, had themselves recently conquered many weaker peoples in the south-west and south, but to a large part of the northern and central provinces, under guidance from more enlightened quarters.

Passing to the other side of the narrow sea: Even some miles north of Bab al Mandeb, it is only about forty miles from Assab to the Yemen coast, just north of the Aden Protectorate. Therefore, even before Italy's entry into the war the penetration of Italian influence into the Yemen, opposite their Eritrean colony, needed careful watching.

During my expedition in 1937-1938 into the western part of the Aden Protectorate and through the Central Yemen highlands to San'a I was over two months in the mountain principality of Dhala, where strong native rulers collaborate with the British to maintain law and order. The tribal territories where lawless incidents still occur are those in which there is no strong native ruler, but a crowd of jarring petty chiefs. I hope the Imperial Government will not relax its support of our administrators in their efforts to improve the condition of the people.

As to the Yemen itself, that tightly closed but most fascinating country, with an ancient civilization stretching back at least to 1000 years B.C., like all Europeans I had great difficulty in getting into it, and was only allowed to move about under very strict supervision. No people could be more friendly than the country-folk of the highlands, and none more courteous than most of the great personages, though the latter doubted my motive for being there. The treaty between Britain and the Yemen was negotiated by the present Governor of Aden in 1934; but in the autumn of 1937 the Italians had made their new treaty and sent a mission to San'a, accompanied by lavish expenditure of money.* We found Italian influence paramount, principally in

* I cannot say when Italian penetration began. Two brothers named Caprotti established themselves in San'a in 1888. One died, but the survivor was still there in 1911, in spite of the efforts of the Turkish authorities, then holding the Yemen, to eject him. He and the English traveller A. J. B. Wavell were the only Western Europeans in the city during its three months' siege by the present Imam early in 1911. At the time of my visit, early in 1938, the senior Italian physician, Dr. Emilio Dubbiosi, had been resident in San'a twelve years.

the shape of doctors resident in the chief cities, a whole group of them all in one large community in San'a. On the other hand, the Aden Government had secured the services of two British doctors, Dr. and Mrs. Petrie, of the Scottish Mission at Shaikh 'Othman, and these, with a nursing member of the same mission, were the only British residents in the Yemen. The importance cannot be too much emphasized of maintaining the British doctors who have succeeded Dr. and Mrs. Petrie, and increasing their numbers if the Imam will allow—not only for their devoted medical work among the people, but for keeping a nucleus of British influence in this vital spot. For admittedly Britain has missed many chances in the past of establishing her influence in the Yemen. I will close by quoting from that most interesting book *Kings of Arabia* (1923), by the late Colonel Harold Jacob, for many years in the Aden Government Service. In his eighth chapter he wrote: "We have spurned endless opportunities. . . . Had we adopted a more liberal policy towards Arabs instead of fighting shy of their friendly advances, the Yemen to-day would have been permeated through and through with our influence."

THE MIDDLE EAST IN WESTERN POLITICS IN THE 13TH, 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

By V. MINORSKY

THE test of scientific knowledge is said to be the possibility of predicting recurrent facts. If so, history is an imperfect science, for the facts under its consideration never exactly repeat themselves. This does not prevent us from discovering some general tendencies in historical events which regularly exercise their influence and which must be taken into account, just as the deflection of the compass has to be considered in steering the course of a ship.

The following three essays* are devoted to three similar situations which obtained in the Middle East in the thirteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth centuries. In each case the agents were entirely different. Yet the trend of events presented a striking regularity. In a field insufficiently explored, the task of discovering some general principles is in itself useful, but the facts filling our scheme also present considerable interest. Eastern history is an integral part of the world's annals. We know at present how mistaken the idea was that even China could live behind her walls in prudential seclusion from the rest of the world, and we are going to trace the manifold relations which connected the Middle East with the lands of the West.

I

The Mongols in Persia between Christianity and Islam

I

We shall start with the great triangular strife of the thirteenth century A.D., the parties to which, at least outwardly, were grouped under the banners of Islam, Christianity, and Heathendom. The events interesting us begin after the year 1220, but we must say a few words about the epoch which forms their setting.

Towards the middle of the eleventh century a profound change came over the Near East: the Ghuz Turks, led by the dynasty descended from Seljuk, began their great westward movement from

* The first part of this paper was given as the "Persia Lecture" on July 3, 1940.

Transoxiana, across Persia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia towards Asia Minor and Syria. In 1055 they occupied Baghdad and virtually subdued the Caliph; in 1077 they defeated in Armenia a Byzantine army and captured the Emperor. The whole aspect of the Near East was modified as the Turks colonized North-Western Persia, parts of Transcaucasia, Armenia, and Asia Minor. As yet the extent of the revolution caused by the advent of the Turks had not been adequately fathomed, but, not improperly, the Crusades, which began in 1096, may be considered as a counter-move of the Western world alarmed by the magnitude of the danger.

In 1169 a prince of Kurdish origin, who became so famous under the name of Saladin, seized the power in Egypt and soon took the leadership of the whole front opposed to the crusaders. In 1187 Jerusalem was recaptured by the Muslims, and even the Third Crusade (1190), led by Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus of France, could not alter the situation. After Saladin's death his successors ruled till the middle of the thirteenth century, but in 1250 the power in Egypt passed to the *mamlūks*—*i.e.*, to the Turkish slaves—brought mostly from Qipchaq, as the territory corresponding to the present-day steppes of Southern Russia was then called.*

From 1169 the headquarters of the forces opposing the Crusaders were in Egypt, and quite especially so in the thirteenth century, to which belong five out of eight crusades.

So Egypt was the enemy of the Christian States, but, as the time was drawing near when the gallant *mamlūks* were to give a new life to the stronghold of Islam, some entirely unexpected developments took place in the distant background of Asia.

2

Since the very beginning of the thirteenth century Chengiz khan was patiently forging a new empire in the present-day Mongolia and the adjacent countries. In 1220 his troops suddenly occupied Transoxiana—*i.e.*, the region of Samarqand and Bukhara—and began the preliminary conquest of Persia, where there was hardly any force to slow down their onrush.

Who were the Mongols? It is possible that their ancestors had made their first appearance in the West under some different ethnical

* Originally the *mamlūks*, who succeeded each other on the throne, had no other relationship than the fact that they all served under the same master, and only later the hereditary principle was adopted by them.

name, but when the hordes of Chengiz khan emerged from their dreary haunts they came as a bolt from the blue, as a scourge of indescribable barbarity never heard of before. The philologists have succeeded in establishing a pretty close relationship between the Turkish and the Mongolian languages, but for a layman this relationship is not at all obvious. I shall quote only the numerals, which usually constitute the first step on the way to mutual understanding :

	Turkish.	Mongolian.
“ one ”	<i>bir</i>	<i>nigen</i>
“ two ”	<i>iki</i>	<i>khoyar</i>
“ three ”	<i>üch</i>	<i>ghurban</i>
“ four ”	<i>dört</i>	<i>dürben</i>
“ five ”	<i>bes</i>	<i>tabun</i>
“ eight ”	<i>sekiz</i>	<i>nayman</i>
“ ten ”	<i>on</i>	<i>harban</i>

To an untrained eye a Turk and a Mongol might have looked very much akin, but what struck the inhabitants of the Western lands was the more primitive condition of the Mongol nomads, who, without any transition, appeared suddenly among the cultured sedentary populations, who knew nothing of established social divisions, and treated all the classes with the ruthlessness of a Juggernaut.

Then there was a profound difference between the Turks, who, in the West, were already Islamized, whereas the Mongols belonged to no definite religion and for them religious controversies and antagonisms had absolutely no interest or importance. In Russia the Mongols unreservedly protected Russian clergy, provided it helped them in the collecting of taxes; in Persia, as we shall see, they once raised a Jew to the dignity of vazir (Prime Minister).

The famous historian Gregory Bar-Hebreus (+ 1286), a Christian Bishop of Jewish origin, who wrote in Syriac and Arabic, says: “ The Mongols made no distinction between a slave and a freeman, between a Muslim, a Jew, and a Christian. They treated men of all nations with the same asperity. Whoever went to them with presents in his hands obtained the office he asked for, irrespective altogether of his fitness. They only exacted perpetual deference.”

3

Chengiz khan died in 1227, and his empire was divided between his four sons, under the suzerainty of the brother who received the homeland of Mongolia. For the westward expansion of the Mongol

power we are interested only in two fiefs: the one to the north of the Caspian, and the other to the south of it. The former was assigned to the descendants of Chengiz khan's eldest son JUCHI, and this branch of the family was responsible for the conquests in Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the lands down to the Adriatic. The terror which these Mongols inspired in Western Europe is best characterized by the entry in a St. Albans chronicle under the year 1238; for fear of the Mongols the fishermen from the Continent did not take part in the herring-fishing at Yarmouth, and, as a result, herrings became fabulously cheap and abundant in England.* The Battle of Liegnitz (April 9, 1241), in which Batu khan's army defeated 30,000 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Poles, further increased consternation.

Only the lukewarmness of the Shamanist Mongols in religious matters left place for some hopes, especially as rumours spread of the existence in the Far East of a Christian kingdom ruled by a Prester John. The fact is that, owing to the courageous propaganda of Nestorian monks, Christianity (since probably A.D. 1009) was, indeed, known in Mongolia, where at least four tribes professed this faith. This circumstance, however, hardly ever affected Mongol policy. Much more important for Europe's destiny were the complications in Mongolia after the death of the Great Khan Ögedey (1241). His succession raised grave issues, and the Mongols in Europe turned their attention to Asia behind them. The wave of conquest finally came to a standstill in Russia, where Mongol domination lasted for a long period. But this question is outside the scope of our lecture.

4

Of much greater interest to us is the fief formed in 1251 for HULAGU, son of Chengiz khan's youngest son, whose base of operations was to lie in Persia.† The new fief presented no menace for Western Europe, but was within her easy reach. What immediately aroused the particular interest of European States was the idea that a conflict between Hulagu and the Islamic world would be unavoidable. This proved perfectly true, for, thanks to the great historian of the Mongols, Rashīd al-dīn, who was a vazir in Mongol service and wrote in Persian, we know the tenor of the instructions which were given to Hulagu at the great assembly (*quriltay*) of the Mongol khans in 1251.

* Forty or fifty were sold for a piece of silver, even at places remote from the coast.

† Hulagu was to be an *il-khan* under the suzerainty of the Great Khan of Mongolia.

Hulagu was to occupy all the territories between the Oxus and the extreme limits of Egypt. He was to chastise all the elements who were expected to oppose him. If the Caliph of Baghdad submitted, Hulagu was not to do him any harm; but if he showed himself too proud or insincere, no exceptional treatment was to be meted out to him.

Five years had passed before Hulagu finished his preparations and crossed the Oxus in 1256. Persia had already been under Mongol dominion for over thirty years, but only now the conquest was to be consolidated by the appointment of an imperial prince, who was accompanied by a special army recruited from among every tribe and destined to remain in Persia for ever.

On his way Hulagu made it first his business to destroy the stronghold of the Isma'īlī dissenters, the so-called Assassins, who for a long time had been a terror both to the Seljuks and the Crusaders. These Assassins were a State within a State. In their inaccessible castles they were carrying on the traditions of the medieval Persian knighthood, and, on the other hand, by their propaganda among the lower classes, conspicuously stood for the interests of the latter as opposed to the centralizing bureaucratic tendencies of the Seljuk administration. The secret doctrines of the Assassins and their terroristic organization form a most curious subject of study, but it must not distract our attention from our principal task. One point, however, must be insisted upon. The Assassins were deadly enemies of the orthodox Islam which they were systematically undermining. By their destruction the Mongols, who certainly did not realize it, contributed to the unity of Islam, and this was a potent factor in the final triumph of this religion, in spite of the appalling humiliation through which it was now to pass.

5

On the approach of the Mongols, the Caliph, summoned to submission, made an unsuccessful attempt to resist in Baghdad, but in 1258 the capital was captured and, a few days later, the supreme head of the Muslim community was put to death in a most brutal manner. All the Islamic world must have shuddered with horror at the news of this disaster. Never again was the Caliphate to raise its head as an independent institution. When, some years later, the *mamlūks* of Egypt recognized in Cairo an offspring of the Caliphal family, he was only a phantom of the pristine glory, a puppet kept for the purpose of enhancing the pomp of public meetings and processions.

One detail is characteristic. Since the early period of their conquest the Mongols had subjugated in the Caucasus the Christian kingdom of Georgia. Home of beautiful women and gallant warriors, Georgia was a most appreciated prize of war. Georgian soldiers fought under the Mongols against the Assassins, and now took an active part in the capture of Baghdad, where they gave full vent to their feelings against their former oppressors, the Muslims.

Since Chengiz khan's time there were numerous Muslims in Mongol service, and now, after the final occupation of Persia, the Mongols would have been entirely at sea without the help of men fully aware of local habits, laws, and general ways. National feeling was practically non-existent in the thirteenth century, but the religious factor was the more powerful. The events in Baghdad estranged Muslim feeling. Every Friday, when Muslims had to mention the Caliph in their prayers, they must have been haunted by the vision of the martyr Caliph, to whom there was no successor. On their part, the Mongols could not trust the Muslims plunged in their great sorrow.

After the conquest of Baghdad, Hulagu retreated into the Persian province of Azarbayjan and took up his residence in Marāgha, whence the capital was soon moved to the far better known Tabriz. The enormous booty captured in Mesopotamia was placed in the treasure-house built on the island of Shāhū.* The choice of the il-khan's residence resulted in the transfer of the political and intellectual life of Persia to its north-western corner. Anticipating events, we must say that during the period of Mongol dominion, which roughly extended over eighty years, this region was the centre of the empire founded by Hulagu. From here the remaining parts of Persia, as well as Transcaucasia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor, were ruled. Here thronged embassies and vassal princes. Here the new style in arts and fashions was elaborated. Although geographically Persia was only one of the constituent parts of Hulagu's fief, yet administratively and culturally this country, and particularly Azarbayjan, was the heart of the empire. Consequently, speaking of Hulagu and his descendants, we call them "Mongols of Persia," and cannot dissociate their rule from the history of Persia.

With the capture of the Assassins' castles the first point of Hulagu's programme was realized; Baghdad marked its second stage; and now, after having established his headquarters, Hulagu had to carry out the final part of his instructions, which was to take him to Egypt.

* Near the eastern bank of the lake of Urmia. Hulagu was buried at Shāhū.

He left Tabriz in September, 1259, and, having marched through Armenia and Upper Mesopotamia, took Aleppo on January 25, 1260, and soon after forced Damascus to surrender. So only five years after St. Louis's return from the Seventh Crusade, and while the Crusaders were still clinging to the coastal region of Syria, a new avalanche was descending on the rear of the enemies of the Cross and threatening to deal a mortal blow to Islam.

6

Here, on the threshold of further events, we can see how inevitable it was for the two parties hammering at Egypt to grope their way towards an alliance, but the first steps in that direction were timid and even painful.

Already in 1221, one year after Chengiz khan's conquest of Transoxiana, and while the Mongol bands were raiding Persia, a rumour spread among the Crusaders, who had just taken Damietta, that the mighty King David, son of Prester John, had defeated numerous Muslim kings and was only fifteen days' distance from Antioch, ready to help the Christians. This pleasant expectation did not save the Crusaders from a defeat. Nor were the reports from the Caucasus on the struggles of the Christian Georgians against the Mongols encouraging. Then, as already stated, the Western Christian Powers themselves were terror-stricken by the Mongol scourge, and only the complications arising from the death of the Great Khan Ögedey (1241) saved Europe from the Mongols. The Pope was the first to avail himself of the lull. In 1245 he sent to Mongolia the Franciscan PIAN DE CARPINO, and soon other missions were exchanged with the Mongols.

Quite especially these diplomatic activities were quickened by St. Louis's desire to establish a collaboration against the common foe. The first contact with Mongol generals in Persia was hardly encouraging. Two Mongol envoys visited the French king during his stay at Nicosia (Cyprus), but both were Oriental Christians, and their credentials were suspect. The new envoy, ANDRÉ DE LONGJUMEAU (1249-1251), travelled to the Court of the Queen Regent (probably in the Altai region), but the terms of the letter he brought back were very rude: "We request thee," wrote the Mongol lady to the saintly king, "to send us every year so much of your gold and silver that thou mayest secure our friendship; if not, we shall destroy thee and thy nation." Nothing daunted, King Louis sent to Mongolia a new emissary, the Flemish monk WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK, who was instructed to explain that his

was no diplomatic mission and that his motives were purely religious, in view of the report that some of the Mongol princes wished to be converted to Christianity.

On the last subject Rubruck's report, after his return, left no place for any sanguine hopes. The Mongols protected Christianity, as any other religion, rather from an indiscriminate superstition than from any special predilection. Much more important were Rubruck's political conclusions: the Mongols, according to him, had no more any designs against Western Europe, and their military effort was now directed only against Muslims. This precious assurance proved to be fully confirmed by such events as the destruction of the Caliphate and the campaign against Syria.

7

We broke off our survey of Hulagu's career in the year 1260, at the moment when his armies had occupied Aleppo and Damascus and were on the point of invading Egypt. But here an event took place which changed the course of the world's history. In September, 1260, the Egyptian army, commanded by the *mamlūk* General Baybars, utterly defeated the invincible Mongols at 'Ayn-Jālūt (in Palestine). The Egyptians reoccupied Syria and chastised all the supporters of the Mongols. Soon the gallant Baybars seized the throne of Egypt. As if to stress the triumph of Islam and to repair the damage done by the heathens in Baghdad, Baybars proclaimed as Caliph one of the descendants of the 'Abbāsīd House, whom he placed under his protection in Cairo. By that time Berke, Khan of Juchi's fief, had become a Muslim. The Egyptian diplomacy hastened to exploit this circumstance and contributed in bringing about a clash between Hulagu and his northern cousin, with the result that Hulagu's forces were diverted from Syria.

From that time on the political groupings become clear: Qipchaq is drawn towards Cairo, and Tabriz towards Western Europe.

On the whole, the Mongols of Persia never succeeded in turning the scales on the Syrian front. Under Hulagu's son ABAQA they were twice defeated: in the Battle of Ablastein (1277) Baybars destroyed a corps of Mongols consisting of 7,000 men; in 1280 his successor, Qala'un, routed an army of 25,000 Mongols and 5,000 Georgians. This time the Mongols became more interested in a collaboration with Western Europe. The contact was rendered easier by Abaqa's marriage with Princess Maria, daughter of the Emperor Michael Palæologos.

His envoys now kept visiting European Courts. In 1267 he pressed the Pope to let him know the time when the kings would be ready to sail for Syria; in 1269 his ambassador was active with the King of Aragon; in 1274 sixteen of his envoys arrived at the Council of Lyons, and three of them were baptized; in 1276 two Georgian gentlemen representing Abaqa visited France and England. But, unfortunately for the Mongols, the last forces of Europe had been spent on St. Louis's unhappy Crusade of 1270, which, instead of Syria, had landed in Tunis.

The short reign of Abaqa's successor, TAKUDAR (1282-1284), came as a warning full of significance. This prince, baptized by his mother under the name of Nicholas, on his own account preferred Islam, and so, only twenty-four years after the destruction of the Caliphate, a Mongol khan, who took the name of Ahmad, was hastening to restore the prestige of Islam. In a letter to Egypt he boasted of his meritorious acts and stated that henceforth there would be no cause for ill-will between Tabriz and Cairo. Coming events were casting their shadow before them, but the majority of the Mongols were not yet ready to accept such drastic changes. After a two years' reign, Ahmad was overthrown by his nephew ARGHUN (1284-1291), who was a stern ruler of the old Mongol type. As Chengiz khan's law (*yasa*) forbade the spilling of the blood of a prince, Arghun found a solution by ordering his henchmen to break Ahmad's backbone. Many executions followed. Showing an utter indifference to confessional and racial theories, Arghun went so far as to appoint as his Prime Minister a Jew, but the latter soon fell victim to his rivals.

Quite consistently this recrudescence of heathendom entailed new tentatives of a rapprochement with Europe. In his correspondence with the Pope, Arghun suggested a joint Mongol-Christian campaign against Egypt. He even made a point of the fact that his mother was a Christian. Again numerous embassies started for Europe, and one of these was led by the Genoese Buscarel and visited the Courts of Philippe le Bel of France and Edward I. of England.*

The two successors of Arghun ruled for a short time, and the eclectic tendencies of one of them appear from the fact that on the banknotes, which were issued in Tabriz and finally provoked unrest all over the kingdom, the inscription on one side was in Chinese, while the other bore the Arabic formula of the Islamic creed!

* In the letters he carried Buscarel was styled a Mongol dignitary *qurchi*, and even his name appeared in a Mongolized form as "Musqaril."

The most remarkable figure among the Mongols of Persia was certainly GHAZAN KHAN, who reigned from 1295 to 1304. He was a monarch of great personal gifts, knowing several languages and a master of numerous crafts. A man of great personal valour, he was also responsible for many internal reforms, which are described in a special volume* of the history written by his famous vazir, Rashīd al-dīn. The most momentous of Ghazan's achievements was his conversion to Islam, together with his army.

Briefly speaking, the situation, as we see it now, was the following: Of the Mongol troops sent to Persia with Hulagu, and which could not have been very numerous, many fell in battle. The territory under the control of the *il-khans* of Hulagu's branch was too vast, and the Mongol troops alone could not suffice to garrison them and to rule them as conquered colonies. Who were the allies on whose help the Mongols could reckon in difficult moments, while the feelings of the Muslims remained hurt? From the beginning the Christian kingdom of Georgia stood by the Mongols in all the latter's expeditions. Another friendly kingdom was Little Armenia—*i.e.*, the kingdom of Cilicia—which in the eleventh century was founded by emigrants from Great Armenia, fleeing before the Seljuks. But both these allies, and especially Armenia, were small and had few resources. They could not counterbalance the estrangement of the Muslims, who constituted the majority of the population living under the Mongols. Without a solid bridge to the hearts of the Muslims there could be no internal peace, no security for the diminishing Mongol elements, far less the possibility of new distant expeditions. One of Ghazan's Muslim amirs, Naurūz, a man of great energy and quick decisions, persuaded Ghazan to accept Islam, promising him as reward the support of the whole of the Muslim community. Ghazan could not help being moved by these exhortations, and in June, 1295, at the summer quarters of Lār, above the present-day Teheran, the Mongol *il-khan* and his army made a solemn profession of Islam. When Ghazan entered Tabriz he ordered all the churches, synagogues, fire temples, and idol temples to be destroyed. The Christians, especially in Baghdad, felt immediately all the inconveniences of the return of Muslim ascendancy.

One would imagine that, similarly to what happened to Ahmad Takudar, Ghazan's conversion would bring about peace with Egypt, but in this regard Ghazan could not dissociate himself from the Mongol

* The original has just been published in the Gibb Memorial series.

tradition. Political theories often serve as a cloak to definite practical objects, and Ghazan's lawyers were not to be much embarrassed by the situation. In the proclamation which Ghazan published when he was again setting out against the West it was said: "When we learnt that those who ruled over Egypt and Syria had abandoned the path of religion . . . that there was no order among them [*sic*] . . . we were compelled by our zeal for the Faith to march against their countries in order to put a stop to these evils." So spoke the grandson of the destroyer of the Caliphate to the gallant followers of Saladin. Thrice Ghazan invaded Syria, and once his troops approached the walls of Jerusalem, but each time the *mamlūks* worsted the Mongols and inflicted great losses on them. With his usual energy Ghazan made preparations for a fourth campaign when he fell ill and died after a nine years' reign, at the early age of thirty-three.

By 1291 the Christians had lost their last possessions in Syria, all that remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia was most terribly chastised by the *mamlūks*.

9

Here ends the original sequence of events which we proposed to study in the first place. We may briefly mention that under Ghazan's brother and successor, ÖLJEITÜ, a lively intercourse with Europe was renewed in connection with new plans for an expedition against Egypt. Öljeitü's letter to the King of France is still extant. His envoy also visited England, but he must have considerably disguised the situation. Only this circumstance will account for the strange slip in King Edward II.'s reply, in which the Mongol khan was invited "to employ all his efforts to uproot the abominable sect of Mahomet." London seemed to live still on reminiscences of the good old Prester John.

A treaty of peace was finally signed between Egypt and the last il-khan, ABŪ-SA'ĪD, in 723/1323. The Mongol frontier was fixed along the Euphrates, leaving Syria entirely to the *mamlūks*. This was a definite retraction from the instructions once given by the Great Khan to Hulagu! The chief sufferer at this settlement was the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, which for so many years had formed a link between the Christian Powers and the Mongols. Now the small kingdom was left in prey to the Egyptians. In July, 1322, the Pope, who at that time was living in Avignon and gradually losing his independence, addressed a letter to Abū-Sa'īd. Referring to the old friendly

relations with the Mongols, he asked the il-khan to intercede for the poor Armenians, but now only cautious, diplomatic means were left to Abū-Sa'īd. Commercial, cultural, and even religious relations were still maintained between the Mongols and the West, but there were no more tentatives to renew the political negotiations, which we have been trying to follow.

IO

Now we may sum up. The *dramatis personæ* of our survey were Europe, Islam (as chiefly represented by Egypt), and the Mongols (as a new Power emerging from the East). If at the earlier period of Mongol dominion (before 1242) the Mongols were a menace to Europe, in the second period, especially after the formation in Persia of the new fief of Hulagu, the Mongols became the prospective allies of the Christian Powers, in view both of the Mongol tolerance in religious matters and of the existence of a common enemy. Politico-geographical conditions favoured the idea of a Middle Eastern Power which would counterbalance the Near East. However, the time for Crusades was over, and the heathen Mongols could not possibly carry on as a group of conquerors opposed to the mass of their Muslim subjects. A deep political idea formed the background of the Mongols' conversion under Ghazan khan. This event, however, weakened the westward push of the Mongols. The latter, being only a minority, became gradually absorbed and assimilated by local elements. There is now no memory of the Mongols in Azarbayjan, except in the traces which the admixture of their blood has left on the external appearance and the manly character of the inhabitants.

So, finally, the plan to take the strongest Near Eastern Power in a vice failed in the thirteenth century, but situations similar to the Christian-Mongol rapprochement of the thirteenth century repeated themselves in later times.

II

The Turcomans between the Ottomans and the Republic of Venice

I

Until quite recently the situation in the Middle East during the fifteenth century A.D. was very little known. Only a few specialists are expected to be familiar with the names of the protagonists occupying

the political stage. The whirlpool of events is centred in Upper Mesopotamia and Armenia. Two mighty dynasties are wrecked in it before on the face of the waters appears a powerful Middle Eastern State. Similarly to what happened under the Mongols, this new body politic develops into a rival of its Western neighbour, the Ottoman Empire, and in its struggle against it comes into close relations with the Christian West.

This time our heroes are Turcomans. The original form of the name *Türkmen* is nothing but a derivation of *Türk*, to which the suffix *-män* gives an intensified meaning, which in our days might be rendered as "hundred per cent. Turks."

The Turcomans were remnants of the Ghuz tribes, which moved to the West in the eleventh century, during the great migration led by the Seljuks. The Turcomans, with their families, children, herds, and tents, occupied an enormous expanse of territory, from the north-western province of Persia called Azarbayjan to Northern Syria and right up to the heart of Asia Minor. The westernmost branch of the Seljuks reigned in Qoniya on the edge of the Byzantine Empire, which latter was reduced to the north-western region of the peninsula.

In the thirteenth century the cloak of a new invasion is thrown over the Turcomans' shoulders. The Mongols subdue and incorporate them, but only superficially. When the Mongols are gone the whole of ancient Armenia and Asia Minor is studded with a series of Turcoman possessions. A small principality, nearest to the Byzantine frontier and belonging to the children of Osman, was the seed out of which grew the future Ottoman Empire with all its pomp and glory. European students mostly concentrate their attention on the spectacular events in the West, such as the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the siege of Vienna in 1529, the Battle of Lepanto in 1571; but the Ottomans had to go through a long struggle with their neighbours in the rear before their Eastern possessions became their principal bulwark, such as it remains even now under the republic founded by Atatürk.

2

The first stages of Ottoman expansion were directed westwards. As early as 1354 or 1356 the Turks crossed the Dardanelles and began their occupation of the Balkan lands. On the other hand, whatever they had done in Asia Minor was undone by Tamerlane's invasion and the capture of Sultan Bayazid in the Battle of Angora in 1402. The reconquest and incorporation of Asia Minor began only after the

capture of Constantinople. The Ottomans, who by their origins were also Turcomans, strictly dissociated themselves from their Asiatic relatives. Ottoman historians never mention them without such highly disdainful epithets as "godless Turcomans" (*Turkamān-i bī-īmān*), etc.*

3

Among the Turcoman principalities nearer to the Ottomans, the greatest rival of the latter was Qaraman, to the south of Qoniya and down to the sea coast opposite Cyprus. Much more to the east, between the Tigris and the basin of the lake of Van, lived two Turcoman tribes, respectively called AQ-QOYUNLU ("Those of the White Sheep") and QARA-QOYUNLU ("Those of the Black Sheep"). Such names are common among the Turcomans, and most probably refer to the kind of herds belonging to the tribes.† The origins of the two groups are still not very clear. As it very often happens, some enterprising chieftains may have imposed their authority on the clans living in a territory and mustered them into new federations.

The home of the White Sheep was round Diyar-Bakr in Upper Mesopotamia, that of the Black Sheep on the northern bank of the lake of Van. In spite of their common race and close neighbourhood, there were great divisions between them. The White Sheep professed the orthodox Sunna; the Black Sheep were adherents of the Shī'a, and even of its extreme wing. No less important was the political split. The Black Sheep were staunch supporters of the Jalayirs, a dynasty of Mongol origin which, after the fall of the Chengizid il-khans, still maintained a fief consisting of Tabriz and Baghdad. When in the second half of the fourteenth century the new invader Tamerlane arrived from Central Asia, the Jalayir kings and their Black Sheep supporters had several times to seek refuge in Egypt. On the contrary, the White Sheep loyally co-operated with the new masters and distinguished themselves in the battles fought on their side.

4

Tamerlane's conquests were not second to those of the Mongols, but Tamerlane was only a warrior and not an empire builder. After

* It is very curious that this attitude of the too magnificent ruling classes of Stambul towards their boorish kinsmen of the hinterland survived until the beginning of the present century, when no one would call himself Türk (instead of Ottoman), and the term was reserved for such deprecatory maxims as "a Turk hunts the hare in a cart."

† In Asia Minor we know the Boz-qoyunlu ("Those of the Grey Sheep").

his death (in 1404) his possessions, weakly strung together, began to crumble, and even his well-known son Shahrukh could not effectually control Western Persia. The Jalayirs returned to Tabriz, but this time quarrels began between them and the Black Sheep, and the leader of the latter overthrew his master in 1410.

After these events the Middle East becomes split into two parts. In Eastern Persia the Timurids hold their splendid Court in Herat, while in Western Persia the Black Sheep consolidate their power in Tabriz. Territorially their possessions cut a very considerable figure in the world of Islam. Apart from Western and Southern Persia, they were masters of Baghdad, Armenia, and a large part of Transcaucasia. On one occasion the best-known ruler of the dynasty, JAHAN-SHAH (1437-1467), the builder of the most beautiful mosque in Tabriz, advanced with his army as far as the Timurid capital, Herat.

During this time the White Sheep were keeping quiet in the shadow of their Diyar-Bakr fief. However, the eastward expansion of their rivals was so rapid that in the West their rear became necessarily weakened. The Aq-qoyunlu took full advantage of this opportunity, under the leadership of their great chief, UZUN HASAN ("Long Hasan"), so called on account of his tall stature. After his father's death (in 1435) this prince gradually supplanted his elder brother. Having disguised himself as a merchant, he entered the town of Diyar-Bakr and seized the power in 1454. The next step for Uzun Hasan was to secure a vantage-point on the Armenian plateau, and that he did by seizing Erzinjan. This town is situated to the west of Erzerum, and its importance has been always recognized, for before the last war Erzinjan was (and probably even now is) the headquarters of an army corps.

5

Having rounded off his possessions towards Kurdistan, Uzun Hasan pressed farther north, and here came into contact with a noble Christian neighbour. The Comnene empire of Trebizond was living its last days, being surrounded on all sides by Turcoman tribes and threatened by the Ottomans.

It was said of Austria, "Let others go to war; you, happy land, operate by marriage," and this, too, was the only device left to Trebizond. The emperors liberally gave away their daughters and nieces, renowned for their beauty, to the simple-hearted nomads, who now and then came to visit their fathers and brothers-in-law, bringing their

tents and herds to the walls of Trebizond. As a sort of recognition of his title to distinction, Uzun Hasan received the hand of the Princess Kyra Katerina, known to European travellers under the Byzantine title of Déspina ("Lady). She arrived with a following of Christian priests, and the leader of the White Sheep respected her religion with a tolerance characteristic of the Caucasian borderlands. At the time of which we are speaking the marriage was for Uzun Hasan like the opening of a window on Western lands, for through Trebizond he made new acquaintances. A sister of Déspina was married in Venice. Trebizond was in close relations with the Christian kingdom of Georgia, and in a curious letter, written in 1459 to the Duke of Burgundy by a local Georgian prince, "Assem-bech"—*i.e.*, Hasan-bek or Uzun Hasan—is presented as a mighty ally of the coalition comprising Trebizond and the Caucasian lands.

6

The marriage with Déspina took place in 1458, five years after the momentous capture of Constantinople by the Ottomans. SULTAN MUHAMMAD II. was a sovereign of great ambitions, and Uzun Hasan must have had some alarming reports about him, for in 1460 he sent his nephew to Constantinople in order to ask the Sultan not to disturb the "crown-bearer" (*tagavor*) of Trebizond, whom he considered as his vassal. Not content with oral diplomacy, Uzun Hasan carried out a raid into Ottoman territory. The struggle became inevitable, but Muhammad II. did not depart from his methodical procedure. He first crushed the princes of Sinope, who could threaten his left flank, and only then marched against the Turcomans. The armies met near Kemakh on the upper Euphrates, but Uzun Hasan was somewhat disturbed by the grave turn which events were about to take, and sent his mother to negotiate with the conqueror of Constantinople. We may remark that, with the Turks and Mongols, ladies possessed a very honourable status; they attended public receptions, and examples are known of their taking part even in skirmishes and battles. Muhammad II. graciously received the old Sara-khatun and called her "mother," but did not lend his ear to her vindications of the rights to Trebizond of her Christian daughter-in-law. Seeing his opponent's perplexity, Muhammad II. marched straight north and took the Comnene capital in 1461. As the only consolation to the lady-diplomat, he remitted to her a part of the treasure found at Trebizond to be delivered to Déspina.

So ingloriously for Uzun Hasan ended his first clash with the Ottomans, but, in spite of all, he came out of it unscathed and his career was still in the ascendant, as we are immediately to see.

7

While these events were taking place in the western part of Armenia, further to the east the Black Sheep were consolidating their extensive possessions. Jahanshah was not only apprehensive of his rival, Uzun Hasan, but he may have had a hint from Constantinople, for we possess a letter of his in which he announces to the Sultan his intention of marching against the White Sheep. Indeed, without any difficulty Jahanshah advanced westwards as far as Mush, but here was overtaken by the approaching winter. Seeing no enemy before him, he decided to send his troops down to their winter quarters. He himself, with a small detachment, lingered behind, not being able to resist the temptation of a good hunt. He did not know that Uzun Hasan's scouts were following him step by step. The aged Jahanshah was taken unawares. He tried to ride away with only one shoe on, but was overtaken and killed on November 11, 1467. The shaky fabric of Turcoman organization went to pieces at once. Uzun Hasan rapidly moved forward. Jahanshah's son, Hasan Ali, marshalled a large army and applied to the Timurids for help. It was all in vain. His army collapsed. Without any fighting Uzun Hasan was already a long way beyond Tabriz in the warm winter quarters of Mughan, near the Caspian Sea.

With one stroke the Black Sheep had been wiped out and the leader of the White Sheep added to his former possessions the whole of the vast territory previously held by Jahanshah.

8

We have seen that the Black Sheep had been usually on hostile terms with Timur and his successors, whereas, on the contrary, the White Sheep entertained friendly relations with the latter. Jahanshah's ephemeral successor reversed his family's policy by his appeal to Herat, but was overthrown before even he could receive any response. It happened, however, that the Timurid throne was occupied at that time by an energetic and ambitious king, ABŪ-SA'ĪD, who thought that the moment had at last come to repair the Turcoman outrages and to restore his kingdom to its pristine power. So he took up the request for help, made vast preparations, gathered a large army, and started on a

campaign which was to take him across the whole of Persia, a distance of some 750 miles as the crow flies. Uzun Hasan sent envoys and referred to the former friendship of the two houses, but Abū Sa'īd steadily kept moving onwards. However, by the time he reached Miyana the winter of 1468, which was particularly severe, overtook him on the road. The only salvation would have been to seek temporary refuge in the warmer quarters of Mughan, but the cunning Uzun Hasan was occupying precisely that region. On its way to Mughan, Abū Sa'īd's army suffered terribly, and at the decisive moment had no strength to fight. Abū-Sa'īd had to flee for his life, but was caught and taken before Uzun Hasan, who received him sitting on a throne, as if to make his opponent visualize the change, *quantum mutatus ab illo!* A few days later a Timurid refugee with Uzun Hasan alleged a blood feud with Abū Sa'īd and requested his extradition. This was acceded to, and the obscure Timurid put to death the last of his family who possessed any political capacity and daring. Abū Sa'īd's energy survived only in the person of his grandson, who became famous under other skies—*i.e.*, Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India.

This second triumph made Uzun Hasan the uncontested master of the lands which now form the eastern part of Turkey, Iraq, the Soviet republics of Transcaucasia, Persia, and even parts of Afghanistan. Abū Sa'īd's executioner, who was established on the throne of Herat by Uzun Hasan's troops, was only a vassal of his protector.

9

In modern times, until quite recently, this extraordinary situation was little realized, but Uzun Hasan's contemporaries were fully aware of his successes, and drew from them the appropriate conclusions. It was clear that a diversion which the ruler of the White Sheep might produce in the rear of the Ottomans would paralyze the latter's menace to Europe.

By their occupation of Constantinople the Turks dealt a blow to the republic of Venice, whose trade in the Black Sea was brought to an end. So the Lion of San Marco made friends with the Lion lit up by the rays of the Rising Sun. The Turcoman principality of Qaraman, opposite Cyprus (at that time in Venetian occupation), was still unconquered by the Ottomans, and this corner of the Mediterranean formed the gap through which communications between the prospective allies were possible.

On December 2, 1463, the Senate of Venice approved a project of alliance with Uzun Hasan. In order to implement the agreement, L. Quirini was sent to Persia, and soon two ambassadors of Uzun Hasan visited Venice. In 1469-1470 the Ottomans seized the island of Euboia, which had been in Venetian possession for 264 years, and this sad loss further stimulated the negotiations. In 1471 Quirini returned from Persia, and was replaced by the noble Caterino Zeno, married to a daughter of Déspina Katerina's sister. Zeno's own book has been unfortunately lost, but out of his letters the well-known editor Ramusio prepared a good account. Here is the passage on the envoy's visit to his wife's aunt: "By the special permission of the King . . . he was taken into the presence of the Queen, and she being informed who he was, he was welcomed and received by her with the greatest favour as a dear nephew and relative, asking him with great instance if all her nephews were alive, and in what condition they were. M. Caterino replied with great pleasure, and gave satisfactory answers to all her questions. Afterwards, when he wished to return to his lodging, she would not hear of it, but kept him in her palace, giving him separate apartments for himself and suite, and presenting him every day . . . with the same victuals, which were put before their Majesties. And then, having heard more particularly the reason of his coming, she promised him all her influence and showed herself friendly towards our illustrious Government. And in reality this Queen was instrumental, through M. Caterino, in inducing Ussun Cassano to declare war against the Turk. Nor can one deny that through the relationship M. Caterino had with Déspina, he attained to such favour and intimacy with Ussun Cassano that he even went in and out of the private apartments of the King and Queen at whatever time and hour he pleased, and what is still more extraordinary, even when both their Majesties were in bed." The report further adds: "This Déspina was the most religious lady in the world, always remained a good Christian, and every day had mass solemnly celebrated in the Greek manner, which she attended with much devotion. Nor did her husband, although he was of a different faith and an enemy of her own, ever say one word to her about it, or persuade her to change her religion; certainly it is curious that the one bore so much with the other, and that there was so much love and affection between them."

So ably did Venice exploit personal relations!

10

After this digression we shall now proceed with our story. In the same year (1471) the envoy of Uzun Hasan Hajji Muhammad (Azimamet) came to Venice with a request for arms and munitions. This time the well-known traveller Giosafà Barbaro was commissioned to deliver to the Turcomans the precious tools of destruction, which had very sonorous Italian names: 6 mortars (*bombarde*), 600 small pieces of ordnance (*spingarde*), and a number of muskets (*schiopetti*), with the necessary munitions. Two hundred fusiliers, with officers, were accompanying the convoy, and a naval squadron under Admiral Mocenigo, the future Doge of Venice, stationed at Cyprus, was to co-operate with the expedition. At a later date Barbaro received secret instructions to give assurances to Uzun Hasan that the Republic would on no account sign a peace with the Ottomans before it had forced them to cede to Persia the whole of Asia Minor up to the Dardanelles! The promise was magnificent, and, had it come to realization, the course of history would have been different.

11

The White Sheep took the offensive. A corps of their horse invaded Asia Minor and wintered there. Meanwhile other troops were trying to open up communications from the Euphrates to Northern Syria, where Barbaro was waiting with his precious cargo. The terms of the correspondence between Uzun Hasan and Muhammad II. were becoming more and more rude and even vituperative. The situation was tense.

The Sultan first despatched troops under his son against the Turcoman invaders, and then himself, with his army, crossed over to the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. The opening of the campaign was of bad omen for Uzun Hasan, as in the autumn of 1472 his expeditionary force was defeated near Qoniya. The junction with the Venetians was also frustrated by the Egyptians, who had despatched troops to Northern Syria and defended the Euphrates line. In this occasion Ottoman diplomacy showed all its skill and shrewdness. The Turks intercepted some of Uzun Hasan's letters to the Venetians and sent them to Cairo in order to show that Uzun Hasan was an ally of the infidels, whom he was inciting against the Muslims. The Egyptians were incensed and forgot all about the Ottoman danger, to which they were going to fall a prey in another thirty-five years.

In March, 1473, Muhammad II., with an army of 100,000 men, took the field and slowly moved towards the upper Euphrates. Here, near Tarjan, the armies met, and at the outset the Turcomans scored a success. The Ottomans were about to turn tail when Uzun Hasan had the unfortunate idea of attacking them with his cavalry armed in the primitive Asiatic way. The Ottoman artillery wrought havoc among the advancing Turcomans, who were put to flight. So ended the second tentative of a struggle between the Turcomans and the Ottomans, and the latter's star now shone bright and unopposed.

12

Sultan Muhammad prudently refrained from pursuing the Turcomans into the heart of their territory and, satisfied with having driven them off, returned to Constantinople. So this time again Uzun Hasan practically maintained his positions. He wrote to Venice that he would again press back the Ottomans ("cavalcheremo adosso all' Ottoman"), and sent C. Zeno to plead his cause at the European Courts. At that time we hear of a host of ambassadors thronging at his door, and representing Poland, Hungary, Sicily, Burgundy, and the Pope. Even an envoy of the Grand Duke of Russia was on his way from the north. Venice was continuously sending new representatives. In 1474 Ognibene came to Persia; Barbaro, long detained at Cyprus, finally joined his post, and was followed by Contarini. But all this activity could not prevent Uzun Hasan's attention from shifting away from Europe. He led an expedition into Georgia, then his son rebelled against him, then the plague decimated his subjects. But, above all, Uzun Hasan certainly realized how necessary it was for him to attend personally to the affairs of the great kingdom which no one contested. He could not help feeling the advantages of peace at home over the risks of new adventures. His end was approaching. He died in January, 1478, aged only fifty-eight years, but his life had been rich in excitement and fatigue. Here is a curious portrait of him drawn by the pen of Contarini: "His demeanour is certainly good; and he is constantly surrounded by men of rank. At least four hundred people sat daily at his entertainments and sometimes many more, all seated on the ground. . . . The Shah and those who ate in his company were served in an honourable manner, the dishes being abundant and well prepared. His Majesty always drinks wine at his meals; he appears to be a good liver, and took pleasure in inviting us to partake of the dishes which were before him. There were constantly present a

number of players and singers, to whom he commanded whatever he wished to be played or sung, and His Majesty appeared to be of a very merry disposition. He was tall and thin, and had a slightly Tartar expression of countenance, with a constant colour on his face. His hand trembled as he drank. He appeared to be seventy years of age. He was fond of amusing himself in a homely manner; but, when too far gone, was sometimes dangerous. Take him altogether, however, he was a pleasant gentleman."

13

Uzun Hasan had been the only hope of Venice, and no sooner was he dead than the Republic signed peace with the Ottomans in December of the same year.

It remains for us to sum up the kaleidoscopic events which filled the reign of Uzun Hasan. As in the case of the Mongols, a new centre had sprung up in the Middle East. It was hostile to its immediate Western neighbour, the Ottoman Empire, which in the eyes of Western Powers was the arch-aggressor of the time. The result was clear: Europe, as chiefly represented by the small but rich republic of St. Mark, hastened to establish an alliance with the Turcomans, who themselves were friendly to the Christians. But the disadvantages of the situation were the long distances and the difference of culture of the allies. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire had already assimilated a good deal of European knowledge and craftsmanship and had for its padishah one of the most energetic and iron-willed rulers of Osman's house. This accounted for the issue of the struggle, though in the East Uzun Hasan's position remained unimpaired.

III

The Safavids between the Sultans and Western Europe

I

We have seen how the idea of a Middle-Eastern State, as opposed to the Near East, arose in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and how each time some particular links were established between the new bodies politic and Western Europe.

The Mongols in Persia were an entirely new ethnical layer superimposed on the local population. The Turcomans, too, were an extraneous element, though sufficiently acclimatized to the surroundings and, on the other hand, only politically separated from their

neighbours, the Ottoman Turks. We shall now survey the specific origins of the State created in Persia by the Safavid dynasty, which is similarly characterized by an enmity towards its immediate Western neighbours and by a sympathy towards the European nations.

The rise of the Safavids is a unique combination of moral and physical forces which is only now becoming sufficiently clear to us.

2

We need not repeat here the history of the great split of Islam into adherents of the Sunna and those of the Shi'a. The first are the orthodox believers in the rights of the historical successors of Muhammad, the caliphs. The second are the legitimists of Islam who think that the succession ought to have remained in the Prophet's family, and more especially among the descendants of his daughter Fatima. They consider the Caliphs, with the sole exception of Ali, Fatima's husband, as mere usurpers, and to them they oppose the succession of the Imams issued from Fatima. The dogmatic differences between the Sunna and Shi'a are of importance only under the magnifying-glass of theology. What interests us here is the fact that the Shi'a, from its beginning, was an opposition party, that it acquired the special psychology of such parties, and that being in minority it was glad of the support of any discontented and disinherited elements. The Sunnites, as the official church, lived on good terms with the established power, whereas the Shi'ites were prone to throw their lot in with popular movements. Being accustomed to coalitions the Shi'a were influenced by the occasional allies, and thus a considerable amount of adventitious elements has crept into their doctrines. Quite especially the left wing of the Shi'a has taken up various non-Islamic ideas, such as the incarnation of Deity and even metempsychosis.

3

The ancestors of the Safavids were religious chiefs who for several centuries had their headquarters in Ardabil, a town lying in Azarbaijan, on the high plateau dominating the south-western coast of the Caspian. These shaykhs, living in the odour of sanctity, were highly esteemed not only by the local population but by kings as well. Their influence went so far that even some Turcoman tribes in Asia Minor were among their fervent adherents. The shaykhs were said to be sayyids—that is, descendants of the Prophet through Fatima—but their orthodoxy is fairly well established down to the middle of the fifteenth

century. At this point the situation changes; somehow the Shī'a, in its extreme form, creeps into the family. Shah Ismā'il's grandfather, Junayd, married to the sister of the great Turcoman chief Uzun Hasan, undertook vast tours of propaganda, intrigued among the Turcoman tribes, and finally launched a military expedition against the infidels of the Caucasian highlands in order to convert them to Islam. There he was killed, but his activity was continued by his son, Haydar, who also perished in the Caucasus. All these religious and military activities rendered the Safavids suspect as potential pretenders, and the ruling kings of the White Sheep tribe decided to exterminate the youthful descendants of the Ardabil shaykhs.

Ismā'il, still a child, went into hiding. Gradually the faithful dervishes, adherents of the Ardabil family, gathered around him. He was only thirteen years of age when he returned to his father's home. From there a campaign was started against the White Sheep, who were finally defeated in the Battle of Sharur.

4

So, in 1502, on the shoulders of his fanatical supporters, the youthful ISMĀ'IL was carried up to the throne of Tabriz. Rapid careers are not infrequent in Persian history, but the advent of Shah Ismā'il was more than a dynastic change. It meant a revolution. At that time, most of the population of Persia, and quite particularly two-thirds of the inhabitants of Tabriz, belonged to the Sunna and had to be converted by force to the creed of the Imams.

We know now that the Safavids possessed a secret doctrine with which only the immediate entourage of the Shah was acquainted. Already the clever Venetian observers had detected some unusual element in the feelings of the Persians towards their Safavid kings. In 1508 Dr. Rota reported from Aleppo that Shah Ismā'il was "adored by his courtiers and subjects as a prophet." Ambassador d'Alessandri (1571) wrote of Shah Ismā'il's successor: "They worship him not as a king but as a god." All this surely corresponded to reality, for we possess Shah Ismā'il's own poems, in which he attributes to himself divine qualities: "I am the Absolute Agent . . . *sijda* is due to me"—and *sijda* is the prostration of the faithful before God!

We have here a typical case of Shī'a extremism. Its representatives taught that the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law Ali was higher than the Prophet, that he was God incarnate, that through reincarnation his

divinity passed on to his descendants in a direct line, and that consequently these descendants (Imams) were divine and above human laws.

The State, at the head of which stood a living incarnation of God, was a true theocracy. The supporters of the throne were those faithful dervishes who had fought under Ismā'il's grandfather and father, and who now placed Ismā'il on the throne. As far as we know, they were recruited among the Turcoman tribes whom the Safavids had subdued to their Shi'a propaganda. So the dervishes, as it were, acted as delegates of the tribes which received the name of *Shahi-sevan* ("Those loving the Shah"), in which case "Shah" referred most probably to Ali, and then to all his reincarnations. Consequently, the Safavid theocracy had behind it a force derived from pretorian tribes. The rest of the kingdom represented only a mass governed by the new religious and administrative combination.

5

In the beginning, the Safavid organization could hardly merit the label of a "national state." The king was officially supposed to be of Arab descent, had a Christian Greek princess of Trebizond for his grandmother,* had much Turcoman blood in his veins, and wrote his poetry in Turkish.

However, after a time, the seizure of the power by the Safavids produced very definite results. It isolated the Shah's possessions from the rest of the Islamic world. Some distinguished historian has lately attributed to the Safavids the responsibility of this error, and even betrayal of Islamic culture. This is no place for any polemics, but we may still exaggerate the importance of the purely religious Qoranic side in the life of Islamic nations. The factors responsible for their culture were certainly manifold, and varied from place to place. Especially in Persia we must account for numerous pre-Islamic influences and survivals. Since the eleventh century Persia was constantly overrun by Turks and Mongols, and had it still continued to be incorporated in vast and mighty empires, it would have been drowned in the so-called Islamic unity, which practically meant a further turcification of Iran.

The Safavids, too, made use of Turkish tribes as their instruments, but, by their propaganda, they detached them from the great mass of Turkish elements. They raised a wall between them and the Ottoman

* Shaykh Haydar had married the daughter of Uzun Hasan by Déspina Katerina.

Turks in the West, as well as between them and the Uzbek Turks of Central Asia. The Shahi-sevans were in some way amalgamated in the local population, thanks to a common creed. During the first century of Safavid rule the pretorians, by their internal squabbles, became a great nuisance and danger, but the Safavids succeeded in breaking and scattering separate clans over far-flung territories. Finally, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Shah 'Abbās I. (1587-1629) mastered the situation by creating a permanent army, into which both Persians and Turks were admitted, but only as individual soldiers owing their allegiance not to the heads of their tribes but to the central power. Only since then has the modern Persia come into being as a nation—not in a racial sense, but as a definite moral and political body in which the variety of the component elements has been brought to a steady equilibrium.

6

We must be brief. The birth of the new state with an official creed which looked like sheer heresy, made orthodox Islam shudder. Unfortunately for the Safavids, the Ottoman Empire was then at the zenith of its power, under such monarchs as Sultan Selim and his son Sultan Sulayman. There was no lack of pretexts for a war. Between 1506 and 1510 Shah Ismā'il overran Upper Mesopotamia down to the Taurus. Towards 1511 a terrible rebellion of Shī'a dervishes endangered the existence of the Ottoman State. After his accession in 1512 SULTAN SELIM massacred and imprisoned some 40,000 Shī'ites living in his dominions. In 1514 Selim in person led an army against Ismā'il. Apart from the talents of the commanders, a better equipment of the Janissaries decided the Battle of Chaldiran (in the extreme north-western corner of Persia), in which Ismā'il was utterly defeated. The great provincial capital of Tabriz was temporarily occupied by the Turks. Over Ismā'il's head, Selim entered into friendly relations with the Uzbek rulers, who were Ismā'il's deadly enemies, on the eastern (Khorasanian) frontier of his dominions. From that time on, war perpetually raged on both fronts, and it was no small achievement of the Safavids to have survived in such circumstances.

7

In 1517 Selim occupied Egypt, which had so gallantly withstood the aggressions even of such conquerors as the Mongols and Tamerlane. Now, the Ottoman Empire represented the official Islam, and

Western Europe was again terror-stricken at the new danger coming from the East.

Already the Venetian Rota, reporting the victories of the early part of Shah Ismā'il's career,* testified to his benevolence towards the Christians: the Shah respected and spared churches, carried with himself the Armenian patriarch and other priests in order to show his great desire to destroy the Islamic law;† several times he invited Christian kings to declare war on Turkey from the European side, while he wanted no help on the Asiatic side, etc. Rota himself mentions one of Ismā'il's ambassadors who was captured by the Turks as he was on the way to the Hungarian Court. In 1523 Ismā'il addressed letters to King Louis of Hungary and to the Emperor Charles V. urging them to declare war on Turkey. The letter reached Toledo in 1525, after the Shah's death.

8

Among the European Powers there were two of whose friendliness there were no particular hopes. Towards the very end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese suddenly appeared in the Indian Ocean and began their series of wonderful exploits. In 1507 they occupied the Island of Hormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf and imposed their suzerainty upon the princes of the adjoining region of the mainland. The Persians naturally looked askance at this intrusion, and ever after treated the Portuguese with great suspicion.

The other hostile nation was the French who, from 1525 on, tried to establish good relations with Turkey and, finally, in 1535, signed a formal treaty with Sultan Sulayman. By this pact they acquired considerable commercial and consular advantages (the so-called "capitulations"), but their defensive and offensive alliance with the Grand Turk was received in many quarters with mixed feelings. In 1543 the French forces of Francis I. were under the sad obligation of collaborating with the Turkish fleet in a raid on Nice, from which many Christians were abducted into Muslim captivity.

9

The prospective allies of Persia were the Emperor, the King of Hungary, the Republic of Venice and, to some extent, Spain. It must be borne in mind that between 1581 and 1640 Portugal became incor-

* With some exaggeration.

† "De détruire et razer de fons en comble la loy machommétiste."

porated in Spain. Philip II. took the pledge that the Portuguese settlements beyond the seas would still belong to Portugal and not to Spain, but we shall see how Portuguese affairs were handled in Persia by a Spanish ambassador. On the other hand, Portugal was drawn into Spanish politics and, some seven years after the destruction of the Armada, the English sacked the southern towns of Portugal (1595). Enmity with England proved to be a bad augury for Portugal's position in the Persian Gulf.

10

Towards the middle of the sixteenth century England became suddenly interested in Persia. As the Portuguese dominated on the southern seas, and as trade via Syria across Turkish dominions was subject to many vexations, a plan was conceived—geographically very quaint, but, by its very strangeness, characteristic of Elizabethan daring and enterprise. The idea was to divert the Persian silk trade to the road running along the Caspian and the Volga, to the White Sea, and thence to the North Sea. The plan presupposed perfect relations with Russia, and, indeed, the rights of transit and free trade were granted to the English by the Tsar Ivan the Terrible. On April 25, 1561, Queen Elizabeth addressed a letter to Shah Tahmasp asking him to give his protection to Anthony Jenkinson who was going to Persia for commercial reasons. This mission was wrecked by bigotry and procrastination typical of the time of Shah Tahmasp. While Jenkinson was admitted into the palace, a special servant walked after him sprinkling sand over his footmarks lest the ground be polluted.

No more success was scored ten years later (1571) by the Venetian envoy d'Alessandri, who, similarly to his predecessors in the time of Uzun Hasan, tried to persuade the Shah to declare war on Turkey, which at that time was about to seize Cyprus.

11

The situation changed with the advent to power of the second great Safavid SHAH 'ABBĀS I. During his minority the Turks succeeded in wresting from Persia (in 1590) its western provinces and Transcaucasia. Fortune began to favour the Persians only after a victory over the Uzbek army in 1597. At the moment when the young king was triumphantly returning to his capital, Qazvin, with 20,000 heads of Tartars carried on the ends of strong spears, while young

dancers performed and singing girls madly shouted as they galloped on their horses, a strange group appeared before the Shah's eyes. It consisted of twenty-six Europeans led by two English gentlemen adventurers, the brothers Anthony and Robert Sherley. Under the orders of the Earl of Essex, Anthony had been sent to Italy, but his mission having been rendered pointless, he went to Venice, and there met an Oriental Christian and a Persian merchant who spoke to him in glowing terms of the outlook in Persia. Sherley was a man of action and was not long in perceiving the interest it would have to persuade the Shah to join the Christian kings in their struggle with the Great Turk, and, subsidiarily, to improve commercial relations between Persia and England. This last idea, suddenly born in Sherley's mind, was quite in harmony with the tendencies of the epoch following on the destruction of the Armada (1588). The Sherleys arrived in Persia in December, 1598, just two years before the signature by Queen Elizabeth of the Charter of the East India Company which opened a new era in the East. Anthony Sherley's oratory was efficacious, and, only six months after his arrival, he was on his way to the European Courts as the ambassador of the Great Sophi. He bore letters to the Pope, the Emperor Rudolph II., the Kings of France, Spain, Scotland and Poland, the Queen of England, the Signory of Venice and some other princes. Sherley succeeded only in delivering the letters to the Emperor and the Pope. The King of France refused to receive the envoy who had been preaching war against the Sultan, while "a state of friendship exists between this Lord and myself which I desire to maintain." On the whole, the affairs of the embassy did not run smoothly. Travelling with Sherley as a fellow-ambassador, a "yoke-fellow," as Sir Anthony styled him, was a Persian, Husayn Ali beg. The functions of the two were not clearly discriminated. In Rome the ambassadors quarrelled so much over their right of precedence that the Pope had to give them separate audiences, though Sherley was received in the first day. Thereafter the story becomes very confused. Husayn Ali beg travelled alone to Spain. We know little of his negotiations, except for the great blow sustained by him through the conversion to Catholicism of his first, second and third secretaries, and, a report adds, of his private secretary, his cook and his barber! Sir Anthony remained in Italy and became involved in some intrigues with Spain. He never returned to Persia and we shall meet him on our way only once again at an unedifying moment of his career.

12

As a practical result of Sir Anthony's mission may be mentioned a return embassy sent by the Emperor to Persia in 1602. But the ambassador, Kakasch de Zalonkemeny, died on the threshold of Persia, in Gilan, and only his secretary reached the Shah. The Emperor offered a definite plan of offensive against the Ottomans, and the Shah sent a new ambassador to Prague (Shah-quli beg).

At the same time a Hispano-Portuguese embassy, headed by the Augustinian friar Antonio de Gouvea, arrived from Goa, and in return for a promise of neutrality in the Persian Gulf received an assurance that the Shah would declare war on Turkey.

From this period on the Shah's policy in Europe follows the vicissitudes of his struggle against Turkey, and, when the situation becomes stabilized, he achieves a success by playing off his Christian friends against each other.

13

In August, 1603, Shah Abbas recaptured Tabriz, and on the northern bank of the Lake of Urmiya routed the army of Chighalazade. Thus the humiliation suffered by Shah Ismā'il at the hands of Sultan Selim was wiped out. In this battle Robert Sherley, Sir Anthony's younger brother, displayed much valour. He received three wounds, but brought back the heads of thirty prisoners, whom he had executed to avenge the captivity of his eldest brother Thomas.

During the following two years the Shah, taking advantage of the troubles obtaining in Turkey, recovered from the Ottomans the whole of Transcaucasia, but the Porte hastened to conclude peace with Austria (November 11, 1606) and commissioned the Grand Vazir Murad pasha to pacify the eastern regions.

This alarmed the Shah, and he made up his mind to send a new ambassador to Prague, Madrid and London, having two objects in view: to conclude an offensive alliance against the Ottomans and to divert the Persian silk trade from the route running through Turkey. The negotiations were entrusted to Robert Sherley. In the letter addressed to King James I., it was said that the choice was due to the fact that the envoy was "both yours and ours," and a hope was expressed that Turkey's name might soon be blotted out, "so shall the Christian and our countries be united."

In 1609 Robert Sherley arrived in Prague, where he was knighted by the Emperor, and then proceeded to Rome, and finally to Madrid. He wore Persian dress, but his turban was surmounted by a golden crucifix. There was not much progress in the negotiations with Spain, and Sir Robert turned his eyes towards his homeland, trusting that an agreement with England, on a purely commercial basis, would present no great difficulties. Spanish intrigues delayed his departure, but the machination was thwarted and Sir Robert arrived in England. Unexpectedly his projects met with a strong opposition from the Levant merchants trading via Aleppo, who thought that the changing of the silk route would ruin them. Sir Robert's sojourn in England does not seem to have given any important result, and in January, 1612, he embarked at Dover on his return journey via India.

14

While Sir Robert was in Europe, Shah Abbas received a Spanish embassy headed for the second time by A. Gouvea. The Shah did not deign to answer the reproaches addressed to him on the resolute policy of his representatives in the Persian Gulf, but again offered to divert all the silk trade to Hormuz.

In 1610 the Ottoman Grand Vazir Murad pasha made a tentative to reoccupy the provinces of North-western Persia, but Shah Abbas adopted a firm attitude and the invaders had to retire and content themselves with a promise of an annual offering to the Sultan of 200 charges of silk. Two years later (1612) Sultan Ahmad was brought to accept this preliminary agreement, by which the Turks were to abandon Transcaucasia and Azarbayjan. Thus Persia gained a breathing space which rendered her less dependent on the Christian Powers.

When in March, 1613, A. Gouvea, now a bishop, led for a third time an embassy to Persia, he was ill received by Abbas I. The ruler of Persia was greatly distracted by the fact that again several members of his new embassy to Spain had been converted to Catholicism. The unfortunate envoy Dengiz-beg, who had shown so little authority over his secretaries, was beheaded before Gouvea's eyes, and the Spanish ambassador was so impressed by the Shah's wrath that he hurriedly returned to Hormuz. The diplomats' apostasy was indeed unpleasant enough, but the royal moods certainly indicated some deeper change of Persian policy in general.

15

Meanwhile the Ottoman Grand Vazir, who had negotiated the peace, died, and the Turks began to concentrate troops in Aleppo, thus menacing the silk route. So again the pendulum swung about, and in October, 1615, Sir Robert Sherley started on a new embassy to Europe, from which, be it said, he returned only in November, 1627, in disgrace and crestfallen.

In June, 1618, the Spanish ambassador, Don Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, arrived in Persia. Spain was anxious to exploit the Ottoman threat, and in exchange for keeping the Turks busy on the sea, wanted to recover Bahrayn, Qishm and Gombrun, which the Shah's representatives had gradually occupied in the Persian Gulf. When, during a ride with the Shah, Don Garcia hinted at this combination, the Shah spurred on his mount and left the aged ambassador behind.

After a new victory over the Ottomans, a new treaty was signed on August 26, 1618, with the difference that this time the Shah diminished the Sultan's gratuity to only 100 charges of silk per annum. The next year, during the festivities in Isfahan, Figueroa, who was taking leave of the Shah, once again raised the old point and, moreover, asked the Shah not to encourage the English penetration into the Gulf, but the only promise the ruler of Persia would give him referred to the construction of some new churches. On July 29, 1619, the peace with Turkey was ratified, and now Shah Abbas could actively prosecute his other plans.

16

Ever since their establishment in Hormuz the Portuguese had been a thorn in Persia's side. When in 1581 Portugal became united with Spain, the union was very much resented in the colonies which had been acquired by Portuguese initiative. This struggle weakened the Hispano-Portuguese situation in the East. So long as the Ottoman menace existed, the Shah was actively studying the possibility of a sea route for Persian trade, independent from the Sultan's good-will. Somewhat more remote was the hope of an anti-Turkish coalition, in which, at the side of the Emperor, Spain and Portugal could be very useful.

But now the situation was changing in the Persian Gulf too. Behind the Portuguese the shadow of England was looming up, and we have only to enumerate the dates of this astonishing development.

The first Englishman known to have set foot on Indian soil was Stevens in 1579. The first Englishman to have sojourned in Hormuz was Newberry in 1581. Yet, only twenty years later, on the eve of 1601, Queen Elizabeth signed the charter of the East India Company, thereby laying the foundations of the future Empire. Incidentally, this document undermined the opposition of the Levant Company, which was trading in Turkey and Syria and was opposed to rival routes. In August, 1608, the first English vessel reached an Indian port (Surat), and from that moment a struggle between the Portuguese, "desirous to engross the whole trade" (as it was said in the instructions to Sir Thomas Roe, 1614), and the English became inevitable. In 1615 two British merchants arrived in Isfahan from India. They were suspicious of Sir Robert Sherley, who was considered by his compatriots "either a troublesome enemy or an expensive friend." It was thought that he might be in favour of a Perso-Spanish understanding, but, at some expense, the merchants succeeded in obtaining his help and finally received the necessary orders from the Shah. Consequently, on November 8, 1616, the first English ship carried goods to Jask, a port situated at 90 miles to the east of Hormuz. In 1618-19 the Spanish ambassador Figueroa tried in vain to paralyze English penetration, and already in 1619 the Shah hinted to the English that his intention was to take Hormuz at the first opportunity.

17

Meanwhile a strong squadron of warships under Ruy Freire de Andrade left Lisbon and reached Hormuz in June, 1620. The gallant Captain Shilling, commander of the fleet from England, found the Portuguese ready to intercept him on the way to Jask, but he drove them off, landed the goods, and in a stiff engagement (December 28, 1620) scored a definite success.

By that time the Shah had opened operations against the Portuguese. It was natural that the English and Persians should join hands, and so a formal agreement was signed by the two parties. By it, the castle of Hormuz was to belong to the English and the English were to be for ever custom-free in Gombrun; the spoils were to be divided equally, it being understood that the English should dispose of the Christian prisoners; the Persians were to pay half the expense for victuals, munitions, etc.

The English commanders had to overcome the opposition of their sailors, who alleged that this was "no merchandising business, nor

were they hired for any such exploit," but finally, in January, 1622, the ships put out to sea from Jask. First the Portuguese fort on the neighbouring island of Qishm was taken, then the English landed the Persian commander and his troops in Hormuz, and on January 23 the Portuguese, having received a promise that their lives would be spared, surrendered to the English.

Some doubt has been expressed concerning the material gain which accrued to the English from this action.* But, although it is true that Shah Abbas disregarded several clauses of the agreement, the English were allowed to purchase any quantity of Persian silk and to bring their goods to Isfahan free of duty. These were tangible advantages, to say nothing of the great political change in the Gulf, which immediately found a repercussion on the general situation in India.

What interests us here is the Persian point of view. Shah Abbas had been rather unsuccessful in his hopes to secure Western alliances against the Ottomans. However, the perturbed state of Turkey enabled him to recapture the provinces previously lost and to stabilize the situation. Being now more independent with regard to European aid, he changed his policy and ejected the Portuguese from their positions on the Persian Gulf.

18

We have examined three periods in the history of the Middle East—namely, those of the Mongols, the Turcomans and the Safavids. Each time the rise of a new political factor in the rear of the Nearer East resulted in a clash between the new force and its Western neighbours, and meanwhile led to its rapprochement with the European Powers. In neither of the three cases did the alliances produce a definite military effect, but cultural and commercial relations were greatly stimulated by these tendencies. This is, then, the regularity which we discover in the situation of the Middle East in the thirteenth, fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. There would be no difficulty in finding more illustrations of our thesis in more recent times, such as Russo-Persian relations in the reign of Nadir-shah (1736-47), the Franco-Persian treaty of 1807, and the German action in Iran during the last war.

This brings us to the end of our conclusions, but one more consideration may be added to them by way of a postscript.

Lately, the problem has been discussed of the exact connotation of

* Sir A. T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, p. 148.

the two terms "Near East" and "Middle East." In the light of our parallels it seems that historically the two "Easts" were living and distinct realities. However, what is true for the past may become less true for the future. We cannot speculate on the effect which the present events in Europe will have in the East, but, with more probability, we may foresee an increased activity in the Near and Middle East, establishing a concerted policy towards Europe. Above all, we must consider the rapidity of improved communications and the development of economic ties which may bridge the ancient divisions in the Islamic world. To say more would be an intrusion into a domain beyond the range of our vision and prevision.

THE ISLAMIC GUILDS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

By DR. BERNARD LEWIS

Broadcast in the B.B.C.'s Arabic transmission, January 23, 1940. Summary of an article, "The Islamic Guilds," in the *Economic History Review*, vol. viii., November, 1937, pp. 20-37.

THE organization of labour is no new thing in the lands of Islam, neither as an idea nor as a practice. Nor is it one that was imported from Europe. From the earliest periods of Islamic history there are numerous references in the historical and geographical literature of the Arabs, indicating the existence of a definite scheme of organization, covering all the arts and crafts.

So important was the craft guild in Muslim life that in many cases the very topography of the Muslim city, which was built essentially on the idea of a market, was determined by the needs of the guildsmen. From Morocco to Java, with surprising uniformity, the Muslim city rose round three or four focal points—the exchange, always an important centre in a bimetallist economy like that of early Islam; the *qaisaria*, a strong, closed-in building where foreign goods and valuables were stored; the thread-market (*sūq āl-ghazl*), where the women came to sell their own handiwork; and the mosque-university. Around these four points were distributed the guildsmen, each guild in its own market.

Already when the Arabs came to Syria and Egypt for the first time, they found there numerous guilds of Byzantine type. This organization they took over, expanded, and elaborated. In the year 153 A.H., our sources tell us, the Arab Governor of Qayrawān "regulated the markets and allotted to each craft its place." Qayrawān was a new city built by the Arabs, and there can thus be no question of Byzantine survivals.

During the second and third centuries the guilds took the form of a public (*i.e.*, State) regulation and control of markets and crafts, under the supervision of an official called the *Muhtasib*. In the fourth century, however, we find guilds of a new type, characteristically Islamic, which cannot be explained by any reference to Byzantine originals. These new guilds were spontaneous in character, resulting

from an initiative, not of the State, but of the craftsmen themselves. They were at once religious and social in character, and were closely linked with certain popular, mystical movements. The *Rasa'il Ikhwān as-Safa*, a philosophico-mystical work of the period, devotes a whole epistle to a consideration of the manual crafts, their classification, and their essential nobility.

From the seventh century onwards the position of the guilds was fairly stable, and remained so until the thirteenth (nineteenth European). The earlier mystical tendencies were replaced by Sufism, which came to play an important part in the ideology of the guilds. At the same time we find them coming into ever-closer association with



yet another form of organization—the Futuwwa. The origins of the Futuwwa movement are obscure, and this is not the place to consider them. Suffice it to say that in the sixth and seventh centuries Futuwwa organizations sprang up all over the Islamic lands. The Futuwwa was a group of young men (*fata*) bound together by an ethical and religious code of duties and an elaborate ceremonial. They were under obligation to practise certain virtues and usually to render military service to the cause of Islam. The Futuwwa, it will thus be seen, constituted in a certain sense a Muslim parallel to the European conception of chivalry, and a Muslim origin has, indeed, been ascribed to the latter by some Orientalists.

In the period after the Mongol conquest the Futuwwa tended to identify itself more and more with the Sufi brotherhood, and, through the bonds of a common membership, with the craft guilds. The process, starting in Anatolia, spread rapidly all over the Muslim world, and before long "Futuwwa" and "guild" became synonymous terms.

It is from these Futuwwa guilds that most of our documents on internal organization have come. Every guild had a code of rules, customs and ceremonial, usually orally transmitted.

The hierarchy of the guild is as follows: at the head is the *Sheikh*, also known as *Amīn*, *Ārif*, and *Naqīb*, elected by the master-craftsmen and combining the functions of head, treasurer, and scribe. After him



came the *Ikhtiyāriva*, or elders among the master-craftsmen, who aid him in the administration of the guild. Next come the masters (*Usta* or *Mu'allim*), the main body of the guild, and finally the apprentice, or *Mubtadi*. In some guilds there is an intermediate stage between the last two, called the *Khalīfa*. Ceremonial clothing played an important part in craft initiation, the *sirwāl* (trousers), *shadd* (girdle), and *pish-timāl* (a Persian word meaning "apron") being the chief craft insignia.

In conclusion, we may attempt a comparison between the medieval Islamic and European guilds. The following are four of the chief points that distinguish the guild organizations of Islam from their European equivalents in the Middle Ages.

Unlike the European guild, which was basically a public service, recognized, privileged, and controlled by public authorities, the Islamic guild was, in its classical period, a spontaneous development from below, created, not in response to a State need, but to the social requirements of the labouring masses themselves.

It is partly from this, and partly from the unchanging character of forms of production in the Islamic lands from the sixth to the twelfth centuries A.H., that springs the second distinctive feature of Muslim guild life. There is nothing in the history of the Islamic guilds to parallel the great efflorescence of the European guilds in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries C.E., culminating as it did in the crystallization of masters and journeymen into two distinct and hostile classes, and in the constitution of separate journeymen's guilds as a weapon in the acute struggle of classes that followed. In Islam, master, journeyman, and apprentice remained essentially of the same class, in close personal contact. Free from the inner social differentiation that split the European guild, the Islamic guild thus retained the popular and equalitarian character imprinted upon it in the fourth and fifth centuries.

The third distinctive mark of the Islamic guild is its religious toleration. Whereas the European guilds of the Middle Ages excluded even heretical Christians, the Islamic guilds often enrolled Christians and Jews as well as Muslims.

Finally, we must notice the significance of the inner spiritual life of the guilds. Unlike the European, the Islamic guild was never a purely professional organization. From early medieval times until the end the guilds have always had a deep-rooted ideology, a moral and ethical code, which was taught to all novices at the same time as the craft itself.

REVIEWS

Allenby : A Study in Greatness. By General Sir Archibald Wavell, K.C.B., C.M.G., M.C. 9" x 6". Pp. 312; 16 illustrations, 15 maps and plans. Harrap. 1940. 18s.

Sir Archibald Wavell's "Study in Greatness" is the story of a man who, it would seem, rose to fame as a soldier in spite of himself.

It cannot be said that family tradition or personal inclination destined him for his remarkable career. Initially he never intended to be a soldier; but fortunate failure for the Indian Civil Service turned his thoughts in that direction; almost as if, possibly, it were the next best form of a career.

He had no personal ambition. He believed that the most satisfying phase of life was to grow roses in a garden. War to him was a tedious and distasteful business, which interfered with enjoyment of the quiet and beautiful fruits of the earth. But the good fairy, who brought him gifts at birth, endowed him with a high sense of duty, so that he always strove for the best in anything he did; and with a greatness of mind which discarded all that was petty. To these high attributes she added courage, both moral and physical, a bedrock of common sense, a very retentive memory, and a thirst for knowledge.

"Having once adopted a military career, the deep sense of duty, which was the guiding motive of his whole life, caused him to give of his best un-sparingly." The author has traced, through its various stages, the evolution of this great leader.

An ordinary healthy childhood, in a typical English country home, imbued him with a love of nature which was enriched by acute personal observation. His career at Sandhurst was that of many young Englishmen of character. His period of study at the Staff College has been described as undistinguished though of good quality. Throughout his career he only held one staff appointment. He was destined to be a master of men, for when he joined his regiment he had already acquired the habit of study and had experience of foreign travel. He passed his early service in South Africa, in camp or bivouac and in the open veldt. Later, when he returned to that country for service in the South African War, he developed into one of the best of the younger leaders which that conflict produced. His career had been started under good auspices. It will be convenient, therefore, to indicate the further stages which led to his final triumph.

A period of regimental command was followed by that of a brigade. His sound and common-sense training of the 4th Cavalry Brigade had marked him down as the obvious successor to Haig in the appointment of Inspector-General of Cavalry. He reached this stage in his career, and the rank of Major-General, at the age of forty-eight. He brought the cavalry to a high state of discipline and efficiency. But it is a strange fact that though he confidently anticipated conflict with Germany, and had trained his cavalry

so thoroughly to this end, not even his forceful personality had been able to overcome financial incubus. The short-sighted policy of the Treasury forced the Cavalry Division, of which he *ipso facto* became the commander, to commence the Great War composed of a headquarters which only came into being on mobilization, and four cavalry brigades which, highly trained as they were, had not yet been formed into a living organization. For reasons which Sir Archibald Wavell so clearly indicates, "the one permanent element, its Commander, had impressed his personality on the training of his cavalry, but had failed to win their liking and confidence." Yet the record of the achievements of the Cavalry Division is a tribute to the sound training and personality of its commander. In spite of inferiority of numbers, and indeed in some instances of lack of co-operation within the command, the flanks of the army were successfully covered in retreat; and later a successful defence on foot was carried out against vastly superior numbers in the First Battle of Ypres.

General Allenby took over command of the Fifth Army Corps during the second battle fought in that famous salient. His conduct of operations here has been severely criticized; but he took over a situation which was none of his choosing and a position which he was ordered to maintain at all costs. It was characteristic of him that he carried out his orders implicitly. It is possible that his inflexible determination to do his duty, combined with an equally steadfast refusal to explain his situation, gave rise to real misunderstanding. Again, when in command of the Third Army, which was his last experience of fighting in France, his reputation suffered from the misinterpretation of his actions by the Army at large; though his immediate following, who probably were in a better position to judge, held a different opinion. The fact remains that the brilliant opening of the Battle of Arras was obscured by subsequent lessening of impetus and by considerable losses. The method of the final disastrous attack, which has been so severely criticized, was not planned by him and, indeed, was made in spite of his protests.

The author states in his prologue that his aim in writing this biography is to leave on record a portrait of Allenby as a man rather than to describe in detail his achievements in war. But his most attractive account of the campaign in Palestine and Syria forms a vivid and happy background to his character study. He shows, too, how the varied experience of former years was but a prelude to greatness.

Some critics have decided that "a bad General in France became a great leader under conditions which suited his particular genius." The author answers this very neatly: "A crossing of the Mediterranean cannot have turned Allenby from a bad General into a good one." It is true that an independent command gave his abilities full scope; and the opportunities of the campaign were essentially suited to a highly trained cavalry soldier. Whatever the opinion may be, that the West did not suit him but the East did, that he was misunderstood in France but appreciated in Palestine, it may be confidently asserted that his whole soldiering life was a thorough preparation for his final great achievement, and "his fame as a soldier rests secure on his two brilliant campaigns in Palestine and Syria."

He certainly was fortunate that much administrative spade work had been done by his predecessor. This he freely acknowledged. He found a ready-made plan of campaign, initiated by the genius of Sir Philip Chetwode. He saw that it was good and readily accepted it.

He had ample time to impress his personality on his troops. He had time to put them through an adequate and intensive course of training. He received the reinforcements in men and material which he asked for. But it was his personality which made his army. Reference has already been made to his failure to gain the confidence of his officers as Inspector-General of Cavalry and in the opening stages of the war. There can be no question, however, that in these two campaigns he had the complete trust and, in a large measure, though possibly tinged with awe, the affection of those under him. Before he left England, Allenby had been asked by Lloyd George to give the British public a Christmas present in the shape of the capture of Jerusalem. He entered the Holy City on foot on December 9, 1917, a contrast to the German Emperor who had visited that city mounted and dressed as a Crusader some years previously. Owing to the obligation of sending help to France in March, 1918, and the time taken to receive reinforcements, necessitating a reorganization and retraining of his army, he was not able to put his plan, for the final and complete overthrow of the Turk, into execution until September of that year.

At the outset of his campaign he had deceived the Turk into thinking that his right was to be mainly attacked. In the final stage, after most careful preparation, he deceived his opponent into believing that his left was the danger point. The plan, as far-reaching a conception as ever gained a victory after insistent and relentless pursuit, was entirely his own.

This book is a truly fascinating character study—a study in light and shade. Allenby was impervious to criticism and unmoved by success. He had peculiarities which earned him the nickname of "The Bull." He was gentleness itself towards women and children. His love of nature was absorbing. Fortune turned her face away at times, but mostly smiled upon him—perhaps most of all in giving him as his companion (for he did not readily make friends) that gracious lady whose gentle nature was such a wonderful complement to his own.

Was he a great General? Let the author reply in his own words: "The British Army has had few leaders with better mental or physical equipment for the rough test of war, less likely to lose heart in the darkened hour, or more remorseless in pressing home an advantage or completing a victory: certainly none with a greater sense of loyalty and duty or more of the truth and straightforwardness that mark a great and generous nature."

Sir Archibald Wavell has performed a great service in publishing the first part of his book now, without waiting to complete the whole work. The general reader cannot fail to be deeply interested in this fascinating study. The soldier will find in it a most timely inspiration. Allenby has been somewhat wrongly described in the Press as the last Cavalry General. As a commander he used surprise and mobility as his main weapons. Surprise can be equally achieved by the intelligent use of the mobility of armoured

vehicles. The officers of our famous cavalry regiments have proved in Belgium that their spirit and dash are as living in a light tank as on a horse. Whether the means of rapid movement are animal or mechanical, the principles of the application of this power remain the same. Allenby's methods, therefore, are a model and an inspiration for those whose opportunities will surely come in the great struggle of to-day. They will certainly be followed by the General now happily commanding our forces in the Middle East. May his success be as great as that of the commander whom he served so well and whose portrait he has so skilfully portrayed.

J. S. S.

A Winter in Arabia. By Freya Stark. $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 6\frac{1}{2}''$. Pp. xii and 328. Illustrations and map. London: John Murray. 1940. 15s.

Miss Freya Stark has by now firmly established herself among a select band of two or three travellers in Arabia who have been able to tell the story of their adventures in prose of the highest literary merit. It was expected therefore that a new book by her would be universally acclaimed as a masterpiece of prose art, quite apart from the interest of the subject-matter and the courage, endurance and powers of sympathetic understanding which the book shows her to possess. *A Winter in Arabia* is certainly not inferior to anything she has so far written, and in the opinion of not a few will rank not only as her best but as not far below the best literature of travel in the English language. No higher compliment could be paid to her than to say that she alone of all English writers of the post-Doughty era challenges comparison with that triumphant combination of travel, book and personality which we call "Doughty." *Proximo sed longo intervallo*, the Doughty enthusiast will say. And it would be extravagant to claim more. But no other writer on Arabia of our day has written, with success at least, as a conscious artist, save Lawrence; and Lawrence, artist in words though he was, lacked a certain serenity which we associate with the greatest art and suffered, too, perhaps from what F. H. Bradley called "the bitterness of those who have lost their illusions and yet cannot let them go." It is certainly as much for the formal beauty of her art as for the interest of her adventures that this book will find a permanent place in the anthology of great travel literature.

Her travels took her this time to a part of the Hadhramaut which after the Italian invasion of Abyssinia assumed sufficient indirect importance to emerge from the subconscious into the conscious attention of the British Empire. The result was that when she reached Mukalla by 'plane she found a British political officer and his wife "settled in a white house behind the Sultan's palace, carrying on the business of some thousand miles of country with the help of their own infinite ardour and half a dozen native clerks." From Mukalla she travelled in the company of two Englishwomen on an archæological expedition to Hureidha, some sixty miles, as the crow flies, from Mukalla, through country which now enjoyed comparative security and absence of internecine bloodshed by virtue of "Ingram's

Peace." Part of the work consists of the author's diaries of her experiences in Shibam and Mukalla. A larger part of the diary section tells of her stay at Hureidha, where the party were engaged in archæological excavation. Details of the antiquities visited were given in her article in the *Royal Asiatic Journal*, July, 1939, while texts and notes on the inscriptions exposed are given by Professor G. Ryckmans of Louvain, in the December, 1939, number of *Museion*, vol. 52, parts 3 and 4. A protracted bout of sickness, suffered with wonderful patience and courage, enabled her to concentrate her powers of sympathetic observation on the physical and mental characteristics of her geographical and human environment. Intimate friendly contacts with the various types of Hadhrami humanity, male and female, call forth from her richly endowed mind a wealth of memorable comments, with a notable passage or two, on the value of sympathetic understanding in the relations between Europeans and their Oriental associates and, incidentally, an undisguised impatience at the ritualistic absorption in her science of one of her archæological associates. Wherever she goes, Freya Stark wins the respect and love of the inhabitants.

The last part of the work gives us her story of a journey westward from Hureidha along one of the probable routes of the old incense traffic ending at Bir Ali, which she takes to be the site of ancient Cana. From this region she embarked by dhow for Aden, a solitary female on a native boat illiberally provided with public inconveniences. During her journey from Hureidha to the coast she travelled through country infested with marauders, still a bane to merchants and to the Bedouin tribesmen who had been disarmed by our English truce. Why, she asked on her return to Aden, cannot something be done by the R.A.F. to punish the plunderers of peaceful caravans? She adds: "And I could not help thinking how strange it is that a twist of sentimental ignorance in England should cause so much misery in Arabia, should keep the quiet labourer from his fields and wells and the peaceful merchant from the road of his traffic, and encourage the reckless Bedouins to trample on their slaves."

All stages of her journey are described with a wealth of intimate detail which lays bare to the reader the very souls of the subjects of her study, and indeed the very soul of the writer, revealing an unusually happy combination of courage, patience, endurance, insight, sympathy and humour. There is nothing that does not catch her humorous-critical eye, not excluding the inappropriateness of trousers on the female figure in an Arab environment: "Trousers are, I think, generally ugly on the female figure, where everything is round that the tailor intended to be straight; they do not, however, appear indecent to the Hadhramaut Arab, because they are not as yet particularly masculine." (She refers in the latter "they," clearly, to the trousers and not to the Arabs.) She is able to quote with evident relish the dictum of a liberal *Sayyid* of Tarim: "I am not averse to women's education, so long as it is not *excessive*. If it is carried on to the age of nine and then stops, I do not think it can do any harm." "He looked at me anxiously, afraid that his modern tendencies were carrying him too far." The *Sayyid* could not, of course, know, as Miss Stark knows, that there

are distinguished precedents for his views on women's education. Plato, for instance, who believed that women have no chance of being sensible until they are old. Or that modern portent, Nietzsche, whose antipathy was directed against those "who would like to convert woman to general culture, indeed even to newspaper reading and meddling with politics."

Readers must be left to find for themselves the numberless passages in this entrancing book which reveal Miss Stark's qualities of discernment, criticism and appraisal. It is sufficient to say here that it is impossible to imagine any kind of reader who will not utter his "Ma sha allah" of admiration and thank whatever gods may be that at last in a creatively jejune and excessively troubled and anxious era there has been found a book with the authentic stamp of permanence written large on every page. Miss Stark quotes the late Humbert Wolfe's line: "The word and nought else endures." She quotes also an Arab saying: "For verily the excellence of man is in two smallest parts, the heart and tongue." She has gone to her double task of travel and authorship with the two qualities of tongue and heart as happily associated as in that greatest traveller and reader, Doughty. And there are singular resemblances in the effects of desert travel on the two minds. The mind, a creative mind in each of them, fills in the meaning of the desert picture and knows how to evoke something permanent in the human heart, even to the infinite longings of that "smallest part" of his or her humanity. Commenting on a delicately suggestive passage in the Iliad, Miss Stark writes: "Everything helps to the infinity of that great spring: the point of outlook eliminates the finite sense of land around one; the width of sea horizon is indefinite and vaster in the haze that makes it at one with the sky above it; the reader sees the horses of the gods leaping into an unbounded space of light." The same fusion of the finite with the infinite receives memorable expression in Doughty (surely one of the greatest masters of English prose): "Hither lies no way from the city of the world, a thousand years pass as one daylight; we are in the world and not in the world, where Nature brought forth man, an enigma to himself, and an evil spirit sowed in him the seeds of dissolution. And looking then upon that infinite spectacle, this life of the wasted flesh seemed to me to be ebbing and the spirit to waver her eyes wings unto that divine obscurity."

Without heart the tongue makes but barren music, and we should not let our admiration for the formal beauties of Miss Stark's book obscure the predominant impression it conveys of a good heart. Doughty tells of a Syrian Christian who had come to the Arabs of the Southern Desert many years before and for whose sake he could think them less fanatically minded towards him. "And who comes after me," he adds, "may, I confide in God, find the (before reproachful) Christian name respectable over large provinces of the fanatical peninsula." Miss Stark has worthily carried on the secular-missionary task of *Abu Faris* and Doughty and has revealed in direct expression and in the whole picture of her reactions to her surroundings in the Hadhramaut, the same high spirit of patient tolerant understanding of seemingly opposed attitudes and valuations to be found among those barely changed remnants of simpler civilizations. "I reached

the East," she writes, "with the wish to know more about the world we live in. But I suppose that now many other reasons have added themselves: partly that it is easier to think in this simpler atmosphere, partly that one would like to add some small arch to the bridge of understanding between East and West; but ever there is that Platonic hope, never perhaps to be attained, difficult in this chaotic Europe, to 'lead the good life' and carry a small lamp of understanding across the shadowy world."

A Winter in Arabia is assured of the wide recognition which it deserves. It needs no adventitious aid of illustrations. But one cannot leave it without a tribute to its remarkable series of photographs, which offer further evidence of the author's eye for the lights and shades of life and its human and material setting. The book stands out as an oasis in the desert of contemporary literature.

There breathes through the works of this frail traveller, so strong in spirit, a music of thought and expression which "holds its own even in the presence of brown sunsets of the desert, whose soul is akin to the palm-tree, and can be at home and can roam with big, beautiful, lonely beasts of prey," a music hospitable enough and profound enough to take into the heart and the artistic vision the belated relics of a remote and remotely placed tradition.

R. M.

Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran. By Henry Field.

Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series, Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 1-507; Vol. 29, No. 2, pp. 508-706 + 144 plates. 1939.

Until recent years there was scarcely any scientific evidence relating to the physical characters of the peoples inhabiting lands between the Mediterranean and India. Travellers had not failed to record their general impressions regarding this topic, but technical observations of the kind used by modern anthropologists in examining racial problems were lacking almost completely. American workers have hitherto been chiefly responsible for filling the gap in our knowledge. Dr. Henry Field has been prominent among them, and the volumes reviewed form a welcome addition to his contributions to the physical anthropology of Iraq.

As an introduction to the presentation of the new material, introductory sections deal with the physical geography, climate, flora and fauna of Iran, and historical references to the peoples of the country, supplemented by an account of the Persians by Sir Denison Ross, are listed in detail. Information regarding the distribution and numerical strengths of the existing tribes, illustrated by original maps, are then provided, and all this introductory material is likely to be of considerable value to many people who are not directly concerned with problems of physical anthropology.

The anthropometric survey carried out in 1934 is said to be of a preliminary nature, and it was not extensive enough to justify any wide generalizations. Measurements and observations of 299 individuals, of whom 99

were Jews, were collected in various localities. Small but significant differences are found between the characters of four regional groups. Dr. Field provides an analysis of the "constituent racial elements" in the population, though he admits that the evidence available for this purpose is scanty. It must be pointed out, too, that the validity of the methods used may be questioned. In general, the population is said to be Mediterranean in type, "although there is a slight admixture of brachycephaly, particularly in the north-western and north-eastern sections of the country, where round-headed invaders have left their imprint on the modern population." The presence of other elements—Mongolian, Negroid, Armenoid, Nordic and Alpine—is also detected.

The second volume is made up of appendices dealing with definitions of the Mediterranean race, plans for a more comprehensive anthropometric survey of Iran, a description of a journey from Tehran to Shiraz, and the prehistory of the country, and there are reports on medical observations, inscriptions, plants and animals collected by the expedition. A comprehensive index of tribes and racial groups is also provided, and the collection of photographs, most of which are of the men measured, is a valuable addition to the work.

It is interesting to note that Dr. Field's new data confirm the conclusion reached by earlier writers that the Jews of Iran are closely allied physically to the non-Jewish people of the country, while they differ markedly from European Jews.

As are most other countries, Iran is known to have been subjected to invasion and counter-invasion in historical times, and the records suggest that the modern inhabitants must have had diverse racial origins. In such cases it has usually been inferred from the cultural evidence that the existing people must show clear regional diversity in racial type. The direct evidence of records of body characters has usually revealed a far closer approach to uniformity in this respect than was anticipated, however, and this is now seen to be so for Iran. Methods by which the physical data for living people may be analysed in order to disclose the racial history of a population are still in dispute among anthropologists. One view is that it is not possible to determine the racial history of a population by any such method. The direct evidence of skeletal remains representing groups ancestral to the existing ones may be supposed essential before it is possible to reach any sure conclusions regarding questions of origin. So few Iranian skeletons have been studied hitherto that it is scarcely possible to take the first step in that direction, and hence an anthropologist might conclude that it is too soon to make any definite statements regarding the racial history of the country. The collection of adequate records of the living people is none the less a useful contribution to knowledge bearing on the problem of origins. It is to be hoped that Dr. Field will be able to carry out the more extended survey of Iran which he planned before the deterioration in world conditions increased the difficulties of all investigations of that kind.

G. M. MORANT.

Civilization in East and West. An Introduction to the Study of Human Progress. By H. N. Spalding. Oxford University Press. 15s. net.

Mr. Spalding's book is of a kind which is the despair of the reviewer. It surveys all the religions of the world—Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Hebraism, Muslimism, Mysticism both Protestant and Catholic, and all the philosophies from Plato to Herbert Spencer. Mr. Spalding is widely read in all the sacred books, and a most attractive anthology of the Upanishads, the Rig-Veda, the Bhagavad-Gita, the early Egyptian texts, the Chinese Book of Songs, the Koran, and the Bible might be constructed from his chapters. In his search for material he has gone all over the world and kept his eyes open for parallels and analogies. He submitted each section as it was written to a leading expert in its subjects for comment or correction. Such a book could only be competently reviewed by a committee of experts.

The non-expert can only record his impressions. Much of it is eloquent and interesting, though the repetition of the same ideas in slightly different language makes it a little monotonous. Mr. Spalding has a passion for "schematizing" the various stages of human development under headings which need a good deal of manipulation to make them fit. He sees a moral stage, a spiritual stage and a mystical stage, a "neo-Renaissance," a "Xeno-Renaissance," a "world Renaissance," and various "pseudo-Renaissances" which thwart and degrade these desirable things. Man has a first re-birth through reaction from a materialist state of society, then another which makes him assimilate things which previously seemed strange and hostile, and leads him to be a good neighbour in a morally ordered society with a moral God, then finally reaches his millennium in a mystical union with God and reality which brings joy and peace to his spiritual nature. Mr. Spalding is a devout monist. All the time he wants the many to be absorbed in the one, and sees salvation for the human race in something which closely resembles the Hindu Nirvana.

Apart from the question whether this is in truth the nature of reality or the nature of God, I feel a serious difficulty in thinking of mankind in general as progressing in this way. Sages and prophets—highly individual and exceptional beings—assure us that they have travelled this upward road and found truth and happiness at the end of it. It is conceivable that a human race capable of this high flight might be produced through thousands of years of education and evolution, but, if I understand him rightly, Mr. Spalding is thinking of mankind here and now and how to redeem it from the sin and strife of this evil world. From that point of view his ideal looks like a charming iridescent balloon high up in the sky without rope or cable to connect it with the earth.

Much of the trouble in speculations of this kind seems to me to arise from using the term "man" as if it corresponded to some unity which could be treated as a mass or led, like an army, by zealous reformers along a road which they are assured is the right one. There is, in fact, no such thing as "man" in this sense; there are only men and women in different stages of culture and development ranging from that of the Stone Age to that of the

latest products of European civilization. Even among the civilized, as we are learning to our cost, there are some who hold moral and religious ideas which are horrifying to the others. It is immensely desirable that we should all reach out from the closed mind, as Bergson calls it, of our group or nation to the "open" mind which comprehends all men as brothers. But in thinking of what can be done next we have to recognize the great diversity of human conditions and the limits they impose upon practical statesmanship. Otherwise we shall make the best the enemy of the good.

To deflate an attractive ideal is an ungracious task, so I would add that I am wholly at one with Mr. Spalding in thinking that a "renaissance," as he would call it, of the religious and spiritual elements is an essential part of any move forward at the present time. We are being taught a terrible lesson of what follows from a purely materialist conception of life. Mr. Spalding has much to say that is stimulating and inspiring from this point of view. But we need to be on guard lest a too great simplification of the problem should cause good intentions to evaporate into thin air.

J. A. SPENDER.

The Story of Jericho. By John Garstang and J. B. E. Garstang. Pp. xv+200. Frontispiece and 19 plates, 24 text figures and 2 maps. 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Hodder and Stoughton. 1940. Price 8s. 6d.

The situation of Jericho in the deep chasm of the Jordan Valley, commanding a permanent ford between roadways through either mountain-wall, would seem to have destined her to a rich history, as a centre where cultures brought down the caravan routes might be blended to form an individual civilization. She was doomed on the contrary, by that very geographical position, to an existence without continuity. Sheltered in the breathless depths of the Rift, sunk below sea-level yet nourished by one fresh stream which surrounded her with an oasis of unexampled fertility, her inhabitants were always at the mercy of more vigorous invaders.

The single catastrophe recorded in the Bible epitomized until recently her entire political history. Now, however, Professor Garstang has brought his imagination, always sensitive to the influence of locality on the developments of early peoples, to bear upon six seasons' excavation of the site, ranging from the first clay-built settlement beside the spring to the cataclysmic fall of the fourteenth-century defences, never to be reoccupied, except in sparse villages, for 500 years.

This book so perfectly fulfils its purpose as a reconstruction intelligible to the ordinary educated reader, that the controversial matters to which it occasionally alludes are no subject for discussion here. The scientific reports can be studied in the *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology* for the years 1930-36. His hotly contested "golden rule": "When in doubt, cut a section," should, however, be mentioned, since by that method important historical data were obtained. Previous attempts on the site had, in fact, made the complete excavation of each level impossible. He describes how his trench linked up the successive systems of defence, "serving the same

purpose as a chronological outline to history." But compared with such a simplification of recognized events, the trench method does appear to some extent fortuitous. Historical insight may nevertheless prove more fruitful than the patient investigation of all possible material, though here again the devotion of years to a single site sometimes tends to localize it too strictly in the explorer's mind, as in the unsupported suggestions that Jericho was "perhaps the oldest settlement in the world," and that she invented the craft of pottery. Professor Garstang's general reconstruction of the settlement in which the first potsherds appear links it clearly with the reed-dwellings, the sacred sheepfolds, the stone foundations, of chalcolithic Western Asia, but it is interesting to find as yet no contact with Egypt, to which the desert of Sinai presented an impenetrable barrier. There is, however, some evidence of scattered northward communications along the Rift.

Direct eastern influence is apparent from chalcolithic onwards, the brick walls and shrine of the First City being constructed on Mesopotamian traditions by intruders familiar with bronze but ignorant of stone architecture. In the Second City, which the evidence of its burials shows to have been contemporary with Sargon of Akkad, military architecture first appears. The disaster which it eventually shared with the other Cities of the Plain is attractively related by the author to the war against the Five Kings of Gen. xiv.

After a re-occupation without defences, the great Third City was erected by the Canaanites during the Hyksos invasion of Egypt, a typically imposing fortress with stone glacis, parapet and fosse, which served as a supply depôt among the warring nations. With the expulsion of the Hyksos, however, Canaan itself became a battleground, and Jericho fell.

The valley was left sufficiently undisturbed through the years of struggle between the Pharaohs and the Northern Empires, to permit the somewhat faulty construction of new towered fortifications within the ruined Hyksos ramparts, round a city once more shrunken to its original limits on the hill, and its eventual inclusion in the empire of the victorious Thothmes established that period of prosperity so graphically described in Exodus.

This the archæological material ingeniously assembled by the author shows to have ended abruptly in a catastrophe which lifted the walls from their foundations; and he maintains, in a fascinating chapter, that the agent of this destruction was an earthquake, linking it to the miraculous passage of the Israelites over Jordan by analogy with the recent seismic upheaval of 1927. On that occasion a cliff-fall at the ford of Ed Damieh 20 miles upstream, turned the river from its course for nearly a day, so that several persons crossed the bed dryshod. The Arab historian Nowairi records a similar occurrence, also at Damieh, in 1267. Professor Garstang's suggestion that the modern place-name preserves that of the Biblical *Adam*, where "the waters were heaped up a great way off," is extremely convincing.

The dates show a pleasing concordance between modern deduction and ancient records: "In the four hundred and eightieth year after Israel came out of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign," fits sufficiently closely with the sudden disappearance of scarabs in Jericho after those of

Amenhotep III., and the absence of Mycenaean pottery from the ruins of the Fourth City, to place its destruction in the early fourteenth century B.C., a period in which, as the Amarna letters reveal, Israel could have entered Canaan unchallenged by Egyptian troops.

The excavator's evidence, again, of the rebuilding of Jericho after half a millennium, completely accords with its resurgence in Elijah's day as a rallying ground of the prophets who had already begun to inhabit the caves of the westward mountain-wall, and to regard the water of Jordan as spiritually recreative. But politically she never revived. Josephus shows her, in the words of George Adam Smith, as continually taken but never besieged. The Roman aqueduct rendered her groves of date palm and balsam yet more desirable, but herself a forcing-house, *acolis invitum*.

The final chapter is devoted by J. B. E. Garstang to an interpretation of the whole phenomena of the Exodus, starting with the plagues of Egypt, as the results of such seismic convulsions as first opened the Rift and disturb it sometimes still. The memories of volcanic disturbance could indeed have played their part in that narrative without destroying its definitely religious structure, just as the overthrow by natural forces of the walls of the Fourth City of Jericho is compatible, to the ancient mind, with the magic circumambulation and trumpet-blast, the willed breach of sacred defences in the single moment of its history.

G. R. LEVY.

Modern Turkey. By John Parker, M.P., and Charles Smith. George Routledge and Sons, Ltd. 1940. 12s. 6d.

A new book on modern Turkey must be welcomed for the interest and importance of the subject. But the claim made on the cover that it is the "first comprehensive description of the new Turkey" cannot be sustained; for two years ago the Austrian Minister accredited to Ankara, Herr August von Kral, published a very full study of the country with an English translation under the title *Kamal Ataturk's Land*. It was reviewed in this Journal, Part IV., 1938, page 637, and it cannot be said that the new book adds much new information. Nevertheless, the development of the new Turkey may justify a twice-told tale.

Of all the Central Powers in the last war Turkey alone has profited. Hungary and Bulgaria have stood still, Austria has committed suicide and Germany has lost her soul. Turkey, under the inspiring leadership of her "Father Turk," has regenerated herself. An English officer, who speaks excellent Turkish, and occupied a post under the pre-war Turkish Government, went out the other day to organize earthquake relief. On his return he declared that he was astounded at the change which twenty-six years had wrought in the mentality of Turkish officials.

Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was no sentimental philanthropist. A fellow-countrywoman who knew him well described him as "cynical, materialistic, ambitious, heartless, variable, superstitious, utterly unscrupulous and satanically shrewd." Hard as nails, all his defects were redeemed by his

love for his country and his determination to raise Turkey to the place in the world to which the qualities of her people entitled her. He did not aim at the conquest of other peoples. In his famous speech he said: "History shows no example of the success of a policy of pan-Islamism or pan-Turanianism. The policy indicated for us by history, science, reason and logic is a national policy; that is to say, first of all 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."

After a brief sketch of the past history of Turkey the authors devote an important chapter to the political structure of the Turkish Republic. The Constitution adopted in 1924 was amended in 1937 by the insertion of the six principles of the Republican People's Party, symbolized by the six arrows of the party badge. These principles are:

1. Republicanism.
2. Nationalism.
3. Popular sovereignty.
4. State socialism.
5. Secularism.
6. Revolution.

Their meaning is not obvious at first sight. The Party's Programme, given in an appendix, explains them. Ataturk's idea in founding the Party was to organize the most progressive and politically conscious members of the nation so as to give reality to the principle of the sovereignty of the people. The People's Party was to be a school of education in citizenship. It now comprises some 1,300,000 members—nearly one in twelve of the population—but it has no elaborate organization comparable with that of the Nazis in Germany, no uniforms, nor brass bands, nor black guards; nor do Turks, who are critical even of the leaders, glance uneasily over their shoulders before they express their views. "The mass of the population feel that they have a Government which is seeking to serve their interests and in which their representative in the National Assembly can play a very real part."

"Throughout the speeches, as well as in the actions of Ataturk, there was apparent a firm faith in the ordinary people, the peasants and workers. No one can be in contact with Turkish government at present without a sense that that attitude still survives, and that there is a genuine desire to awaken those workers and peasants to the issues which confront them, to end illiteracy and to give the masses the control of their country."

The principle of State Socialism is not carried to excess and does not run counter to the strong belief in private property. The State comes first, but small-scale private enterprise is encouraged where likely to succeed.

The sixth principle, "revolution," means that further changes will be made whenever found necessary.

Following chapters deal with agriculture, industry, foreign trade, finance, education and public health. The authors then discuss the change in Turkish foreign policy since the last war: "Turkish foreign policy between the last war and the present one has undergone striking changes. She has secured for herself over a period of years a position of leadership which the Ottoman Empire never enjoyed among the States of the Balkans and those of Western Asia. In the early 1920's she and Russia alike feared the intervention of the Western Powers, and naturally came together in self-defence. The growth of German political and economic power in South-Eastern Europe and the increasing aggressiveness of Italy in the late thirties led Turkey to adopt a policy of friendship with the Western Powers, who had come to respect her strength and no longer desired to interfere with her affairs." "The present leaders of Turkey are likely to do their best to keep out of the war if they possibly can. They will certainly commit no aggressive act against Russia whatever pressure is brought to bear on them, although they will fight to the best of their ability to defend their country against attack or to prevent German or Russian control of the neighbouring Balkan States."

Since this book was published a new problem in the Near East is the future of Syria. We do not yet know what effect the collapse of France may have there. This will concern Turkey, too.

A. T. W.

Russia Through the Ages. From the Scythians to the Soviets. By S. R. Tompkins. 9½" × 6½." Pp. xxi and 799. Two inset maps with numerous sketches and illustrations. New York: Prentice-Hall. 1940.

This is a timely and complete history of Russia from the early days to the conclusion of the war with Finland, including the terms of the settlement of March 12, 1940. It is a work of sound scholarship and is based upon an extensive use of Russian sources as well as important material in the western European languages. The author, a Canadian, has travelled widely in Russia and has gathered material, over a long period of years, from Russian archives and from important European and American libraries. Extensive use was made of the valuable collections in the Hoover War Library at Stanford University and in the Library of Congress. He was thus well equipped for the difficult task, in which he has succeeded, of chronicling and interpreting Russian history. It is indeed gratifying to see an acknowledgment of the debt which all Russian scholars owe to Sir Bernard Pares "for his unceasing efforts to promote the study of Russian language and Russian history throughout the English-speaking world."

The writing of a one-volume history of a country whose origins, culture and institutions have their roots far in the past is a laborious and rather complicated task. Emphasis must necessarily be placed on territorial expansion, political development and on the policies of Russian rulers, as they exercised a personal domination of the Russian nation longer than in most

European countries. However, the author has included many features which will commend this book to all those interested in the study of Russian history such as: a glossary of Russian historical terms; a chronological table from the days of Rurik (862) to the recent Finnish war; a bibliography of fifty pages, including recent important monographs and articles; a satisfactory index and special chapters on the Soviet State, Cultural Life and the Russian Church. Specifically, more attention might have been given to the origin and function of the *Zemskii Sobor* and to early social movements. However, these may not have been so significant in early Russian history as one might think, because of the dominance of the Tsars.

This work is of particular value to those concerned with Russian expansion in Asia and Turkestan, as it includes sections on Siberia, Central Asia and the conquest of the Caucasus. The chapter on Central Asia might have benefited by the use of such works as Popov, *Snoshenia Rossii S Khiviu i Bukharoiu pri Petr Velikom* (Relations of Russia with Khiva and Bokhara in the Time of Peter the Great), in its earlier part and the three volumes of Terentiev, *Istoriia Zavœvaniia Srednei Azii* (History of the Conquest of Central Asia), for the latter period. However, the bibliography does include eight pages of the more available works on Russian expansion in Asia.

Scholars and historians generally will be grateful for this addition to the literature in English on Russian historical development.

JAMES G. ALLEN.

The Growth of Literature, Vol. III. By H. Munro Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick. 9¼" × 6¼". Pp. xxvi and 928. Cambridge University Press. 35s.

Professor and Mrs. Chadwick are to be congratulated upon the successful conclusion of an undertaking at once broad in conception, careful in prosecution and punctual in publication. The authors have been well served by their publishers, and corrections are called for in only a few places. P. 16, n. 5, for "present volume" read "present part" (though in point of fact reference would have been much simplified if the bibliographies had been collected at the end of the book); p. 20, n. 6, and elsewhere, the abbreviations might have been used; p. 72, n. 1, the numeral has disappeared from the beginning of the note; p. 360, l. 3 from foot, read "which"; p. 391, for "336" read "236"; p. 769, n. 1, for "East" read "Past."

In works of so wide a scope, authors and reviewers share the disadvantage of not being able to exercise first-hand control over more than a fraction of the material. This disability, of which the authors are fully aware, is more apparent in Volumes II. and III. than in the first volume, where they had direct access to the literatures surveyed and were not compelled to rely

at almost every turn upon the findings of other investigators. But the handicap is seen to be less serious when the main purpose of the book is recognized—to present the science of literature “as an essential branch of anthropological study,” and to assess the various literatures in sociological rather than æsthetic terms.

The final volume of the work falls into two distinct sections. In the first of these the survey of representative literatures, which in Volume I. had covered the ancient literatures of Europe and in Volume II. extended to the Classical Indian and Hebrew literatures and the oral literary traditions of Russia and Jugoslavia, is carried to the oral literatures of the Tatars, the Polynesians, the Sea Dyaks of North Borneo and the Abyssinian, Galla, Northern Bantu, Yoruba and Tuareg peoples of Africa. In the account given of the oral literature of the Tatars—the longest of the four parts into which the volume is divided—Mrs. Chadwick draws heavily upon the material collected by Radlov in the latter part of last century as well as upon more recent studies. The reader will note with regret that a number of important publications noted in the Bibliography were not accessible to the author. In many parts of the field the ground has not been covered by first-hand inquiry, and much spade-work requires to be done before a full account can be given of the literatures of the Tatar peoples. In the face of these difficulties, Mrs. Chadwick’s survey, though not exhaustive, deserves commendation as a pioneer exposition of the subject in English. The part closes with a chapter on the *Shaman*.

The Polynesians and Sea Dyaks, whose oral literature is dealt with in Part II., are selected as typical maritime peoples, long removed from outside influences, illiterate but intellectual, endowed with artistic capacities and extraordinary memories. The authoress finds a striking resemblance in subject and treatment between the sagas of the Viking Age in Norway and Iceland and those of the migration period in Polynesia. Other interesting features are noted—the double or triple kingship in Mangaian tradition (surely this is too well known a feature to merit the epithet “strange” applied to it on p. 256), “two great rocks which continually clash together” (p. 291), and which may be compared with the *Symplegades*, the red creeper wound round the heads of the departed spirits, the “crocodile” stories of Tahiti and the Maori, the singing contest between the bard and the serenading god, and the inevitable etymological and ætiological legends.

Of the literatures of the several African peoples with which Part III. is concerned, only a brief sketch is attempted. The reason given is the paucity of literary material, which in turn is ascribed to the preoccupation of travellers and explorers with matters of more purely anthropological and ethnological interest.

In Part IV., the second main division of the book, Professor Chadwick offers a general survey of the distribution of the various types of written and oral literature among the peoples investigated. The types recognized are: (a) narrative poetry or saga; (b) character speeches; (c) didactic literature; (d) panegyric, hortatory and precatory pieces—*i.e.*, compositions addressed to, or concerned with, some specific individual, human or divine;

(e) literature relating to the author or his surroundings. The usual medium is poetry, though types (b) to (e) are occasionally met with in prose. Following up the thesis of his *The Heroic Age*, the author traces other types in "heroic," "post-heroic" and "non-heroic" stages, and the samples described in the earlier part of the work are assigned to their several categories. But beyond this classification and the discussion of various questions arising out of the classification the inquiry does not materially advance. "Growth" in the title of the book has to be understood as "occurrence or non-occurrence" "coming into being" of specific genres, and not in the sense of development, adaptation, modification and decay. The limitation is a severe one. Comparative literature has long had its classification of genres, and it is a disappointment not to find more about the conditions, for example, governing literary borrowings, the ecclesiastical transmission of secular matter, or "folk" *remaniements* of learned themes. The crucial question of the respective parts played in the creation of similar products by independent evolution in the same direction under like circumstances and by diffusion is not seriously faced. Thus in the case of the narrative poetry of Europe and beyond, one author favours the one explanation and the other the other; and in the Preface the opinion is expressed that the time has not "yet come for giving a dogmatic answer to such questions."

This opinion goes far to explain the somewhat unsatisfactory character of the book. "Data must first be collected" from all sides, if temporary and imperfect generalizations based on inadequate evidence are to be avoided. The authors, on grounds not set forth in this volume, disclaim all attempt at exhaustiveness; "we did not set out to eat up the whole farmyard." Certain omissions may be excused on other grounds. Thus the Ras Shamra literature is certainly relevant to the elucidation of Hebrew literary history, but where the texts themselves are still in process of interpretation and where unanimity has not been reached by the experts as to the affiliations, the character or even the literal sense of the texts, the non-specialist is justified in leaving that corpus of literature out of account. But the reader deserves to know the basis on which the selection was made, and it would have been profitable to learn, for instance, why the Tatar literatures, imperfectly known as they are, difficult of access and by no means free from outside influences—Tocharian, Uigur, Persian, Turkish and Chinese, Buddhist, Manichee, Christian and Moslem—are selected for treatment in preference to, say, the older Iranian literature, which seems incomparably more tractable.

All in all, the book is of considerable importance, not merely for the results it gives, but for the way it paths out for future research. Incidentally, valuable by-products of the labour that has gone to the making of this book have already been given in the columns of learned journals. The authors are cognisant of the difficulties encountered by field investigators, especially missionaries, whom the native is apt to suspect of seeking esoteric information—the case of the *hieros gamos* in Tahiti probably falls into another category—or of failing to appreciate his people's ways, and who consequently are often put off with an evasive answer or with an account

that agrees better with their own standards than with the facts. They have a just estimate of the important rôle that can be played by women in this sort of work. And they rightly emphasize the urgency of the need to collect, before it is too late, these precious items from the Abyssinian *dabteras*, the Tuareg *ahal*, the Polynesian *tohungas* and the rest. It is to be hoped that their work will stimulate timely and competent efforts to salvage these native records.

A. M. H.

The Margary Affair and the Chefoo Agreement. By S. T. Wang. Pp. 138 with 2 maps. Oxford University Press. 1940. 7s. 6d.

The Burma road is much in the news these days. Seven hundred and twenty-six miles long and completed some eighteen months ago, it links Kunming in Yunnan with Lashio in the Shan States, which is the railhead for Rangoon. It owes its existence to the desire of the Chinese Government to have a line of communication, which the Japanese cannot cut and along which it can secure the war materials and other supplies which it so vitally needs. Its closure by the British Government, at the behest of the Japanese Government, is regarded by the Chinese with bewilderment and indignation.

Seventy years or so ago the boot was on the other leg. Then it was the British Government which was pressing for the opening of communications between Burma and Yunnan, not to provide for any vital need, but for the benefit of Lancashire trade, and it was the Chinese Government which was resisting that demand in pursuance of that policy of exclusion to which it clung so tenaciously for so many years.

In the sixties of the last century British industrial production was expanding with great rapidity and was seeking new markets. The British Chambers of Commerce saw in Yunnan an enormous population with great potential purchasing power; and by far the shortest route to Yunnan lay through Upper Burma. Treaties made in 1862 and 1867 with King Mindon had opened Upper Burma to trade, and by the end of the decade steamers were running regularly from Rangoon to Bhamo, the main gateway from Burma into Yunnan. Although King Mindon had done his best to foster trade with Yunnan, the Panthay rebellion, which was only suppressed in 1873, caused continual dislocation.

In 1868 when Western Yunnan was under the control of one of the Panthay leaders and conditions were comparatively peaceful, Major Sladen was sent by the Government of India from Bhamo to Tengyüeh to examine ways and means of improving trade conditions and was cordially received by the Panthay authorities. But about that time the French also were sending expeditions with a view to promoting trade between Yunnan and Indo-China. It was, therefore, thought advisable in 1874 to send an Anglo-Burman mission to Yunnan for the purpose of again examining trade con-

ditions and the possibility of opening up the Bhamo route. Colonel Horace Browne was appointed in charge of the expedition, which reached Bhamo on January 15, 1875.

To assist the mission it was decided to attach to it an interpreter with a good knowledge of Chinese, and the officer selected for this post was Augustus Raymond Margary.

Margary, born in 1846, was a young student-interpreter who had joined the Chinese Consular Service in 1867, and, at the time the decision to send the expedition was taken, was serving as interpreter at Chefoo. He was instructed to proceed to the Yunnan frontier to meet Colonel Browne. Leaving Hankow on September 4, 1874, he reached Bhamo on January 17, 1875, two days after Colonel Browne had arrived there.

Shortly afterwards the expedition started on its journey; first they proceeded by what was known as the southern route via Sawadi, but the attitude of the tribes in those parts was unfriendly, so the party returned to Bhamo and started again via Sikaw on the northern route. On February 18 they arrived at the Nampoung river, the boundary between Burma and Yunnan. On the morning of the 19th Margary, with a small party of six Chinese, two Burmans and two Kachins, advanced into Yunnan to reconnoitre, as there had been rumours of an impending attack on the expedition by bandits. Two days later Margary and his companions were massacred at Manwaing. Colonel Browne and his party were attacked on the following day and forced to make their way back to Burma.

The question who were Margary's assailants and under whose orders (if any) they acted has never been conclusively answered. The probability is that they were Chinese and hill tribesmen and that they acted with the connivance of the Chinese authorities at Tengyüeh.

On receipt of the news of the murder, Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister at Peking, addressed the Chinese Foreign Office and demanded that a joint inquiry should be held and an indemnity paid, and to these demands he added other demands intended (*a*) to give effect to articles of treaties made with the Chinese Government during the preceding seventeen years regarding the privileges of foreign diplomatic representatives and freedom of British trade from internal transit dues, and (*b*) to secure satisfaction of outstanding claims for compensation for illegal exactions by Chinese officials.

Negotiations with the Chinese authorities dragged on for some eighteen months and culminated in the Chefoo Agreement, concluded in September, 1876, but not ratified by the British Government for another nine years.

The threats of hostile action by the British Navy with which from time to time Wade backed up his demands, and the manner in which he used the murder of Margary to extract far-reaching concessions from the Chinese Government make uncomfortable reading from the standpoint of present-day international ethics.

Mr. Wang sets out the known facts, analyses the evidence relating to the murder of Margary and recounts the various steps in Wade's negotiations with a praiseworthy absence of bias. His book, which is a reproduction of a thesis presented by him for the degree of B.Litt. (Cantab.), is succinctly

written in excellent English and is a valuable contribution to the study of an important episode in the history of Anglo-Chinese relations.

If, as we hope, a second edition is called for, the value of the book would be enhanced by an appendix reproducing in full the Chefoo Agreement itself, and also those articles of previous Agreements to which reference is made in the text.

F. L.

The Wandering Lake. By Sven Hedin. Pp. x+293. 9½" × 6".
London: George Routledge and Son. 1940. 18s.

This is the third, in order of publication, of the trilogy in which Dr. Sven Hedin has related the adventures and recorded the results of the Sino-Swedish Expedition which he led in Sinkiang in 1934-1935. It was published in Sweden in 1937, but the English translation by F. H. Lyon only came out this year.

The expedition set out from China late in 1933 under the auspices of the Nanking Government with an official mission to investigate the possibilities of motor transportation between China proper and its most westerly province. It was hoped to open up the ancient "Silk Road" which had, centuries ago, been a link between China and the Roman Empire. Dr. Hedin also planned to examine certain hydrographical changes which take place in this region of Central Asia. This would necessitate exploration of the river system which flows eastwards from the Tien Shan, and whose waters are lost in the Gobi Desert sands or join the Lop Nor Lake. It was also anticipated that in the course of this exploration, which was the first undertaken by any civilized race, they might find traces of those branches of the Silk Road which had served the vanished kingdom of Loulan.

Desultory war, in which Tungans, Turkis, Russians and Chinese were all engaged, had been going on since 1931, and had ravaged most of the province; consequently the work of the expedition was considerably hampered, and on two occasions it was brought to a standstill for prolonged periods. Early in March their motor transport was commandeered by the Tungan leader, Ma Chung Yin, who kept the expedition under guard at Korla. Not long after, "Big Horse" as Ma Chung Yin was named, was forced by the Russians to fly westward, but nevertheless the party remained in custody until the end of the month. The province was overrun with robber bands and leaderless soldiers, so the expedition's presence in the dangerous areas was an embarrassment to the Chinese Governor, Sheng Tupan. Prompted by the Russian Bektieff who had taken charge at Korla, the Governor decided to send Dr. Sven Hedin and his party off to the sparsely populated wilderness of Lop Nor, which, of course, suited the doctor admirably! So, with the motor transport restored to him, he was enabled to set forth on the Odyssey described in *The Wandering Lake*. After establishing a temporary base several stages south-east of Korla, the main body was to be water-borne down the Tarim and its branch, the Kontje Daria,

thence down the Kum Daria and through its delta out on to the shallow inland sea of Lop Nor. The route of the motor-borne section lay north of the rivers, where they were to explore and eventually to effect a junction with the main body on the western shores of the lake.

The river party paddled and drifted, without untoward incident, down the sluggish streams through waste lands which were, long ago, the flourishing kingdom of Loulan. Dr. Hedin's narration of this trip contains much of interest, such as evidence of age-old endeavours to utilize the river for large-scale irrigation, the disinterment of a mummy Princess of Loulan, and a visit to the ruins of Loulan itself, of which the author had been the discoverer thirty-four years previously. The rivers and the lake were, of course, mapped. Dr. Hedin has probed deeply into all likely records both in Asia and in Europe for mention of the Lop Nor Lake. The earliest record dates from the first century B.C. in the Han annals. Ptolemy in the second century A.D. shows it on his map in Serica, the "Silk Country," but not under its present name. After Ptolemy, the lake disappeared from known record until well into the nineteenth century. Dr. Hedin also explains how the Lop Nor Lake has "wandered," or, rather, alternated between two locations, with the periodically altered courses of its parent rivers. These changes are said to be due to evaporation, desiccation, powerful winds and alluvial deposit, all of which affect the level. He quoted the opinion of Sir Aurel Stein and other scientist explorers, which vary in certain respects from his own theories.

After exploration of the lake and the reunion of the two sections of the expedition, they returned to their temporary base. Thence they proceeded to Urumchi, to obtain the petrol which had been arranged for further exploration. The whole party were, however, detained as political prisoners, this time for over four months.

Late in October, they were set free, and, somewhat diminished in numbers, travelled to Anhsi, on the "Imperial Highway," some 500 miles E.S.E. of Urumchi. Establishing a base here, they turned west, again towards the wide Lop Nor Basin. They spent several weeks in the barren Pei Shan mountains and in the sand-dunes of the Gobi Desert, trying to link up with their eastward route from Korla. In this desolate corner of the earth they made only one human contact, which was with a robber band. Nature eventually barred further progress and the quest had to be ended.

The book is most interesting and full of picturesque descriptions. It suffers a little from confused construction, because incident, politics, geography and research are too much intermingled. There are good photographs, a number of excellent drawings and a useful index. Maps have been provided. To be properly appreciated it should be read with the two other volumes of the trilogy, *Big Horse's Flight* and *The Silk Road*.

H. W. T.

Journey into China. By Violet Cressy-Marcks. Introduction by Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G. Pp. 320. Illustrations and 3 maps. Hodder and Stoughton. 1940. 21s.

China's fundamental greatness is now generally, if somewhat mistily, recognized, but it may still be doubted if the absolutely primary importance to ourselves and to the future peace of the world of a strong, prosperous and united China is properly appreciated. Thus while much of the spate of writing that has poured forth of recent years regarding that country may be viewed dispassionately enough, the kindest word should be spared for this earnest and sympathetic account of her travels and advocacy of China's position by Mrs. Cressy-Marcks. I feel sure it would be willingly vouchsafed by the Chinese, who are quick to appraise the value of opinions expressed about themselves.

A high tribute is due to the author for her courage and tenacity in accomplishing her fourfold purpose of (1) entering China from Burma, (2) visiting the communists and obtaining an interview with Mao Tse Tung, (3) studying the war and the morale of the Chinese troops, (4) visiting the Koko Nor. The quality of the book lies in the success with which she has conveyed something of the vitality inspiring the new world centred in Szechuan, Yunnan, Shensi and Kansu Provinces and in her simple acceptance of the transfer of the national focus from East to West China under the stress of war, and of its great future potentialities. Of particular interest is her expression of the idealism infusing the communist endeavour in North Shensi. The power of this body is also well implied in her clear and succinct version of the Sian coup in December, 1936. To the true friends of China its aims seem plainer than to others, and not the least of Mrs. Cressy-Marcks' achievements is further to explode the absurdly persistent myth of the inscrutability of the Chinese.

The author is at her best in the political passages. As she says in the preface, "Though this is a travel book I have not confined it to my journey." Considering the travel books that have been written about China it will be seen that few omit political or historical disquisitions. But in the best the journey is the thing, whether this is revealed in the life with which, say, Archibald Little has endowed the minutiae of travel, or in the spirit of gay adventure pervading Peter Fleming's themes. In the description of her journeys as such the author is not so happy. The details remain details, rather confused and trivial, which is a pity in view of the portentous trails traversed—Bhamo, Tengyüeh, Paoshan, Hsiakuan, Tali, Kunming (Mrs. Cressy-Marcks' journeys were undertaken in 1937 and 1938, before the completion of the Yunnan-Burma road), Chung-king, Chengtu, Sian, Lanchow, Hsining. But a higher note is struck as she reaches the final objective, the shores of the Koko Nor (p. 320), and there is a moment worth recalling on the Tengyüeh road with "the blue Yunnan sky above, the grand mountains ahead and behind, the turns and twists of the unknown trail." It is, on the whole, the style, disappointingly stilted, which fails to make really memorable this record of a memorable journey.

The photographs are excellent and many of them beautiful, particularly

the landscape scenes in Western Yunnan. I would place first the first illustration in the book, the view of the banks of the Upper Irrawaddy with the mountains across the background. The exquisite grouping of the trees is most successfully caught, and with rather less water in the foreground and a master peak in the range behind the composition would be in fine Chinese Southern School tradition.

It would be invidious to draw too much attention to errors in the spelling or translation of names, especially in a language requiring romanization like Chinese. Siatsukia on page 23 should clearly be Hsiao Hsinkai (Little Bhamo), but this may be a compositor's error. The scene of Li Ping's irrigation work is Kuan Hsien (p. 93). A Hsien Chang is a District Magistrate, which sounds better than "Headman" (p. 49). The anglicized name of the last Burmese king is generally recognized as Thibaw (p. 17). These are minor matters, but mistakes in the descriptions of two of the illustrations should be corrected. Opposite page 48 is a view of the River Mekong and not, as is implied, of the Salween. Again, the photograph opposite page 50 represents the bridge across the Salween on the main Tengyüeh-Paoshan mule road, and not the Mekong crossing.

Incidentally, Mrs. Cressy-Marcks is to be congratulated on encountering the 239 pack mules in Yunnan that are not afflicted with saddle sores (p. 30).

G. E. S.

Japan in China. By W. H. Chamberlin. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " \times 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Duckworth. 1940. 3s. 6d.

Japan in China is a pleasure to read, but it is less of a pleasure to review. It is a pleasure to read because Mr. Chamberlin analyses the facts clearly and draws sound conclusions from them. He has no ideology to preach, and does not hold that any particular form of civilization is ideal for mankind.

On the other hand, his book is difficult to review, because since it was written events have moved so quickly that some of the possibilities Mr. Chamberlin only hints at have already become questions of practical importance. But the reviewer is faced with a greater difficulty: throughout his book the author stresses the inevitability of conflict and seems to see world history working out in accordance with a pre-ordained pattern—a pattern which in effect denies the influence of free will in human affairs.

Adequately to criticize this doctrine would need as much space as was given by the *Edinburgh Review* and the skill of a Macaulay to do full justice to the theme. Mr. Chamberlin suggests that "the two strongest forces in the Far East are revolutionary Japanese imperialism and revolutionary Chinese nationalism. They could not co-exist for ever without coming into conflict, one or the other had to prevail. The seizure of Manchuria . . . was a revolution, an assertion of the man of the sword . . . against the monied interest and the political parties." How far can imperialism and nationalism be said to be impersonal forces? They are products of the mind and to that extent subject to the free will, but in so far as

they are produced in part by education and in part by past events may they not be considered to be inevitable? Is it true that "the assertion of themselves by men of the sword" is also inevitable? Is that assertion peculiar to the Far East or is it of universal application? Since 1918 power has been largely in the hands of those men who control wealth, and they have allowed freedom of thought to those under their domination, but this has not produced a stable world, nor has freedom of thought produced a constructive policy—it has rather proved destructive. The ideals of the men of the sword are to-day a challenge. They stand for the old Spartan virtues, for the cult of the body and for the restriction of the intellect.

If complete success should fall to them, will the world see that stability in which the "good life" can be led by the individual? A China dominated by Japan will be as destructive to intellectual advance as will a Europe dominated by Germany. Complete victory for the money power might in the long run prove equally fatal, for in time the barbarian who still practises the military virtues is bound to rise again. Does not the best hope of the world still lie in the doctrine of the golden mean, a doctrine first propounded in China, but one which has been put into practice best within the British Commonwealth, though there too many of the old virtues have been forgotten in the years of peace?

To turn to problems of more immediate political interest, Mr. Chamberlin suggests that there are three ways in which the Sino-Japanese war may end. "A dictated peace, a peace by agreement or a peace by exhaustion. Military developments during the year 1939 do not suggest any break in the stalemate, which is summed up in the two axioms that Japan cannot conquer the whole of China, and that the Chinese cannot by their own efforts drive the Japanese out of those cities and regions which have been effectively occupied." Since those words were written the situation in Europe has changed and the power of France has collapsed. It seems possible that Japan is now in a position to stop supplies of all kinds reaching the Chungking Government, with the exception of those from Russia. If this is so, can that Government survive? Indications suggest that it may be able to do so: if this is true, the probability of a compromise peace is brought nearer. The Chinese chance of survival is not certain. The Japanese wish to have their hands free for action elsewhere if circumstances require it. The advantage of compromise is clear.

If Japan can liquidate her position in China, what are likely to be the main lines which will guide her policy? Her object is to become a world power, and she therefore intends to have under her political control those raw materials on which power is based to-day. The most important of these are iron, coal, rubber, oil and certain agricultural products. Her opponents are Russia and the maritime powers. The problem before her rulers is to obtain control of as many of these materials as she can and at as low a cost as possible, and having obtained control to be in a position to maintain her power after the European war is over. The major danger has in the past been Russia. To-day, if she can obtain control of areas connected with her main islands by sea routes, which she can later safe-

guard against sea attack, there seems little doubt that it is to her advantage to do so. It will only be later that she will be compelled to insure against the Russian danger.

It seems therefore that the immediate course of Japanese policy will depend more on that of the United States of America and may depend less than is generally realized on the action of Russia in Europe.

E. A.

A Chinese Childhood. By Chiang Yee. 8½" × 6". Pp. xii + 304. 8 coloured plates. Methuen. 1940. 15s.

Since Mr. Chiang Yee first discovered that in addition to his talent as an artist he also is possessed of literary gifts, he has written a succession of volumes, each of which has revealed freshness and originality of thought. He came of a "county" family and was reared in the fine old traditions of an ancestry that could be traced in direct descent, in the Clan Book, back to the Sung dynasty, 960-1276 A.D. On the New Year's Eve of Chiang Yee's twelfth year, after the ceremonious festival dinner, his father formally showed him the family clan book and paused when he came to one of the fifty-first generation who did not follow the family rule as laid down by the first ancestor and brought the family into temporary disgrace.

The life led by Chinese better-class people down to the time of Chiang Yee's father did not differ in any respect from that led by their forerunners of eight or nine hundred years. They drew incomes from their lands, sufficient to support them in domestic ease, and they had leisure to study the classics and enjoy the fruits of their literary accomplishments. The author thus describes his grandfather: "He always considered himself to be a man of the Ming régime. He wore a sort of Ming costume, different from what other people wore at that time, and gathered his hair on the top of his head instead of in the so-called pigtail. He read a good deal: he was more an historian than any other type of scholar. His chief concern was to mind his own business and be a good farmer and something of a hermit. But he did not prevent other members of the family from going into public life, or from behaving and dressing according to the custom of the time." This quotation is an apt pen-portrait of the average Chinese gentleman up to the beginning of this century.

The author tells us of the happy life he led in the old home at Kiukiang where he spent the first fifteen years of his life. It was a large household, more than thirty people, and all the notable events that occurred during his adolescence were regularly celebrated—the Feast of Lanterns, the Birthday of Flowers, the Ancestral Festivals, the New Year, in addition to the births, deaths and marriages and the attendant ceremonies dear to the Chinese heart.

We can but sigh for and envy a mode of life that was so peaceful and pleasant. In an ingenuous way Mr. Chiang Yee tells us of those happy days and describes their charming features. Confucian thought and old Chinese traditions had an ever-present influence. Constant training in the

Confucian Analects led him to regard himself as a "superior man," and he rejoiced in his knowledge of traditional customs and etiquette.

Many books have been written describing Chinese ways: there are few, however, that surpass *A Chinese Childhood* in depicting the ways and byways of a people and country untrammelled by political grim realities, in such a truthful and delightfully intimate manner as Chiang Yee has done. The author's English is impeccable, and he carries the reader along in easy style from one scene to another. There are many illustrations, all true to life, and the reproductions in colour of Chinese landscapes show him to be a clever artist.

If anyone wants to have a brief freedom from war obsession (and who does not?) let him take up this book and enter into these scenes of the life of a happy Chinese boy. The only regret will be when he has come to the end of the last chapter.

G. D. G.

Moment in Peking. A Chinese Novel by Lin Yutang. Heinemann. 15s.

It is interesting to speculate on the qualities which make a "best seller." *Moment in Peking* has received honourable mention in *The Times Literary Supplement* and is most pleasantly spoken of by Pearl Buck on the dust jacket of the book itself. Yet I fear it may be a book which will appeal only to those who know China and will not be read by the general public, but if they do not read it they will lose a great amount of pleasure.

I agree with Pearl Buck when she says "Y. T." is about the only writer, Chinese or foreign, who is capable of writing such a book to-day. His upbringing and his education have been such that he knows how to paint a picture of Chinese life and of Chinese character which can be understood by the West, and he shares with Norah Wahl a capacity for making the working of an alien social convention comprehensible to the European mind.

The story is that of the lives of three generations of upper middle-class Chihli families. It pictures their reactions to those political and economic happenings which were external to their lives as well as the happenings within the family circle which affected them more closely.

It is true that some of his characters, such as New Suyan, are somewhat melodramatic and achieve modern patriotism under fantastic circumstances, but others, such as Yao Mulan and Yao Mochow, are admirably drawn and stand out as living characters although somewhat idealized.

It has long been a popular belief in Europe that in Oriental society women play a minor part. Mr. Lin's book may help to redress the balance; the majority of his female characters are sympathetic though strong-willed, while the men are the weaker characters and are guided in all major decisions by the women; there is one exception, Yao Szean, but he was an exceptional man and a sincere believer in Tao.

There may well be faults in the book which would be far more obvious to a Chinese than to an English reviewer. The very fact that Mr. Lin's own career makes him one of the ablest of interpreters of Chinese life to Europe

may tend to some extent to make him draw an idealized picture of Chinese life, for everyone who has spent many years away from his homeland is apt to see it through too rosy spectacles. For this reason I should like to see a review of his book written by a Chinese in the next issue of the *Journal*, for only a Chinese is capable of giving a true criticism of Mr. Lin's picture of Chinese home life.

That a deep conflict of ideas does exist is well exemplified by the story of the Chinese judge which was well known in Shanghai some years ago. This man really believed in the Western system of justice, but his friends and his family were most conservative-minded; he arranged to give pensions and not places to his immediate relatives, and excused his odd behaviour to his friends by saying that he only acted thus in order to persuade the foreigners to surrender extra-territorial rights more rapidly.

In writing a novel covering the period Mr. Lin has chosen, he could not well have avoided touching on the Sino-Japanese conflict. Considering that, like most Chinese, the author is a fervent admirer of Sun Yat Sen and of the Kuomintang, he is to be congratulated on the fact that his dislike of the Japanese has not been unfairly emphasized, but it should be borne in mind by English readers that there does exist more than one side to the question.

We are sometimes apt to forget the old rule of Chinese diplomacy, "Use the barbarian to fight the barbarian," and we must beware of letting our natural sympathy be worked on by a skilled artist; in fact, we must not let our admiration for a work of art blind us to the fact that the artistic form is one of the most subtle of vehicles for propaganda.

I would like to add my own tribute of gratitude to "Y. T." for having caused me to spend several happy evenings in the company of Chinese friends of his creation, evenings which have recalled to me vividly many other happy hours I have spent in the past in his company and in that of Chinese who were friends of mine and of his and to whom I owe any knowledge I may have of China and Chinese life.

EDWARD AINGER.

Abdul Hamid, the Shadow of God. By Alma Wittlin. Translated from the German by Norman Denny. John Lane, The Bodley Head.

This work gives proof of hard work, as the list of authorities proves, and the authoress also had contact with various Turks who held official positions. It is, however, only fair to state that she lacks the necessary knowledge of her subject as, to give one example, she terms Suleiman the Glorious the "heathen" Sultan. Moslems are certainly not heathen!

Apart from this defect, we gain an interesting view of Abdul Hamid's early life in the harem, where the unbridled extravagance, which was copied in the richer families, was rapidly bringing Turkey to bankruptcy. Born in 1842, his father, Sultan Mejid, who never liked him, died in 1861. His successor, Sultan Aziz, was dethroned in 1876; Murak, the elder brother of Abdul Hamid, was declared Sultan, but became insane, and thus made way for the election of Abdul Hamid.

The position of the new Sultan was not a happy one. Insurrections in Bosnia and Herzegovina were followed by the "Bulgarian atrocities," as they were called. The statesmen of Europe attempted to improve matters in the Balkan provinces of Turkey, but Russia, realizing the weakness of that empire, declared war in 1877. In spite of the heroic defence of Plevna, Russian troops reached the outskirts of Constantinople, where they saw the powerful British Fleet at anchor and stayed their advance. Peace was made at the famous Congress of Berlin, which created a new order in the Balkans; while the Sultan agreed to introduce reforms in Armenia; one of the many promises he failed to keep.

The author describes the extraordinary life of the "Shadow of God" surrounded by guards with thousands of spies in his pay, and yet always fearing assassination. I was present, nearly fifty years ago, at the *Selamlık*, as the Sultan's weekly visit to the mosque was termed. The square was filled with troops and the Sultan, as described by the writer, drove in a small carriage with his councillors panting on foot on each side. I shall never forget the look of fear which was imprinted on his forbidding face.

In Christian Armenia there were undoubtedly conspiracies against the Turkish Government. Abdul Hamid especially hated this unfortunate race, alike as being Christians and also since the Christian Powers, or some of them, desired to protect them. Massacres were accordingly ordered and, at Trebizond, I saw the baleful fruits of the Sultan's orders to kill.

The visit of the Kaiser Wilhelm to Constantinople and the concession of a railway to Baghdad made German influence supreme in Turkey, where her army was trained by Von der Goltz. Abdul Hamid became impossible in the eyes of the Young Turks. He was finally dethroned by them, and in 1918 ended his inglorious reign in captivity.

P. M. SYKES.

China under the Empress Dowager. Compiled from State papers and the Private Diary of the Comptroller of her Household. By J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse. Illustrated. Henri Vetch, Peking; William Heinemann, Ltd., London. 1939. Third Edition.

It is now thirty years since this monumental work first appeared—monumental from the mass of data it incorporated on the life and times of that great and powerful character the Empress Dowager of China. It is a fascinating narrative, woven together by the literary skill of Mr. J. O. P. Bland and the historical authenticity imparted to it by Sir Edmond Backhouse, Bart.

The time has scarcely arrived for us to place the Empress Dowager in her proper perspective. Cleopatra, Catherine the Great, Queen Elizabeth, and Queen Victoria are the other outstandingly famous women rulers in the world's history, but none of them outrank Yehonala in virility and commanding personality, whereby she was able to steer China through the maze of Oriental politics and intrigues for half a century.

There have been many stories of the humble, even disreputable, origin of

the Empress Dowager. As the authors say, "Many of these are the fruit of Yellow journalism, seeking sensational material of the kind which appeals to the iconoclastic instincts of its readers." The family of Yehonala, one of the oldest of the Manchu clans, could trace its origin in direct line to Prince Yangkuno, whose daughter married in 1588 Nurhatsi, the real founder of Manchu rule in China and the first direct ancestor of the Tach'ing Emperors. Into this clan in 1835 was born Yehonala, whose life was destined to influence countless millions of human beings, who was to be thrice Regent of China and its autocratic ruler for over fifty years.

She was seventeen years old when she responded to the Imperial decree in June, 1852, commanding that all beautiful Manchu maidens of eligible age should present themselves at the Imperial Household Office, which would make from them a selection for the Emperor Hsien Feng's harem. She began her palace life as a concubine of the third rank, but when, two months later, the widow of the previous Emperor died, Yehonala, in recognition of her "dutiful ministrations," was raised to P'in, the rank of second-class concubine. Ten months later Yehonala gave birth to a male child, the only son that Hsien Feng had. Her colleague, the Empress Consort, took little or no active interest in the business of government, and in the meantime her lord the Emperor became stricken with paralysis and suffered a complete breakdown in health.

Now began the period of her activities. She showed aggressiveness in her advice on foreign affairs. In the business of the Imperial City and the Chinese Empire the Emperor's sway, never very great, became steadily submerged under the masterful character of his, by now, first-grade concubine, who, by virtue of her position as mother of the Heir Apparent, became the real ruler of the Empire, a somewhat remarkable accomplishment in a country where no woman was supposed to rule, and when we bear in mind that she was at this time only twenty-two years of age.

Shortly before Hsien Feng's demise, in 1861, he signed a decree appointing three Grand Councillors as Co-Regents, and in this document Yehonala was expressly forbidden to exercise any form of control over the Heir Apparent, but as she had taken away and secreted the Seal of State this decree became worthless. Then ensued the struggle for power, most interestingly related in the book, in which the pusillanimous Empress Consort T'ai Tsung became Co-Regent with the Empress Tzu Hsi (Yehonala). From this date onward the volume traces the wonderful career of its subject, how she gathered the threads of State into her own hands, scotching every conspiracy and overcoming the intrigues of Grand Councillors. A new Emperor, Kuang Hsü, came to the throne, but he was as malleable clay in the hands of the clever potter—his Imperial aunt the Empress Tzu Hsi. His reign was characterized by complete submission to her will.

The whole of the Empress Dowager's life provides a striking study of statecraft and the sway of a powerful self-willed ruler whose reign, though it brooked no opposition, yet provided China with a leader of a mildly despotic type. "My country right or wrong—but my country" seemed to be her motto. She disliked foreigners and wanted China to remain untrammelled,

contented, and self-sufficient. One great asset of the solidity of her rule undoubtedly lay in her broad impartiality and the nice balance which she maintained between Chinese and Manchus in all departments of the Government. She had an innate gift of autocracy. It is not recorded of her that she ever took life from sheer cruelty or love of killing. When she sent a man to death it was because he stood between her and the full and safe gratification of her love of power. In all her decrees of vengeance we find the same unhesitating firmness in removing human obstacles from her path combined with a complete absence of that unnecessary cruelty which is so frequently associated with despotism. Her methods were, in fact, Elizabethan rather than Florentine.

A leading feature of the book is the incorporation of His Excellency Ching Shan's diary, part of which, after various vicissitudes, was acquired by Mr. Bland and was deposited by him in the British Museum. Ching Shan, who was a kinsman of the Empress Dowager's family, rose to be Grand Secretary. He had exceptional opportunities of knowing all the gossip of the Court, of learning the opinions and watching the movements of the high officials who stood nearest to the Throne. We might regard him as a Chinese Pepys. His diary is of capital importance in the sidelights it furnishes of the stirring events of the Boxer period, which culminated in the flight of the Empress Dowager and Emperor Kuang Hsu from Peking.

The volume under review is the third edition, revised and copyrighted by Henri Vetch, an enterprising publisher who resides in Peking and who prefaces the work with a well-written publisher's note in which he examines and confirms the authenticity of Ching Shan's diary.

When *China under the Empress Dowager* was written more than one leading publisher in London declined the book on the ground that there might not be a sufficiently large public interested enough in the subject to warrant publication. It was eventually accepted by the late William Heinemann. The 1910 first edition underwent seven printings and was followed by another edition in 1914. The present fine volume, printed in China by the *North China Daily News*, Shanghai, is a most creditable production and will help to keep alive the memory, life, and times of a wonderful woman—probably the last royal autocrat, male or female, that the world will ever see.

G. D. G.

La Figura e l'Opera di Marco Polo. By R. Almagià.

Ramakrishna Paramahansa. By G. Tucci.

L'Oriente nella Cultura Contemporanea. By G. Tucci.

Lo Spirito dell' Amore nella Letteratura Indiana. By M. M. Moulik.

Monographs published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.

These four little books consist of lectures delivered to the recently founded Italian Institute for Middle and Far Eastern studies, which also publishes

a bi-monthly review called *Asiatica*. They cover wide areas of space, time, and range of thought, including an account of the naval actions of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War, the life and work of Marco Polo according to recent research, the *Spirit of Love in Indian Literature*, delivered in English by Monindra Moulik, a study of Ramakrishna, the great Bengali mystic of the nineteenth century, and finally the inaugural lecture of the Institute under the title of "The Orient in Contemporary Culture," by Professor Tucci, Vice-President of the Institute. Together they explain its attitude towards the vital problem of the spiritual relations between East and West.

The contribution to the memory of the great Venetian traveller by Roberto Almagià is based upon material collected for the celebration of his sexcentenary in 1927, and thus the author had not the advantage of hearing the lecture of Sir Percy Sykes to the Institute, or as repeated at the British Institute of Florence in 1935, entitled "In the Footsteps of Marco Polo," or of reading his article in the *Story of Exploration and Adventure* which he edited in 1938. In these he would have found the veracity of his hero strongly confirmed by Sir Percy's own explorations and examinations of the topography and contemporary conditions in the regions which the Polos traversed. This little biography is, however, of real interest and brings out several new points which hitherto seem to have been unnoted by historians.

Adventurous Italians have at all times been great explorers, for the relative lack of natural resources in their own peninsula has always forced them to seek new fields for trade, for work abroad, or for overseas settlement. Old cities, such as Amalfi, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, successively founded empires that generally perished as a result of their bitter mutual rivalries. Thus, Marco Polo was only one of the best known of the early Italian explorers of the East, whose connection with the Eastern peoples was primarily economic, but usually resulted also in friendly intercourse and understanding.

Professor Tucci deploras the recent efforts to Westernize the Orient. He emphasizes the fact that whereas the civilization of modern Europe is scientific and external, that of the Orient remains primarily psychological or internal. He reminds us that from the East came most of the great religious movements—that is, from India, Persia, Palestine to ancient Greece and thus to Europe—and he maintains that the East may be still our teacher in matters of the spirit. He insists that although it is easy to teach our Western science to the youth of Persia, India, or China, such students remain "amphibious"—with a Western mind imposed upon an Eastern soul. The author pleads for a deeper comprehension and a fuller collaboration as far preferable to any attempted assimilation or subjection of one tradition to the other. In his essay upon Ramakrishna he proves how deeply he himself has comprehended, and in order to educate his fellow-countrymen he insists upon the need of native "readers" from the various Eastern countries coming to represent their culture and to teach their respective languages in Italian universities, where hitherto study has been confined to Sanscrit or to the ancient classic languages and literatures of one or other of the great Eastern countries. The lecture by the Indian scholar

Monindra Moulik upon the spirit and mystic love in Indian literature is a good example of the type of teaching that he means. He believes that such subjects as the great Eastern languages and philosophies should not be regarded merely as mines for the exploitation of philological students eager to attain the dignified repose of a university position, any more than that these great countries should be regarded as mere markets for commercial profit.

The reading of these little books can only emphasize the deep regret which all students of the East must feel that the utterly unjustifiable war declared by Mussolini, against the wishes of the vast majority of Italians, should have interrupted intercourse through such channels of study as these in which England and Italy might have fruitfully collaborated. For the activities of this new Italian institute are clearly inspired by that true imperialism whose aim is rather to guide the development of the native mind and spiritual tradition rather than to impose an alien civilization upon subjected populations. These small books amply prove, in fact, how widely the Italian attitude towards politically weaker peoples differs from the German, and make one feel the deeper sorrow that the inevitable embitterment should cause a loss of trust and understanding which it may take generations to restore.

HAROLD GOAD.

Gelawêj (Sirius). A Kurdish literary and cultural monthly magazine. $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 6\frac{3}{4}''$; each number about 64 pp. Baghdad: Najah Press, December, 1939; January and February, 1940.

Ever since September, 1920, there has been published at Sulaimani, with tolerable regularity though under various names, a Kurdish weekly newspaper of four to six pages. A short account of this paper between August, 1922, and April, 1923, will be found in an article entitled "A Kurdish Newspaper," which appeared in Part I. of the Journal for 1925. The present name is *Jiyan* or *Jiyn* (Life), as which it has flourished since January, 1926, and reached (March 21, 1940) its 593rd number.

The history of Kurdish magazines has been more chequered. *Diyariy' Kurdistan* (Gift of Kurdistan), editor Salih Zaki Sahibqiran, published in Baghdad, lasted just fourteen months, from March, 1925, to May, 1926; although it was described as a "weekly," only sixteen numbers appeared, some combined as double numbers. *Zar y Kirmanciy* (The Kirmanji Tongue), editor Saiyid Husain Huzni, "the Kurdish Caxton," published at Ruwandiz, a "monthly," appeared twenty-three times in the four years between May, 1926 and June, 1930, and had a final flicker with No. 24 in July, 1932. *Rhuwnakiy* (Light), a "weekly," published at Arbil by the same editor, appeared eleven times in the eight months between October, 1935, and May, 1936. Each of these ventures was largely personal to the editor, who himself paid all the costs (only a fraction can have been recovered from the "subscribers" if the present reviewer knows them as well as he thinks he does), wrote the greater part of the contents, and, in the

case of the last two, did the printing as well. These pioneers, working in the face of difficulties and disappointments of every kind, rendered great service to Kurdish letters; it says much for their enthusiasm and persistence that their magazines lasted as long and appeared as regularly as they did.

The editor of this latest enterprise in Kurdish journalism has secured the collaboration of some of the leading writers of to-day. Amin Zaki Beg, Minister of Economics in the Iraqi Cabinet, has three interesting articles on Kurdish history from a new work now in course of preparation, and two on the language. Tewfiq Wehbi Beg, a scholar whose reputation has spread to Europe, contributes the first three of a series of learned articles on Iranian philology, with special reference to the derivation of Kurdish. "Goran," the most delightful of modern Kurdish poets, whose work has attracted attention in Syria and even Egypt, is represented in all three numbers. Other poet contributors of note are "Piyre Mêrd," the veteran editor of *Jiyn* of Sulaimani, Shaikh Salam (with renderings of *The Ruba'iyyat* of Umar Khayyam), and Shakir Fattah. Some chapters of Baillie Fraser's *Travels in Koordistan* (1834) have been translated by "Feramurz" from the English, and an article entitled "The Crusaders come to Koordistan," by Rafiq Hilmi, Inspector of Education, from the French. Other articles of topical interest—there is one, for example, on Finland—go to make up the sixty-four pages of each issue.

The printing and the paper are good. Apart from a note of the principal contributions on the outer cover which will disappear in the binding, there is no list of contents, and in the body of the magazine the authorship of the articles and poems is not always clearly shown. The editor would do well to remedy these defects in future issues.

Sirius is the brightest star in the heavens. The ancient Egyptians believed that it heralded good harvests. The quality of the first three numbers encourages the hope that *Gelawêj* will justify its name.

C. J. E.

Strade e Commercio dell' Iran. By Elio Migliorini. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.

This is a pattern of what such monographs should be—pithy, comprehensive, well-informed. On the historical side it is remarkably dispassionate, though at the outset of this story of modern Iran the reader may wonder if the ensuing pages may not reveal a point of view rather heavily loaded against ourselves. (Not without humour, for the author neatly observes that the war of 1914-1918 may indeed have removed the looming dangers of the *orso russo* to Persia, but only in favour of the *balena britannica*, which instantly pressed its advantages.) But this doubt is at once dispelled, and we find the merest tinge of reluctant admiration colouring the later pages here and there, packed as they are with facts and figures that speak so much of British commercial success that envy might well be excused.

The author sketches in the complete factual background of the Iran of to-day, with a short survey of the country before the *coup d'état* of Reza Shah, the beginning of her independence and release from the subservient position previously held by her *vis-à-vis*, her neighbours and "protectors," the opening up of the country by road and rail, and a forecast of her future relations with Mediterranean countries, Italy in particular, through the legitimate medium of trading and the subtle medium of cultural penetration.

Whether this latter is a piece of wishful thinking or no is for the future to decide, but the author is at pains to describe the great trading days of Venice and Genoa, when busy commerce held between Italy and Persia, and he rounds off his last chapter with the hope that after six hundred years these days may be recalled in modern Italian trading with Tabriz through a proposed route via Trebizond.

But this underlying idea, though insistent, does not cloud the general accuracy of a stream of facts that pours forth inexhaustibly from the writer's pen to implement his story. In his 147 pages he gives us data from reliable sources about all aspects of modern Iran, and his talent for allowing facts to illuminate themselves turns a dry report into a bright piece of reading. But what makes his book doubly interesting to the student of the Middle East is the peculiarly Italian angle from which the whole field is viewed. Signor Migliorini, recording without malice that Persia has pushed British influence aside wherever possible, observes that Iran's independence is a road to her accessibility by others. And this interest in foreign infiltration into Iran makes him stress statistics that tell us the exact nature of non-Persian labour in working the oil or making the railway and so on. In describing communications in the south he describes how the Persian Navy, consisting of four gunboats, was built in Italian docks and the Navy personnel instructed at Livorno. Almost naïvely he goes on to suggest that it would be still better when Italy has built a merchant fleet for Iran to extend her trade in the Mediterranean. He ascribes improvements to the port of Mohammerah, now Khorramshar, to Italian effort and implies, with apparent lack of appreciation of local geography, that this port has important contact with Basra, which Germany regards as the Hamburg of Iraq. Italian firms shared in the construction of the new railway and in the Caspian port of Ram Sar. And this actual work by Italians in Iran Signor Migliorini regards with greater satisfaction even than in trading links between the two countries. Envyng the French their undeniable influence in Tcheran, where the French language is much to be heard and French culture predominant, he would like to see a similar cultural pressure into Iran from Italy, and looks forward to it.

The book is amply documented and has a good bibliography. The date of publication is 1939, though apparently the manuscript was completed in 1937.

H. F. L.

Sea Power and Central Asia. By Felix Howland. Reprinted from Vol. 66, No. 6 of Proceedings of United States Naval Institute. June, 1940.

To a Society like ours reprints of articles in periodicals are most acceptable. They enable us to acquaint our readers with much that might otherwise escape their notice, for it is now impossible for a specialist in any subject to keep abreast of what appears in periodical form on his own subject. A research worker, for instance, concerned with Central Asia might be excused for not thinking to consult the Proceedings of the Naval Institute of the United States. Yet Vol. 66, No. 6 (June, 1940), consists of *Sea Power and Central Asia*, by Mr. Felix Howland, who has kindly supplied us with a separate imprint. This article is the more valuable inasmuch as it includes two maps, one of the ancient system of communications which linked East and West and another of the modern system which has replaced the former. These bring out, for example, the importance of Merv in both ancient times and our own, an importance which so many recent travellers tend to overlook in comparison with other towns which are richer in "publicity."

The author enquires into the relations of sea power in general with commercial facts and factors, with special reference to Central Asia. Having summed up the conclusions to be drawn from the attention he has given to the subject, he tabulates them as "rules," and proceeds to particularize the inferences that follow from them as regards the prospects of naval power, English and other, as controlling influences in that region. His deductions visualize a "progressive decline" in such control.

At the same time, his survey and deductions occupy less than eleven pages. It is hard to say much that is new and true and substantiated in so small a compass on so vast a subject. Neither are we entitled to ask from anyone the phraseology of a Seignobos which goes so far to convince us, without stating his authorities, that we would be bound to agree with him did we possess his insight, knowledge and profundity. It is difficult, for instance, to follow the writer when he speaks of Iran as "distant from the sea," and when he finds it "odd that . . . the Romans never made a serious effort to re-open the Nile-Red Sea canal of Darius." Is it not late in the day to treat the Romans as an intelligent and capable people who had ideas beyond looting what lay nearest? It is doubtful, too, if we possess the material for making precise comparisons between ancient and modern Asian commerce. However, we must come back to our original theme and pass on to others the suggestion that here is a summary concerning the subject in which they are interested.

E. B.

Independent Egypt. By Amine Youssef Bey. Murray: London. Price 15s.

The border line between contemporary history and autobiography is thin, and a writer who sets out to tell the first frequently and unconsciously

slips into the second. If Amine Youssef Bey has done so, it is right to say that he errs in good company. Cromer's *Modern Egypt* and Lloyd's *Egypt Since Cromer* are instances in point, and let it be said that readers of their illuminating memoirs have enjoyed the experience the more for the lapse. No doubt men who have had a hand in shaping the affairs of their own day find it difficult to write at the end of their career objectively. At all events, their personality obtrudes on every page, and *Independent Egypt* is no exception to the rule. But if it is reasonable then to review a book of this type from the angle of autobiography rather than of history, it is also pleasant to record that *Independent Egypt* is well written, that its history is good, that its criticism of personalities is mild and its comment often astute.

Amine Youssef's credentials to write are satisfactory enough. Born in 1888, son of a father dipped in the Arabi movement, he grew up in an atmosphere of Egyptian nationalism. Called to the Bar twenty-one years later, he practised at Damietta, married a niece the adopted daughter of Saad Pasha Zaghoul, and linked his fortunes with that redoubtable Egyptian. He was, no doubt, a useful lieutenant devoted to his chief and a wholehearted partisan of the Zaghoul's programme that embraced abolition of the Capitulations, the introduction of democratic government and the withdrawal of the British protectorate. Of the history of the tumultuous years that preceded and followed the declaration of Independence in 1922, Amine Youssef Bey writes economically and impartially. But politics in these early years were not his only preoccupation. He was equally desirous of promoting the social and economic welfare of his poorer fellow-countrymen. During the winter of 1919-20, when prices of foodstuffs rose alarmingly, Amine Youssef raised £E10,000 locally to finance in Damietta, in the hope of underselling the profiteer, a co-operative society. It was a laudable enterprise.

He went to England in 1922 on the business of his political party, but some doubt arose of his discretion, and he was peremptorily recalled. It was his first but not his last setback: the customary misfortune of a politician impatient of party restrictions. A second came in 1924, when, despite his leader's support, he lost election to the first of Egypt's parliaments, and had to put up with the appointment of Assistant Secretary-General of the Senate. He understood the moral: as he says himself, he became "aware that Nature had not made me a team worker, and it is as a team those in authority have to work."

From this point his concern with politics apparently declined, and his interest in the co-operative movement became greater. Though still in the confidence of Saad Zaghoul and still a member of the Wafd, his affection for the party was cooling, and on Zaghoul's death in 1927 (incidentally, it should be mentioned that his judgment upon Saad Zaghoul is one of the best passages of *Independent Egypt*: restrained, generous and admirably said) he broke off relations with it. He continued to meddle in politics, no doubt, but out of his connection with the co-operative movement emerged an insistent ambition to link closer "the Egyptian producers and the British

manufacturers, involving the elimination of the middle man in Egypt." Chapter X, entitled "Unofficial Commercial Ambassador to Europe," relates the first of his experiences and of the setbacks that he encountered not abroad, be it said, but oddly enough at home. He undertook the trip, to quote his own words, on receipt of "a personal invitation from three European countries to visit them as the pioneer of the co-operative movement in Egypt," and taking advantage of his right to ordinary leave, he went to Germany, Belgium and England. The Department of Overseas Trade in London welcomed him, and sponsored a visit to Lancashire; but the Egyptian Government, on hearing the news, took umbrage, recalled Amine Bey, and relieved him of his position as Assistant Secretary-General to the Senate, as a mark of their displeasure. The cloud soon lifted. Prices of foodstuffs were again rising, and a new Prime Minister, creating the post of "Director to Combat the High Cost of Living," offered it to Amine Bey. It was more congenial work than the Senate, and the new Director regarded his duties seriously. But an implicit belief in the righteousness of his own beliefs ("powerful forces opposing me at every step") led to disaster, though perhaps there is also another side to the story. At all events, going to England on leave in 1931 Amine Bey could not resist the temptation of re-urging more vigorous development of trade between the two countries. It was perhaps inevitable that in these circumstances, he should be again recalled, and find himself delegated to the State Railways Administration as its publicity manager. But he had friends as well as adversaries, and two years later he became Minister to the United States. That was his last office, and the remaining pages of *Independent Egypt* deal with the "Treaty of 1936 and its consequences." His comments upon it and upon Egyptian reaction to it are well worth reading and reflecting over. They might have been written by a critical Englishman, and that in a sense is a compliment to Amine Youssef's impartial outlook.

P. G. ELGOOD.

Three books of outstanding importance will be reviewed in the next number of the Journal. They are Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Afghanistan* (Macmillan), Sir Aurel Stein's *Old Routes of Western Iran*, and Owen Lattimore's *Inner Asia Frontiers of China*.

OBITUARY

LORD LAMINGTON, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E.

THE death of Lord Lamington, full of years and honours, marks the passing of a great servant of Empire whose career and interests were especially connected with the East. Born in 1860, the son of the first Baron Lamington, he was educated at Eton and at Oxford. In 1885 he was appointed Assistant Private Secretary to Lord Salisbury and entered Parliament for North St. Pancras, holding this seat until the death of his father in 1890, when, moved by love of travel and sport, he undertook a difficult journey from Siam to Tonquin. Five years later he was appointed Governor of Queensland, where he found that seven years of drought was destroying its herds and flocks. Travelling constantly to every part and gaining close touch with the unfortunate settlers, he made strenuous efforts to alleviate this calamity.

In 1903 he was appointed Governor of Bombay, and henceforth his interests were mainly devoted to Asia. During the three years he held this important post, he worked incessantly to understand the points of view held by different classes with some success. But he was forced to resign before being able to use to full effect the experience he had gained, owing to the illness of Lady Lamington. In 1895 he had married the Hon. Mary Haughton Hozier, who throughout threw herself with all her powers into her husband's career.

Settled in Scotland, Lord Lamington commanded the Lanarkshire Yeomanry, and was Captain of the Royal Company of Archers. He also worked strenuously to forward the Territorial movement.

His interest in Asia never flagged. At one time he supported the strong pro-Persian views of the late Professor Brown in the House of Lords, where he spoke on this and other questions. Of greater importance was the interest he took in securing a burial ground and a religious burial for indigent Moslems. He was deeply interested in the Royal Central Asian Society, of which he was a Vice-President. He was also President of the East India and of the Middle East Associations.

It will be remembered that after winding up a joint meeting of the Royal Central Asian Society and the East India Association on a tragic occasion at the Caxton Hall, in the spring of this year, he was wounded in the hand and showed both courage and dignity.

To conclude, Lord Lamington was a great gentleman, who took deep interest in whatever he undertook, and his death creates a void which it will be difficult to fill. He was gazetted a G.C.M.G. and a G.C.I.E., and is succeeded by his son, Captain Victor Cochrane Baillie, C.B., M.C.

P. M. SYKES.

SIR EDWARD DENISON ROSS, C.I.E.

DENISON ROSS combined in himself the qualities of scholar, organizer, *bel esprit*, and man of the world, and all of them found abundant play in his vivid career. As a young student in Paris and Strasbourg he learned the languages and literatures of the Near and Middle East, and these aroused in him a sympathy with the Orient and an enthusiasm for Oriental studies which inspired his whole subsequent life and made it rich in good fruits. He soon found a position as Professor of Persian in London at University College, which he held from 1896 until 1901; and then he filled successively the offices of Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah (1901-11), Officer in Charge of Records of the Government of India and Assistant Secretary in the Department of Education (1911-14), Assistant in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (1914-16), and Keeper of the Stein Antiquities in the same museum (1914-16), culminating in the Directorship of the newly created School of Oriental Studies in 1916. His residence in Calcutta was peculiarly helpful in the ripening of his talents, for it brought him into close contact with many sides of Indian life and gave him opportunities to enlarge his already wide sphere of knowledge by adding to it Tibetan and Chinese. Hence when the School of Oriental Studies was founded, it was felt that Ross was the right man to fill the post of Director, and he speedily proved his fitness. The office, which he held until his retirement in 1937, was one that called for many qualities of intellect and heart, and Ross possessed them all—a general understanding of Oriental studies as a whole combined with a special mastery of some branches of them, unflagging energy in organization and administration, insight for finding men and women and things most needful for his work, enthusiasm for his task, and a rare gift of the human touch which enabled him to enlist the interest and support of non-Orientalists. That the school has prospered and grown into a great Imperial institution is due in large measure to Ross.

The literary fruits of his life work are considerable, and reflect his many-sided interests, embracing Oriental history, philology, poetry, and art, and including also editions of the travels of Sherley and Stodart and—a final and somewhat unexpected contribution—*This English Language*, which revealed his keen literary sense and width of English reading. His books, however, do not cover his whole personality; behind them all there was something much larger—a warm and stimulating spirit ever active in good deeds and thoughts.

L. D. BARNETT.
